by his owne selfe chose and call some men, and that sometime he doth the same by men.

Two maner of callings.

And that immediate calling of God, is either generall: as vnto iustification, life, saluation; or else particular, as to teach, to marrie a wife, to beare an office. But whatsoeuer it bee, wee ought streight waies to obaie, after wee vnderstande that we be called of GOD. Howbeit euerie man must bee assured of his calling. For oftentimes the Diuell slilfeth in himselfe, and deceiueth men vnder the shew of God. But in that other calling which is done by men, manie things must be diligentlie considered. And especiallie these foure causes: the Matter, the Forme, the Efficient cause, and the End. The matter is, the nature it selfe of the function, the same must be iust and honest, and agreeing to the worde of God. And therefore mercenarie souldiers and bawdes cannot bee saide to haue a lawfull calling. In the forme must be taken heed, that monie, ambition, or affection of the flesh be no meane therein. In the efficient we are to see, that it bee done by them to whom it belongeth: to wit, by the magistrate, or people, or elders of the Church. But by force nothing at all must bee attempted. And as touching the ende, because it is a voluntarie taking on him, it doth behoue that the will haue respect to some good thing: Namelie, that the kingdome of God be holpen, that no man seeke his owne gaines or commodities, or other meanes against iustice and godnes.

The causes of that calling which is done by men.

What they must regard which chuse

And the worde of God. They which chose must regarde, not onelie that he which is chosen be willing, but also that he haue skil and bee able. For what shall he doe, if he bee ignorant? And he must not onelie haue skill, but also haue strength to bee able. And these thinges doubtles ought men haue a respect vnto. But God when he calleth anie man inquireth not after these things, for hee can bring them al to passe and giue them. But he which is chosen must not iudge of his owne strength. For manie being most vnmeete, thinke themselues fit, and many on the other side when they be sufficientlie furnished and apt, yet being led by some shamefastnesse or modestie, do thinke themselues vnfit. Wherfore the iudgement ought to rest in the common weale or in the Church. Howbeit if he perceiue himselfe to bee altogether vnfit for that function, he must make protestation what he iudgeth of himselfe. But yet at the last, if they will not chaunge their minde, hee ought to giue place. Wherupon there ariseth a doubt, howe in the first to the Cor. the 16. Chapter, they which were of the familie of Stephana, can be said to haue ordained them

What they are to doe which are chosen.

In.1. Cor. 16. vers. 15.

Howe they which were of the houshold

selues, seeing the same maketh a shewe of Ambition and disorder. For by this meanes perhappes ordinarie meanes would be contemned, and each one at his owne pleasure might disturpe ecclesiastical offices. Of which opinion are the Anabaptistes. And this place amog others they cite. Howbeit if we weigh those wordes which be written vnto Timothie, these men are some discharged from the suspect of ambition. He that desireth a Bishopricke, desireth a good worke. But whatsoeuer he be that desireth a Bishoppricke, let him thoroughlie weie whether he seeke for riches and honours, rather than for the functions and labors of a Bishop. Neither doth Chrysostome otherwise vnderstand it (when it is said that these men ordeined themselues) but that they chose this kinde of life & whole addicted themselues to the ministerie of the Saints. But against the furie of the Anabaptists, we are confirmed by manie places taken out of the Scriptures, that wee should obserue an order in Ecclesiasticall callings, and that euerie man at his owne pleasure should not breake out and make the offices of the Church common vnto all men. Paul being desirous to haue credite giuen to his Apostleship, confirmeth the same by his vocation, and mentioneth euerie where that hee is called to bee an Apostle. And what need had it beene for him in the Epistles vnto Timothie and vnto Titus to haue reckened vp with so great diligence the properties of a Bishop, Elder, and Deacon, if euerie man might obtrude himselfe at his owne will? Those things declare, that there ought in anie wise to be had some choise of men. Yea and the Apostle writeth vnto Timothie, That he should not soudenlie laie hands on anie man. Where thou seest that to the ordeining of a minister, is required to haue handes laide on. Which because he would not haue to be done rashlie, he teacheth that there be some which maie bee chosen before others. Neither will it easilie stande, which we read vnto the Ephesians, that God placed in the Church some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists &c. Of which thing there is mention made both in the Epistle to the Romanes, and in the Epistle to the Corinthians. For if a man intrude himself and disturpe Ecclesiasticall offices, he is not appointed by GOD, but he appointeth himselfe to bee both Pastor and teacher. Furthermore, the Apostles haue leste vnto vs a forme and example. Matthias was chosen. Paul and Barnabas by the commaundement of the holie Ghost were put apart to bee sent into the Gentiles. And when they had trauelled ouer diuers

Both of God himself and others.

The Anabaptists.

That in the Church should be no priuate calings.

The 1. reason.

The 2. reason.

In the beginning of euery epistle.

1. Tim. 3.1.

Tit. 1.6.

The 3. reason.

The 4. reason.

1. Tim. 5. 22.

The 5. reason.

Tit. 1.

Deut. 17.

The 7. reason.

Eph. 4. 11.

Act. 20. 29.

The 8. reason.

Rom. 12.6.

The 9. reason.

Mark. 1. 45.

Mat. 28. 7.

Mat. 16. 20.

John 4. 29.

Esay. 5. 20.

Act. 13. 2.

diuers Cities and Regions, as we be taught in the Acts, that they ordeined Elders in the Churches. And also we reade of Aaron in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, that he did not intrude himselfe, but was called by GOD, whom others also should imitate. At length the Church would fall to ruine and be ouercharged with expenses. For such is the ambition and temeritie of men, as an innumerable sort would take the ministerie vpon them. And whereas by the lawe of God sustenance is due vnto them that labour in the word, it were not possible to haue sufficiencie for all that should labour. And where as all thinges, according to the commaundement of the Apostle, ought to bee done in order, these men would mingle and confound all thinges, which is the onelie indeuour of the Diuell, who misliketh not anie thing so much (especiallie in diuine things) as a right and well ordered institution.

1. Cor. 15. 16. Arguments of them which vnderstand by the dead & buried sinners in the Church.

15 But let vs see now what reasons they bring for themselues. First of all is that place which we haue cited. Secondlie they allege out of the first Epistle of Peter, namelie, that we are now a kingdome and priesthoode, to set foorth the vertues of God. Furthermore they saie, that the keies are not giue vnto one or to an other, but vnto the whole Church, and so each one maie vse them. Besides, they laie blame vnto vs, as though we obserue not the commandement of Christ in preferring paltors to the gouernment of the Church: because Christ forbad, that wee should be called maisters, chief rulers, or Rabbi. And it appeareth plainlie enough, that hyotherlie coprection belongeth vnto al men, which is not done without the administration of the word of God. Moreouer Parents and householders are bound to instruct their Children and household seruantes in the feare of the Lord: which is nothing else but to preach and publith the Gospell. For doth it make anie matter whether this bee done within the walles of a priuate house, or elsopenlie abroade. For the Apostles did not always preach in the stretes, but they did it also in priuate houses. The lame, the blind, and lepers obteined health of Christ: they went their waies publishing his name without expecting to bee appointed by order. Also women haue otherwhile exercised the holie ministerie of preaching, and yet were they not instructed before. And Magdalen declared the resurrection of Christ vnto the Apostles. And the woman of Samaria preached him vnto her Citizens. The Daughters of Philip were Prophetisses. And in the old Testament Debora, Marie the sister of Moses, and Anna the mother of Samuel openlie sang thankes vnto God. Martyrs being called vnto the Tribunall seate, openlie confessed Christ, and set him forth with all the power they had. Ouer this Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians saide, that two or three should Prophesie, so as if it were reuciled to anie one that stoode by, he that spake should holde his peace and giue place to the other. Where it appeareth, that it sufficeth to receiue a reuelation to exercise the office of preaching. And finallie Paul woulde That while anie doeth prophesie, the standers by shoulde iudge, vnto whom seeing iudgement is attributed, there seemeth also power to bee giuen, that they them selues in like maner maie preach, seeing, to iudge, is more than to speake.

The 1. reason.

The 2. reason.

The 3. reason.

The 4. reason.

The 5. reason.

The 6. reason.

The 7. reason.

The 8. reason.

The 9. reason.

1. Sam. 2. 1.

The 10. reason.

1. Cor. 14. 29.

The 11. reason.

2. Cor. 14. 29.

Fimetions extraordinarie and ordinary.

16 For answere vnto these things, first consider we that it is one thing when a Church is not yet setled, and another when the same is now ordained and planted. For when it is not as yet builded, and that men be ignorant of Christian religion, whosoeuer by chaunce and fortune shall be there, which knowe Christ, they are bound to set him forth, and to winne men vnto him. Neither must ordaining be expected when as it cannot be had. For then he which is heard and doeth preach Christ, hath, of his election, the secret voyces of them which doe come and consent. Nor is hee vncalled of God, seeing he is bound by commandement to doe that which he doeth, so that (as we haue said) he well vnderstand Christ and his religion. Which must be vnderstode; If he can in no wise attaine vnto them which should ordaine him. For if he maie haue accesse vnto anie which maie ordaine him after the vsuall maner by laying on of handes, he ought not to neglect that ordinance. But where the Church is now instituted (because all things by the admonition of the holy Ghost must be done in order) therefore erpresse and manifest voices of election and laying on of handes, are required for the auoiding of disorder and confusion of things. Besides these, we affirme that there is a certaine ordinarie function, and a certaine function extraordinarie. Elias, Elizeus, Esaie, Ieremie, and those kinde of Prophetes, were extraordinarilie sent of God. They neither were of the flocke of Leui nor yet Priestes; wherefore they should never haue bin put into the ministerie by the high Priestes: neuerthelesse they were sent from God when all things were corrupted and marred, and might not be restored by the ordinarie Ministers. And of these vocations God was sometimes author; by him selfe, as

The confederation is diuerse of the Church not yet planted, & when it is planted.

it

Exod.3. 20. 1.Kings.19 19.

it came to passe in Moses and in manie of the Prophets: sometimes they were called by man, as Elizeus was annointed by Elias. And we at this present deale not otherwise than by ordinarie function of the ministerie. For those things that be done extraordinarilie by God, we are to wonder at them, but not alwaies to followe them. For there be lawes prescribed vnto vs which we ought to obey. Lastly, we would haue it testified and and confirmed, that there is a certaine generall vocation which is common vnto all, and hath place in all those things whereof there be commaundements extant in the lawe of God. But there is another vocation priuate, whereby euerie one of the faithful is appointed to his owne proper degree, office, state, and function. For there is none founde in the Church of Christ, that is not placed in some particular calling.

A generall vocation and a priuate vocation.

Euery man in the Church hath some priuate function.

To the first. 1.Cor.16. 15.

17 These things being now determined, let vs confute their Argumentes. First as touching Stephana and his fellowes, we therefore saie that they ordained themselues, because they offered themselues to the holie ministerie of their owne accord, and chose to themselues this kinde of life, the which is both troublesome and laborious. And this exposition doeth Chrysostome followe. Neither doe we so vnderstande those things that be spoken, as though they despised the laying on of handes and the custome of right due ordering. For doe I doubt but that either Paul or Apollo did lawfullie ordaine these men, and admitted them vnto the holie ministerie.

To the second. 1.Pet.2.9. Exod.19.6

That which Peter saieth is true, that we by Christ are made both a kingdome and priesthood. And the same sentence we reade in Exodus vttered according to this sense vnto the Israelites: that God of his bountifulnesse promoted the Nation of the Iewes vnto excellent honours, that in their common weale they might haue kinglie honour and Priesthood, whereby their affaires both in Religion and ciuill state might be in good case. The verie which thing Christ hath bestowed vpon vs Christians, seeing we haue euen himselfe in the Church, to be both King and Priest. But hereof we must not conclude, that eche one priuate man, either then among the Hebrewes, or nowe among vs, might vse these functions at his owne pleasure: but it sufficeth that euerie one be partaker of those functions: because although these things be not exercised by all men, yet doe they profite all men. We might also vnderstand, that we are all spirituallie both kings and Priests. For they which be regenerated by Christ, doe as Priests offer vnto

In what maner we be all partakers of the kingdome and priesthood.

God prayers and giuing of thankes, Almes, mortification of the flesh, and other sacrifices of this kinde. They be also kings, because they are not subiected vnto naughtie affections, but doe raigne ouer them. Wherefore this place nothing at all serueth the Anabaptistes. Further we graunt, that the keies are giuen vnto the whole Church: but yet least a confusion should happen, it is meete that some should be chosen among all, which should vse the keies, the vse of which maie redound vnto all that beleeue in Christ. That there should be Rulers of the Church, Paul hath admonished more than once, and Christ hath not forbidden it: who when he gaue commandement that we should not be called Maisters and Rabbi, he repelled ambition, and would that none of vs should hunt after these things: but he forbad not that we should haue in honour and honorable count them whom the Lord hath set ouer vs: Nay rather Paul wrote vnto Timothie that he was appointed to be the Maister of the Gentils.

To the fourth. Iohn 20. 23.

Mat.16.19.

To the fifth. Rom.12.6. 1.Cor.12. Ephe.4.11.

Mat.23.8

18 As to bother lie correction, and houlholders which instruct their familie, and also of them which were restored vnto health by Christ, and finallie of Martyrs which confessed Christ before the tribunall seats of the Iudges, we thinke it must be answered all after one manner, because these things pertaine vnto the generall vocation which consisteth in the commaundements of God. For the Lord commanded, That we should correct our brother, that parents should instruct their familie, and that those which had receiued benefite should be of a thankefull minde vnto their benefactors, and that they should not suffer the benefites which they haue receiued of God to lie hidden, but should publish them, whereby the Author may be the more glorified. Moreouer we are commanded not onelie To beleeue, but also to confesse with the mouth. So as the Martyrs were bounde by duetie when they were examined by the Iudges, to confesse Christ openlie, otherwise they had denied him. As touching the holie women and other Prophets which exercised the ministerie without attending till they were called, those we saie had extraordinarie vocations, the Church either being as yet not planted, or else so fallen to decaie as it might not otherwise be repaired. And as concerning Paul, when he saith, that hee that propheseth ought to giue place if it shal be reueiled vnto an other, We haue spoken at large before, and nowe we briefelie answere, that then the giftes of the holie Ghost flourished by myracle, neither ought it

To the sixth. Rom.10. 10.

To the tenth. Iud.4.4. Exod.15. 20. 1.King. 22.14.

To the tenth. 1.Cor.14. 30.

it to haue bin extinguished or hindered, but rightlie ordered. But now the matter is otherwise. There is some one man which preacheth, and he commeth instructed and prepared to teach: Wherefore he must not rashlie be interrupted by others. Howbeit if there shall be anie among the number of the faithfull, to whom it maie seeme otherwise, and that hath better perceiued the matter, whereof the other intreated (if we will conforme the Church vnto the decree of the Apostle as much as our state wherein we haue no myracles wil suffer) hee that not bee despised, in respect that he is a laie man, or vnlearned, but ought to be had in conuenient maner, place, and time: For shall this be to attribute vnto him the publike function of the ministerie. Furthermore, that which they last of al affirme earnestly, that to iudge is more than to speake, is not true. For there be sewe that can speake verie well, of which talkers neuertheless there bee infinite that can iudge: especiallie as touching the principall and generall pointes of Religion. Again, we affirme not, that all which stand by can iudge aught of those things that be spoken, when as notwithstanding they do al iudge. Besides this, the iudgement is not pronounced according to the opinion of all but according to the which determin most soundly.

To the seuenth.

In 1.Cor. 12.verse 3. Whereas Paul would not teach how to chuse men to be ministers in the Church. 1.Tim.3.5 & 6. Rules to be obserued for whome we are to ordeine Timothie to be kept.

Math.18. Deut.6.7. Tit.1.

19 But the election of Paul and such other ought not to moue vs, but that in chusing the Ministers of the Church, we must followe the doctrine of the same Apostle taught vs in the Epistle vnto Tymothie, where he wil that those which bee nouices in religion should not bee chosen, but they which haue a good testimonie. But it must be considered that the rules discribed vnto Timothie, were giuen vnto men, from whō seeing other mens minds be hidden, and that they be vtterlie ignorant what is in them, it behoueth that they vse the cautions discribed by the Apostle, least they erre in their elections. But God rightly chuseth his with out those rules. For hee trieth the raines and the heartes, and chaungeth the wils of men at his owne pleasure. Albeit some haue saide, that Paul in Iudaisme was of verie honest conuersation, as hee himselfe testifieth vnto the Philippians, And in the latter Epistle to Timothie he writeth, that he had serued God from his forefathers with a pure conscience. But I hold not with these men. For I will not diminish his fault in persecuting of the Church, seeing Paul did so greatlie after a sort reproch himselfe with the same. Wherefore when I allowe of the solution nowe brought, this commeth to mind that the Canons which the Apostle deliuered vnto Timothie are not alwaies kept euen as touching men. For Ambrose the Bishop of Millaine, when he was yet a Nouice, and youngling in the faith, was placed in the Sea of the Church. For he was sent from the Emperour to execute the office of Prætor. There the aduersaries vaunt against vs, that it is lawfull sometimes to deale against the holie Scriptures, and that the words of God are not moll stedfast. But we must note, that the preceptes of God sometime haue not their owne strength, neither in verie deede be preceptes. For when two preceptes meete together, so as they crosse one another, whereof the one is more excellent than the other, God would haue that chiefly to be done: then that other which is of lesse excellencie, and as touching the will of God, inferiour, giueth place vnto the first and hath not the authozitie of a commaundement: because God would not haue it to bee done in that place and at that time. Euen as Christ taught as touching the drawing of an Oxe and an asse out of a pit on the Sabboth daie. By which meanes he excused his Disciples who had plucked off the eares of the corne on the Sabboth daie, and had rubbed out the graine. And he often times testified that hee would haue mercie and not sacrifice. The Church of Millaine thereforse was greatlie molested by the Arrians: it had neede of a Bishop, and speciallie of a teacher that should bee of great authoritie. These thinges were perceiued to bee in Ambrose. Neither was there anie other fit man presented. Whereby that Church was quit from the other preiudice which was of lesse excellencie, wherein it was commanded to beware of Nouices, or those which were not fullie instructed. And of this matter it seemeth to be enough to haue spoken somewhat by the waie.

Ambrose was chosen he being yet a Nouice.

The commaundements of God to haue sometime one giuerth place to an other.

Luk.14.5.

Matt.12.1.

Ibid, ver.7.

An examination of thinges of Ambrose.

20 Moreouer the rite of the olde consecration is set forth in the booke of Numbers. It behooued that the Leuite should change his garment and wash his bodie, and shaue all his haire. Further that he should come into the Tabernacle vnto Aaron, and by him to be consecrated before God the Lord. After the same maner also it behoued the Priestes to be consecrated, namelie that they should be put on newe garmentes, that they should be sprinkled with holie oyle and bloude. This outwarde meanes was to this purpose effectuall, that the people might vnderstand, that they were nowe ministers assigned vnto them by God. But these shadowes being taken awaie, there is nothing left vnto vs but the laying on of hands. But the Papists,

In 1.Sam.7 at the beginning.

The consecration of the Leuites & Priestes.

The laying on of handes

The confirmation and marke of the Sacrifice.

as I suppose to the intent they might bée of more solemnitie, haue transferred all those rites and Ceremonies of Moses vnto themselues. They are clipped, they are shauen, they are washed, they are annointed, they haue garmentes put on them: And I maruel not a little why they be not also circumcised. But they adde that these things of theirs are indued with much greater vertue than those rites of Moses: For that they imprint a marke which cannot be raced out: and that it consisteth not onely in the flesh, but that it pearceth also euen vnto the soule. Paul Gal.6.17. saith that he beareth the markes of the Lord vpon his bodie. But these good men would laie vp those thinges in their minde. For what they doe in their bodie, all men sée.

In 1.kin.19 The signe of outward vnction.

21 Moreouer oile in the olde time was an outwarde ceremonie appointed by God, and therefore it was not destitute of the worde of God. And it signified the gift of the holie Ghoste, whereby God instructed them whom hee woulde promote, either vnto ecclesiasticall or publike offices. Moreouer by that signe, they which were promoted, were aduertised of their duetie: Wherefore it was a sacrament, but not generall, because al the beléeuers in God were not annointed, but onelie the men of that order which we haue 1.Kings. 19.19. mentioned before. But some man will saie: we reade not that Elisa was annointed by Elias with outwarde oile, for as the holie Hystorie saith, he onelie cast his cloake vnto him. Neither was Azael consecrated by Elisa with 2.Kings.8. 11. outward vnction. Some answere yf indéede the same was vsed, although the holie scriptures make no mention thereof. Certeinlie manie things haue happened which the holie Hystorie otherwhile speaketh not of. But I woulde saie, that séeing it commeth to passe manie times in the Sacramentes, that outward signes take their name of the things:

The nature of sacraments in transferring of names.

as bread and wine in the holie Supper are called the bodie and bloude of Christ, because they be the signes and Sacraments of those John.6.51. things. In like manner the verie bodie of Christ, as we reade in the 6. Chapter of Iohn is called bread: that euen so Elias, although he had not the outward ointment, yet it may be saide, that he did annoint, because by his ministerie (God working the same) he bestowed the grace and free gifts of Prophesie, the which are signified by the outward vnction. The verie which forme of speaking Dauid Psal.105.15 vsed when in the Psalme vnder the person of God he said: Touch not mine annointed. And he spake of Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, whom he calleth annointed, whenas notwithstanding they had not the outward vnction. But so they be called, because they were replenished with the spirite and with graces, the which were signified by the oyle. Yea and our Sauiour Iesus himselfe is called Christ, that is annointed, because he hath had the grace of God, and that indéede beyonde the measure of other men. And Iohn in the first 1.Iohn.2.27 Epistle the 2. Chapter, speaketh of the ointment of Christians: And hée addeth: The ointment shall teach you all things. Further- What the worde of annointing signifieth. more we are to consider that the word of annointing is metaphorical, and signifieth the institution or promoting vnto the functions alreadie rehearsed. Wherefore it is said that Elias annointed Elisa, because hée instituted him a Prophet. And it is said that Azael was annointed by Elisa, because in the name of God he fore-shewed that hée shoulde be King, although he vsed not the outward annointing.

The oyle of S. Remigius. Two sorts of oyles in the Popish Religion.

22 But séeing we speake nowe of such annointings whereunto the worde of GOD was peculiarlie applied, I cannot marueil enough why the same haue béene translated vnto the Kings and Emperours of Christians. I knowe that some saie that the same thing is politicall, and therefore maie be retained. But they which thus auntwere, both are deceiued themselues and doe deceiue others. For it is counted for a religious ceremonie, and therefore it is done in the temple: and is exercised by no other, but by Bishops and Cardinals. Indéede I allow that Kings and Emperours shoulde bée consecrated openlie, by the voyces and acclamations of the people, and especiallie goblie prayers to bée vsed therein: but I doe not thinke that annointing should be called backe from the Iewish Ceremonies. And much lesse doe I commend that whereby the Priests and Bishops are annointed. And verilie the Church of Christ of long time was ignorant of these annointings as by a sure argument maie be confirmed by a certaine rescript or letter of the Romane Bishop in the decretals, in the title *De sacra unctione*. Innocentius the third answereth the Patriarch of Constantinople, and among other thinges saith that Brachanensis the Bishop came vnto him, whom hée perceiued not to bée annointed when he was created Bishop: and he addeth a cause, namelie that in your Regions Bishoppes were not accustomed to bée annointed. If then vntill that age this vnction was not vsed in Greece and in the East, the Church of Christ aboue the space of a thousande and two hundreth yeares was destitute of the same throughout those Regions. Which neuertheless the same Innocentius thought to bée so necessarie, as he caused the same Brachanensis

Whether vnction be rightlie transferred vnto Christian Princes. Luke part 4.p 17.Iac. 5.

What it signifieth by annointing of the Bysshops heads.

Psal.45.8.

There is mention had also long in the Christian Church.

The annointing of all other Christians.

nensis to bée annointed at Rome. But wée read not in anie place, that the first Christian Emperours were annointed. I read that Leo the first, successor vnto Martianus was crowned by the Patriarch of Constantinople; yet not that hée was annointed. Certeinlie he receiued not the Empire of the Patriarch, but by that rite confessed himselfe to belong vnto the Church, and to agrée vnto the sound and receiued doctrine. But at what time the annointing of Princes first began within the Christian dominion, I cannot for a certaintie perceiue, but I thinke it to bée a newe thing. I am not ignorant of the fable that is caried about of the holie oyle of Remigius, wherewith the kings of France are sacred: but thereof we must not take a firme & sure testimonie. But I returne to the decrée of Innocentius: according as he there teacheth, they obserue two sorts of oyle in Poperie. One they call the oyle of the Cathecumeni, & of the sicke: which is pure and mere oyle. Wherunto they put nothing but that which they commonlie call blessing. And this they cal the oyle of the Cathecumeni or of the sick. There is an other oyle which they cal Chrisma, and it consisteth of common oyle and of Balme: the which Balme being not had at this date otherwise than supposed and counterfeit, they are founde to lie and deceiue the simple people. With this oyle they annoint Bishops vppon the heade and handes. Of which rite hée rendereth a reason, namelie, that by annointing of the head they signifie the authoritie and honour of a Bishop: and by that which is done vppon the hands, they note the office and ministerie of a bishop. Further he addeth: After the comming of Iesus Christ, who was annointed aboue his fellowes, the annointing of a king was translated to the Arme or shoulder, but that in bishoppes the annointing of the head was still retained as though kings cannot resemble Christ so much as bishoppes doe. But, as they bée ambitious, they woulde haue Bishops to be preferred aboue Princes and magistrats: whereas the Scriptures testifie, Rom.13.1. that they be the Vicars of God. Yea and they vse their Chrisme oyle for the annointing of Bishops and not for Kings, whom they onelie annoint with their blessed oyle, because they will haue a great difference to be betwéen themselues and these. In the same rescript of Innocentius we read withall that all Christians are twise annointed: namelie, before baptisme they annoint with the oyle which they call blessed, the brest and the shoulders of the Infant that shall be baptised: but after baptisme is taken, they annoint the crowne of the heade and the forehead with ointment: Which thing is also done in Confirmation. They transferred also these their oyles vnto men at the point of death: then also vnto walles, altars and bels: in like maner vnto Challices and such other thinges: the which we perceiuing to procéede from a superstitious zeale, are to be disallowed being taken from the old Iudaisme. That same Innocentius excuseth the Church that in this doing they vse not the Iewish rites, because these things in the newe Testament doe signifie other things than in the old Testament: As who shoulde saie, it were in their power to ordaine Sacraments, and to make a certain newe signification of them. And these things haue I said by the waie as concerning vnctions.

The annointing of men readie to die, of walls & such like. Vnder what pretence Popish inuentions was brought into the Church

Of the authoritie or contempt of Ministers.

In 2.Kings 2.verse.23. How great a crime it is to contemne Prophesie.

23 But howe grieuous a thing it is to contemne Prophesie, and to deride the ministers of God, it maie be declared by manie Arguments. First of all two points of the lawe are violated, to wit, that, wherein it is saide: Honour thy father and thy mother, Exo.20.12. Luke 2. kin.2.ver.9. For the ministers of God are instéede of parents. For Paul saide, that hee was in trauell againe of the Galathians, and that he begate the Corinthians by the Gospell. An- Gal.4.15. other law is broken, wherby God commanded that honour should be done vnto Elders. 1.Cor.4.15 Leui.19.32 And Elizeus was not onelie an Elder, but he was also of that sort which laboured in the worde: And therefore according to the doctrine of the Apostle, They be worthie of dou- 1.Tim.5.17 ble honour. And Christ said vnto his Apostles, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that Luk.10.16. despiseth you, contemneth me. And the Lord answered vnto Samuel: They haue not con- 1.Sam.8.7. temned thee, but mee. Wherefore ministers are not to bée weighed of as they be in their owne nature, but God through them is to bée beholden, who speaketh and dealeth in them, and whose Embacie they execute. So that if their Lorde sée them to bée contemned and to haue iniurie done vnto them, hée is present and reuengeth their contumelies. He distroyed Core, Dathan and Abyrom, he re- Numb.16. uenged the false craftinesse of Ananias and 35. Saphira, neither did he suffer that they should Acts.5.5. mocke Peter. Againe, he punished Elimas & 9. the Sorcerer, who both hindered and scorned the Preaching of Paul. By reason wherof, séeing the children which did outrage against Elizeus grieuously sinned, it must bée no

marueil if they suffered due punishment. No doubt but they were instructed by the ill education of their parentes. And no marueil, seeing they were Idolaters. Whereby we maie perceiue, that the Parentes by the ill bringing vp of their Children doe procure death vnto them. Nor is there want of expositors which thinke that the children were prouoked by their Parentes to mocke the Prophets of God whom they hated. Furthermore it ihoulde be the part of the Magistrate, to take care that the ministers of the worde of God ihoulde not be afflicted with contumelies, which thing these men did not seeing they were straungers from sound religion. But Princes, when they had imbraced Christ, sinned on the other part: Nor to the intent that the Prelates of the Gospell might be had in estimation and honour, they bestowed principalities vppon them: They ordained Bishops to be Earles, Marqueles, Dukes, yea and Kings also. And by this meanes they plucked them awaie from ministring the worde of God, from studying of the holie Scriptures: and intangled them with the affaires of this worlde. Now they beeing adorned with wealth and temporall renowne, addicted themselues wholie vnto pride, riote, pleasures and voluptuousnesse. The childrens mocking was the reproche of baudines, which was no sinne, but onelie a light imperfection of the bodie. But the worde to hateth euermore the ministers of the trueth, as men haue bin accustomed for the most part to take exceptions euen to the smallest blemishes.

31 examples of children bitterly there destruction.

24 And as the children of Bethel railed at Elizeus, so at this daie the Papistical people doe mocke godlie men, and especiallie the ministers of the Gospell. But we maie not a little reioyce that euen as they coulde not reproue Elizeus of iust crimes and verie sinnes, but onelie they obiected baudinesse: euen so the Papistes are not able to laie anie grieuous sinnes to the charge of our Preachers which truelie bend themselues to their office, but onlie they obiect certaine matters of smal weight. I will not saie, that maie be laughed at. They saie that our Pastors haue not the laying on of hands: and thereof they indeuour to conclude, that they are not to be counted for iust gouernours of the Church, & that the congregations which be taught and ruled by them, be not true churches but conuenticles of Runnagates. And these things they speake, as though the laying on of handes were so necessarie, as without the same there can be no ministerie in the church.

Crimes layde against the preachers of the Gospell.

Leuit.8. 1. Whereas Moses not withstanding conferred Aaron his brother and his children, offering diuers kindes of sacrifices: vpon which men there was no handes laide before by anie. Also John Baptist brought in a newe Rite of Baptisme, and gaue the same vnto the Hebrewes, when neuertheless there was no handes laide on him, and he did minister baptisme, when he himselfe was not baptised by anie. Paul also being long called in his iourney by Christ, went not immediatelie vnto the Apostles that they might laie their handes vpon him, but taught thoughout Arabia by the space of three yeares, and ministred vnto the Churches before that hee went vnto his predecessors the Apostles, as it is testified in the Epistle to the Galathians. We despise not the laying on of hands, but we retaine the same in manie Churches: Which if we haue not of their Bishops, it must not be imputed a fault vnto vs; for they would not vouchsafe this vnto vs, vnlesse we should depart from sounde doctrine, and therewithall to binde our selues by othe vnto the Romane Antichrist. But we for conscience sake cannot submit our ministerie to the power of them, from whom wee further disagree than heauen from the earth. Further where as they saie that we want a iust succession, that is the smallest matter of all, seeing it ought to suffice that we haue most manifestlie succeeded that Apostolike doctrine which is truest and hath beene received of the godlie fathers in the best times. They also obiect against vs, that in the holie seruice we vse prophane garmentes, and after the common vse doe not put on grauer apparell. Wee in deede confesse, that we imitate Christ and his Apostles, who vsed not apparell differing from other men. We haue no garmentes wholie of silke, no hoodred or purple garments. What then? Are we not therefore the ministers of Christ? These things which they laie against vs, are no grieuous crimes or sins. But they raile against vs euen as did the Children of Bethel: they saie, Go vp thou bauld pate, goe vp thou bald pate. Howbeit euen as the baudinesse did not pollute the minde of Elizeus: so also these slender obiections hinder not our ministerie.

Mat.3.6.

Gal.1.17.

Iohn Baptist had no handes laide on him.

Paul.

Succession.

Apparell.

Of the office of Pastors.

25 But a meane must bee obserued, that neither we attribute to much or to little vnto Pastors, least that either they ihoulde grow to proude, and tyrannicallie oppresse the people, and by their preceptes, and inuentions obscure the commandementes of God: or else if they ihoulde be ouer much dejected, not onelie themselues ihould be contemned

1.Cor.4.

Pastors and teachers are to be honored.

temned, but also the worde of God and Sacraments ministred by them might lie neglected. They are appointed gouernours of Churches betweene Christ and the people. Pastors be the ministers of Christ and of his. They be ỳ ministers of Christ, because he vseth their labour: They are our ministers also, because as stewardes and dispolers of ỳ Lord, they distribute vnto vs those things which of him they haue receiued. Wherefore they ought to receiue those things which they set forth vnto vs from no other place than from the wordes of Christ and the holie Scripture. This did Moses: first he ascended vnto the mount, and there spake with God: and afterwarde when he was come downe vnto the people, hee shewed them what hee had heard of God. The like which thing Christ semed to doe: not as though this was necessarie for him, but because he might giue an example vnto ministers. In the night season hee gaue himselfe to praiers vppon the mount and was conuersant with his father: & declcding from them in the morning vnto the Temple, taught those things which hee had heard of his Father. And Paul wrote vnto Timothie, that he ihould attend vnto reading: not for anie other cause than for that he should draw out of the holie Scriptures those things which hee was to preach: and by that meanes saue both himselfe and also them which should heare him. And if they bee the ministers of Christ, they ought to submit themselues altogether vnto him, Not to beare dominion ouer the Cleargie or people of God: which thing Peter did expressie for. For they are shewed to be stewards and dispolers not ouerrulers or Tyrants. And Peter declared that they ought rather to bee patternes to the flocke, which is to be vnderstood as touching the soundnesse of doctrine and example of life. And when they beare themselues to be the ministers of Christ, let them consider that they doe not their owne worke, but the worke of the Lord. So that it behoueth that they shewe themselues to be more attentiue in those affaires than if they should deale in their owne.

Christ changed nothing of the ministers appointed vnto his Church, but rather confirmed them out of the Scriptures. Exo.19.3. The ceremonies of Moses for a time. Luk.21.37.

1.Tim.3. 16.

The office must be no Legacie or Tyranny but Stewardship. 1.Pet.5.3. 1.Cor.4.1. 1.Pet.5.3.

They bind not their owne inuentions but the Lords.

26 Furthermore they be called dispoſers of the mysteries of God. And a mysterie we distribute into the worde of God, and sacraments. Oeconomie for householde gouernment] as appeareth by Aristotles Politikes hath three societies: namelie of a husbande and Wife, of a Parent and children, of a Lorde and Seruants: Which degrees are also founde in the Church which is the householde of Christ. And whereas the gouernor of a house hath certaine instruments which be without soule and be voide of reason: as be fieldes, pastures vineyardes, beardes of cattel, and flockes, of the which it behoueth him to haue a care: he hath also instruments which both haue life and are capable of reason; of which kinde be seruants, in the instructing of whom (as the learned gouernours of households haue taught) a great deale of diligence must be bestowed. Crassus saide in Plutarch, that other things maie be gouerned by other men, but the master himselfe must take heede vnto the Seruaunts that they be righlie instructed: Wherefore Crassus himselfe would bee present when they ihoulde be taught. But our gouernours of householde, which be rulers of the familie of Christ, are to care for liuing instruments, to wit, the seruaunts of Christ, [which] not onelie be reasonable creatures, but are also citizens of the kingdome of heauen, being redeemed by the bloud of the Lord. So as it appertaineth to them to deale both verie warelie & diligentlie. And their actions maie thus be described. First come they which are to bee adopted toget her into the familie of Christ. Ye is the part of the gouernour of the household to chalise and instruct them in the faith. Further he baptiseth them which is the cognisance of the household. Afterwarde he instructeth them of their vocation, and teacheth that according to their state and degree, they ihould indeuour to be beneficiall to their brethren: And he commaundeth that they ihould do some certaine worke least they be idle. And because warres and temptations be imminēt, he ministreth armour: namelie, the word of God; and with the meate of the communion he confirmeth and strengtheneth them to the battell. Wherupon Cyprian in his first booke the second Epistle, iudged that vnto them which were fallen, and had repented them when as persecution was nowe at hand, the communion ihoulde be restored, that so they might be the stronger to make warre: And he saith: Howe can we thinke them meete for the cup of Martyrs, whom we shall not admit to drink the cup of the Lordes bloud? Also the ministers of Christ shall minister liuelihoode vnto them that be poore, of the Church goods and of the store of oblations which the faithfull doe giue. The Elders in times past had meere vnto the Temples manie Hospitals, where the poore were nourished, not vnto idelnes, but that they ihould serue to god & godlie occupations, & that if their strength would serue, They ihould labour with their hands, according to the doctrine of Paul.

Cyprian.

Ministers must keepe hospitalitie.

Hospitalls were the keepe meere the Temples.

1.Thes.4. 11.

27 The end of this houseuolde gouernment is appointed, that in them which be

The end of the Oeconomy of the Church.

long vnto the familie should be restored the Image of GOD welneere cleane defaced through sinne. For which cause the Apostle
Eph.4.22. wrote vnto the Ephesians, that they should laie awaie the olde man, which is corrupted according to the concupiscences, and should be renued in the spirit of the minde, putting on the new man, which is created according to God in righteousnesse and holines of truth.

Neither is it otherwise which is written to
Col.3.8. the Colossians: and the wise gouernour of
The wise gouernour will minister according to the capacitie of the hearers 1.Cor.3.2. a household will vse his indeuour that all things maie be ordered according to the receiuers capacitie: so as they which haue need of milke may haue it distributed vnto them, and they which shall haue neede of strong meate, he will set the same before them. Fi-
Why part is to exclude the vnpure liuers, and vpon repentance to receiue them againe. nallie, he will bee carefull that they which liue vnpurelie and naughtilie shall be excluded from his householde, and that if they repent themselues, he maie againe receiue the.
He must change nothing that the Lord hath commanded Leuit.10.1 Examples Numb.16. And all things that we haue spoken of hee will doe, not at his owne pleasure, but according to the will of the Lorde, who would haue nothing to be changed of those things that he hath prescribed. Nadab and Abiu which offered strange fire, were consumed by the same. Core, Dathan, & Abiron would otherwise haue done than was appointed by God: and they perished miserablie. And
2.Chron. 26.16. King Ozias who against ỹ law would administer the holie function, was taken with the
He must not hinder himselfe with other businesse. 2.Tim.2.4 leprosie. Hee also that entreth into this office must take heed ỹ he hinder not himselfe with other cares and businesse, as Paul saith vnto Timothie. No man being in the warfare of God troubleth himselfe with the businesse of this life. This function is of so great moment, as it requireth the whole man. Neither shall he doe a little that shall be able to
Aristotle. perfourme this as he ought to doe. Aristotle in his first booke of Politikes saith, that euerie
One instrument for one worke. one instrument is meete for one only worke: Wherefore it is not meete for the ministers of Christ to plaie the part of souldiers, huntsmen, Marchauntes, or Marriners. Further it is to be noted, that seeing they bee called the ministers of Christ, they ought in ante wise to be distinct from others. Which thing Iohn
John.1.26. Baptist verie wel distinguished when hee saide: My selfe baptise you with water, but hee standeth in the middest of you whom ye
There must be put a difference betweene Christ & his ministers. know not, hee shall baptise you with the spirite and fire. And Iohn the Euangelist wisely did put a difference betweene Christ and his
They must liue idelie. forerunner, when he saide: He was not the light, but that he might beare witnesse of the light. Neither is it the part of ministers to liue idelie: for they be hired to labour in the vineyarde, to the ende that they maie afterwarde haue their reward, which they should the oftener haue respect vnto seeing they exercise a worke, both troublesome to the flesh and full of labour. But in the meane time, while we liue here, there is no cause why they should become of a better estate than either ỹ Apostles or Christ himself had experience of in their ministerie. The Apostles were accõpted as ỹ offcourings of the world, Paul boasted that he was reuyled as a babler, and was reported of the Iewes to be vnworthie to liue, as though he were an offending and hainous offendour. And was not Christ derided in euerie place? there was no want of contumelies and reproches. They rose as gainst him with stones. They indeuored to cast him downe headlong from the mount. Oftentimes they would haue laide holde vpon him, whom at the last when they had taken, they crucified with great ignominie. The same lotte must they looke for: because it is enough for the scholer to be like his Master, and the seruant if he be as his Lord.

Mat.20.1.

They must not expect better to them than the Apostles had. 1.Cor.4.13 Act.17.18. Act.22.22. Matt.9.24. 34.Ibid. 12.2.9. Ibid.26 & 27 John.8.59. Luk.4.29. Mat.10.25

28 They be called the dispensers of the gifts of God, but not sacrificers or sacrificing Priestes: not that all kinde of sacrifices be taken awaie from them. For prayses and confessions (by the which the godnesse and mercie of God is declared) are an acceptable sacrifice of God. No lesse are prayers, confession of sinnes, offering of Almes, and repentance (by which the heart is made contrite and humble) and finallie the sacrifice of our owne bodies, which we offer vp vnto God as a liuelie and reasonable sacrifice: we denie not but that these things are done by the ministers of the Church. And last of all it is a sacrifice, whereby vnbeléeuing people are brought vnto Christ, as it is plainlie shewed in the xv. Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: in the which Euangelicall ministration the Ministers of Christ are most of all busied. But the fauourers of superstitions brag that they sacrifice the sonne of God, which is most absurde: because Christ offered vp himself, nor needed he another Priest. By one oblation did he finish and make perfect whatsoeuer was to be done for our redemption. For it behoueth alwaies that he which offereth, be either equall or more excellent than the thing that is offered: which we to imagine of our selues, being compared vnto Christ, is plaine sacrilege. Further howe can we offer the sonne of God, seeing he is perpetually in the sight of his father, where he is our

Luke past 9.51. They are not called Governours, but Sacrificing Priests. What be the Sacrificers of the ministerie of the Church. Rom.15.16

1.Iohn.2.1. our propitiation and our Aduocate: But if by sacrifice, they vnderstand thanksgiuing for his death, and because he would giue his bodie to be crucified & his blood to be shed for our saluation, such a sacrifice we will not denie to be offered to God in the Lordes Supper alwel by the Ministers of the Church, as also by all them that stand by. And happilie the Fathers after this manner vnderstoode this worde To Sacrifice, which in their writings they often vse: albeit I maie not commend their aduise, seeing thereof is growen an intollerable abuse. Neither must we forget that offerings were accustomed to be done by the faithfull when they approched to the Supper of the Lorde, as Cyprian most plainelie witnesseth. And of these oblations, there is mention made in the Collectes which are read after the Offertorie in the Masse. But of these things else where. Diuelie this warning we woulde giue, least it should be thought that they are called the Ministers of Christ, because in the Masse they sacrifice his bodie and blood vnto God the father.

What ỹ fathers meant by the word to Sacrifice. The fathers are not to be examined by ỹ writing of their wife. Cyprian.

29 As to the rest. It is required in Stewardes That euerie one be found faithfull:
1.Cor.4.2. Ministers must be found faithfull and wise. The Apostle requireth not the eloquence of the worlo, Nobilitie, Fauour, the power of kings, but a faithfull administration onelie. Vnto this Christ added, Wisedome: when he said in Matthew: A faithfull seruant and a wise whom the Lord hath set ouer his familie. Howbeit these two qualities be so ioined in themselues, as the one of necessitie followeth the other. Neither shall the seruant escape free, if he behaue himselfe otherwise than is prescribed vnto him, seeing in the Gospell we reade, that If the seruant when his Lord shall
Mat.24.45. delaie his comming, waxe cruell to his fellow seruantes, so as he striketh them and oppresse them with tyrannie, the Lord shall come at a time vnlooked for, and shall destroie and slaie him, and appoint his part with Hypocrites, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
Mat.13.25 Also of the wise and prudent householder, we haue heard that he bringeth out of his treasurie things both new and olde. Euen so he that maketh a banquet for the flock of Christ, setteth before them both the newe and olde Testament, that he maie daintilie and plentifullie feede them. The goodman of the house hath both newe fruites, and laieth vp also in store for manie yeares.

A gouerning of a house ought to be prudent and wise. Mat.24.45.

Ministers must weigh the circumstances. 30 And it verie much furthereth the wise and faithfull gouerning of the Lordes businesse, if the Minister haue always circumstances before his eyes. Let him first of all consider what himselfe is. He is not a priuate man. Wherefore let him set apart his owne proper affections. The Minister of Christ is a publike person, vnderby it is conuenient that in the Church he should doe the businesse of God with singular grauitie. Againe let him take heede what he hath taken in hand to deale in, namely the worde of God and Sacramentes of Christ, which to haue corrupted or falselie to haue taught is a grieuous sinne. And let him no lesse consider, who they be which are committed vnto him: for they be no vulgar men, but the sonnes of God, the sheepe of Christ redeemed by his blood. It behoueth also that he haue consideration of the time, and that he obserue the opportunitie of time, in which he iudgeth that he maie the more conuenientlie attaine his purpose. And although he ought to deale as the Apostle hath commanded in
2.Tim.4.2. season and out of season, yet neuertheless he must indeuour with great diligence, that he ouerslip not occasion. Also he must throughly weigh and consider with himselfe for what cause he hath entered into or doeth sustaine the charge which he hath, and beware that he serue not in the Church in respect of gaine: but rather follow that which Paul saide in the latter Epistle to the Corinthians, We
2.Cor.12. 14. seeke not the things which be yours, but you: for children must not laie vp treasure for their parentes, but the parentes for their children. Wherefore (saieth he) I will offer my selfe and will be offered for your soules. Ouer this, respect must be had vnto the maner and forme wherein he shall doe it, which maie not otherwise be taken in hand, than of this purpose, that profession should chiefelie be made for all those that come vnto his Church.

1.Cor.5.11 31 And those things which we haue now spoken as touching the worde of God, our meaning is that they should be vnderstoode in the same maner of the Sacraments. First concerning himselfe, let him repent for his sinnes without which this life is not ledde: and let him so refraine from those grosser sort of vices for the which the holie scripture commandeth That we should not once communicate in common bread, much lesse in the Sacramentes with such as shall be guiltie of these vices, least he should procure destruction to himselfe and offence to others. And let him weigh with himselfe the nature and dignitie of mysteries, least he should thinke that he giueth the Bread, Wine, or Water as bare elementes of the world. Neither let him delaie to search out and throughly to knowe them vnto whom he must distribute the Sacramentes: that if so be he shall perceiue them to be dogges, he maie remoue them

from him; but if they be godlie and such as feare God, let him inuite them and persuade them thereunto. As touching the time also, let him take such order as hee suffer not his flocke to want their fode of the Communion during the whole yere: as though it were lawfull for them to communicate at Easter onelie: And let him take hede that he be not constrained to the administration of the sacraments either of a custome, or that he doe it not onelie for auoiding of accusation, or for filthie luker sake. And finallie let him retaine and keepe the forme which hee knoweth to be taught him by the Lorde out of the Scriptures. Which is not obserued by them,
1.Cor.11. 24. who, whereas Christ hath instituted, that we should take, eate and drinke, they haue bin more diligent to hang vp the bread consecrate by them; to set it forth to be worshipped, to prostitute the same to an infinite number of superstitions. Christ instituted a common supper: but they with their liftings vp, and bearings about, make a thewe of the
Math.26. 27. same, worthie to be laughed at. Christ said of the Cup, Take and drinke you all thereof: but they drinke the laitie from the Cup. Christ
1.Cor.11. 24. said: This doe: but they besides haue added manie things which doe make to superstition. So as they neither faithfullie nor yet wiselie administer the holie Sacraments.

How great is the hoopenome they were from the faithfull ministerie.

32 If at this daie vnder the kingdome of Antichrist, some godlie man should come vnto a sacrificing Priest, and saie vnto him: I pray the saie a Masse for me, but so as I may plainelie vnderstand the confession of sinnes and absolution: Expound vnto me the praises of God which thou hast at the entrance of the Masse, and the Himme, and *Gloria in excelsis*, in such sort as I maie togither with thee both magnifie God & giue him thankes: neither hide thou from me the meaning of thy prayers, so that I maie answere Amen. Teach me the Epistle and the Gospell, that thereby I maie learne wholesome doctrine and admonition of thee: let vs pronounce together the Creede of the Catholike faith: and when thou commest to the blessing or consecration of the mysteries, put me not backe, for because those words doe also pertaine vnto me, and euen in the breaking of the bread, and drinking of the Cup, communicate thou with me, that finallie we may giue thankes togither vnto our God: and for as much as thou hast no want neither of wealth nor fode, all this as thou hast frælie receiued; so bestowe thou frælie vpon me. He that shall craue these and the like things of a Masling Priest, I beseech you after what sort shall he be intertained of him? He shall be excluded with taunts of Lutheranisme, and shall be vncourteouslie railed vpon with the reproche of heresie. But let there come in like maner another man, which woulde saie: Go to, I must hunt to daie, but because this being the Lordes daie, I will not be without the Sacrament, take this money to thee, and now betimes in the morning say Masse for mee, and dispatch thou forthwith and with all spæde: beleeue me there will be no delaie made by the Masling Priest. Doest thou thinke, that this is to doe the faithfull part of a Minister in such sort as the Apostle hath now commanded? I thinke not. On the otherside beare what example of faithfulnesse the Ministers of our time haue.

Some one of them hath thæe or foure Parishes, and is not able to take the charge of all, yea rather he will not dwell at one of them, but be absent the greater part of the yere as long as he can from them all. In the meane time if a man reprooue him, he saieth, that he hath appointed another there in his place. But this so faithfull a Minister considereth not that Christ, when he was by his comming and death to redeeme mankinde, did send none in his place, nor substitute an other vnto the Crosse in his stead. He himselfe came, he himselfe labored, he himselfe died for vs. Right we haue God, and cannot haue his vicars to attend vpon the office committed vnto them? They saie it is lawfull for them, so that they liue within any vniuersitie or Schoole, whereby they maie procure vnto themselues good arts and learning. But Christ when he saide vnto Peter, Feede my sheepe, excepted no such thing. But and if they shall not bee as yet meete and sufficientlie learned, they ought not to take the charge of a parish in the Church. Perhappes they thinke it sufficient for them if they haue the vocation, title, and possession. But this is to plaie making and counterfeit parts. For it behoueth, as the Apostle teacheth that the Rulers of Churches should both minister faithfully and faithfully dispence the mysteries of God, that is, the sacraments.

33 There be thæe things then required vnto the lawfull minister of a Church. The first is, that the Pastor should be instructed: secondlie, that he should fæde in verie dæde: last of all, that he should doe it faithfullie and with great discretion. I speake not of the sinceritie of life (which is required to be more than ordinarie) both because it ought to be common vnto all Christians, and also that all men vnderstand how necessarie it is. I passe ouer also of how small faithfulnesse they be of, which bide the gifts that God

hath bestowed vpon them, and will not communicate them with others: for because these men are sufficientlie condemned in the
Mat.25.24 parable of Christ vnder the person of that seruant which buried in the ground the Talent that was committed vnto him. Neither doeth he lesse vnfaithfullie deale, who hath made the graces which he hath obtained of God so proper vnto himselfe, as he ascribeth them not vnto God: and he that is such a
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Ioh.10.11. faith also it belongeth that A good Pastor euen as Christ did, should giue his life for his sheepe, which in perill must not be forsaken, vnlesse perhaps the persecution shall be of a particular Pastor: for which cause it was lawfull for Athanasius to flie because of the cruelties of the wicked prince, for so much as in the Church of Alexandria there were verie manie which coulde minister in his place.
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Christ is euer with his ministers, & re-mayneth there amongst them. actions, Christ forsaketh not good Pastors, he defendeth them, & oftentimes reuengeth for their sakes with great seueritie. We
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Of the Efficacie of the Ministerie.

34 And first of all whereas the Corinthians are by Paul reproued because they made men their Authors, let the faithfull Ministers of Christ learne not to make disciples or followers vnto themselues but vnto Christ, vnto whom onlie þ Church doth belong. This did the Ethnicke Philosophers seeke: namelie, to distinguish the scholers which they had by their owne names: so that some were called Platonians, others Pythagorians, others Epicureans. But Socrates seemed more modest than the rest, because he made not himselfe Author or the doctrine that he taught: as he that affirmed himselfe to be like a midwife, which should bring helpe vnto parents: so he thought god to be present at his questions among young men, to the intent he might bring to light the sciences which they had in their minde. Such rather doeth this take place in Christs affaires. For although that a man teach cunninglie, vnlesse that the holie Ghost doe inwardlie stirre vp the hearers, he loseth his labour. It is the spirit which truelie maketh the mindes fruitfull. Whereforze it is saide there: Who is Paul, and who is Apollo? Iohn Baptist verie well declared this, when being demanded of himselfe what he was, said that he was not Christ, nor Elias, nor yet a Prophet, but onelie, A voice of a crier in the wilderneste, prepare the waie of the Lord. The ministers of God haue verie ample giftes, which like faithfull seruantes, they ought to vse to the commoditie of other seruants. and to þ glorie of their Lord: neither must they bend them either vnto gaine or vnto preferments.

1.Cor.12. 3, verse. 4. In 1.Cor. 3. verse. 4.

The arrogance of Sophysters. The modestie of Socrates.

Ioh.1.26. 27. Iohn.1. 20.

35 And although Paul fæme after a sorte to abase the ministerie, yet if thou diligentlie obserue what he saieth, thou wilt conclude that there is nothing taken from the worthinesse thereof. For in dæde he leaueth vnto it a notable commendation, when he saith, that they be Ministers, by whom they beleeued. Faith, Remission of sinnes, reconciliation with God, and the right of eternall life are knit together: of which things they be called ministers which haue the gouernment of the Church. If that they be appointed as Organs and Instruments of our faith, who will not haue them in honour and estimati-

The worthinesse of þ ministerie. 1.Cor.3.5

on?

from him; but if they be godlie and such as feare God, let him inuite them and persuade them thereunto. As touching the time also, let him take such order as hee suffer not his flocke to want their fode of the Communion during the whole yeere: as though it were lawfull for them to communicate at Easter onelie: And let him take heede that he be not constrained to the administration of the sacraments either of a custome, or that he doe it not onelie for auoiding of accusation, or for filthie lukre sake. And finallie let him retaine and keepe the forme which hee knoweth to be taught him by the Lorde out of the Scriptures. Which is not obserued by them.

1.Cor.11.24. who, whereas Christ hath instituted, that we should take, eate and drinke, they haue bin more diligent to hang vp the bread consecrate by them; to set it forth to be worshipped, to prostitute the same to an infinite number of superstitions. Christ instituted a common supper: but they with their liftings vp, and bearings about, make a shewe of the same, worthie to be laughed at. Christ said of

Math.26.27. the Cup, Take and drinke you all thereof: but they driue the laitie from the Cup. Christ

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John.21. 15.

1.Cor.4.1.

Chapters or questions of lawfull calling of the Church.

33 There be three things then required vnto the lawfull minister of a Church. The first is, that the Pastor should be iustlie called: secondlie, that he should fæde in verie deede: last of all, that he should doe it faithfullie and with great discretion. I speake not of the sinceritie of life (which is required to be more than ordinarie) both because it ought to be common vnto all Christians, and also that all men vnderstand how necessarie it is. I passe ouer also of how small faithfulnesse they be of, which hide the gifts that God hath bestowed vpon them, and will not communicate them with others: for because these men are sufficientlie condemned in the

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Of the Efficacie of the Ministerie.

In 1.Cor. 3. verse. 4.

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The miserable estate of Idolatrous Churches. The moderation of God created.

1.Cor.3. An example of John Baptist.

John.1. 20.

35 And although Paul came after a sort to abase the ministerie, yet if thou diligentlie obserue what he saieth, thou wilt confesse that there is nothing taken from the worthinesse thereof. For in deede he leaueth vnto it a notable commendation, when he faith, that they be Ministers, by whom they beleeued. Faith, Remission of sinnes, reconciliation with God, and the right of eternall life are knit together: of which things they be called ministers which haue the gouernment of the Church. If that they be appointed as Organs and Instruments of our faith, who will not haue them in honour and estimation?

The worthines of the ministerie. 1.Cor.3.5

The Anabaptistes.

on: The Anabaptistes reiect and despise Ministers, therefore hitherto they haue had no true Church. For it cannot continue, neither can the diuine worshipping be openlie retained, if so be that consideration of ministers be not had. Neuerthelesse take thou heede that neither thou attribute ouer much vnto them, nor yet put ouer much trust in them. For it is written: Cursed is he that trusteth in man, and that maketh flesh his arme. For (as Ambrose writeth) they doe notable contumelie vnto God, which giue vnto them being but creatures, the honours due vnto God: which litle differeth from the wickednesse of the Gentiles, whereby they gaue diuine honours vnto things created.

We must take heede that we attribute not too much vnto ministers. Iere 17.5. Ambrose.

The verie which thing must be taken heede of, that it be not done towardes the Saints, whom we rob of their owne god reputation, while we adorne them with diuine Titles. For then when as we with our ornaments and dignities cannot make them equall vnto God, we depriue them as much as lieth in vs, of the ministerie of God which is most agreeable to their nature. How shall we excuse them who commonlie call the blessed Virgin the mother of mercie, which is proper vnto God, who in the holie scriptures is called The father of mercie? And they name her to be their life, whereas Christ vnto the Colossians is called Our life: and he himself said of himselfe: I am the waie, the trueth, and the life. Also in that song the is called our Swetenesse, as though in her were laid vp the consolation of the godlie. Yowbeit God is the father of our consolation and comfort. Finallie they call her their hope, as if they woulde put hope in a creature. Shewe vnto vs (say they) Iesus Christ thy sonne. But this pertaineth onelie vnto the father, according as it is written, None commeth vnto me vnlesse the father drawe him. Much doubtlesse is attributed vnto ministers, when they be accounted the ministers and seruants of God. For euen Christ himselfe as touching men, tooke vpon him this name of a Minister. Vnto the Romans we reade: I saie that Iesus Christ was a Minister of the circumcision. Also in the Epistle to the Romans, a Magistrate is called the Minister of God. Wherefore we must not passe ouer that Magistrats and Prelates of the Church are defined much in like sort: I woulde to God their mindes were alwell united as their offices and charge doe in a maner concerne one another. In the Epistle to the Hebrewes a high Priest is defined, that he is taken from among men, and for men is appointed in those things which pertaine vnto God, that he maie offer

Certaine titles giuen to our Lady reproued.

1.Cor.1.3.

Col.3.3.

Iohn.14.6.

2.Cor.1.3.

Iohn.6.44.

Rom.15.8.

Rom.13.4. Magistrates and rulers of the Church haue their functions termed together.

Heb.5.1. The definition of a high Priest taken out of the Epistle to the Hebrewes.

giftes and sacrifices for sinnes. And if thou wilt define a Magistrate, thou shalt perceiue how neere he commeth vnto the nature of a high Priest. He also is taken from among men, and for men is ordained vnto those things which pertaine vnto ciuill god, that is to saie, that we maie liue vnder them a peaceable and quiet life vnto godlinesse and temperance: as is gathered out of the Epistle vnto Timothie. Then seeing the Magistrate also is accounted the minister of God, we owe great honour vnto him: but yet so, as we attribute not those things which be of God vnto him: and that when he shal command those things which be against God, let him not be hearkened vnto.

The definition of a magistrate.

1.Tim.2.1

36 But to returne vnto Paul: In the first to the Corinthians the 3. Chapter, in the two wordes of planting and watring he compreh endeth all the workes of husband men. God giueth the increase so as that which hath bin planted and watred maie liue. And that vnder the name of increasing, he meaneth life, hereof I suppose it maie be gathered, seeing plants haue no life, except that, which they commonlie call Vegetatiue, bicause they be moued vnto nourishments whereby commeth greater increasings. For although they seeme to change place, or to varie in qualities, all these things happen vnto them bicause they receiue increase or nourishment. The similitude of the Apostle doth verie well concurre. Bicause although the husbandmen doe diligently imploie their labour, yet the increase is to be expected from heauen. But and if so be it shall not come to passe after their mind, they haue lost their labour. Albeit we must ascribe the whole matter not vnto heauen, but rather vnto God himself. He it is that maketh his sunne to rise both vpon the good and bad: and raineth vpon the iust & vniust. And that he doth rule and moderate these things after his owne pleasure, it appeareth out of Leuiticus: where he threateneth the Israelits when they grieuouslie sinned, that he would giue them a heauen of Iron and an earth of brasse. In like manner we reade in Deuteronomie: where he addeth also a promise, that if they shall abide in his commandements, he woulde open his treasures vnto them, giuing raine in due season. Whereforo that the Metaphor of the Apostle is most profitable, thereby it is declared in that he not onlie teacheth the thing which he hath in hand, but also with fruite expoundeth that nature from whence it is deriued. For it is no lesse profitable to knowe that the successes of humane labours in all arts and enterpriles, and in like maner in the increase

1.Cor.3.6. Allusion.

The increase is the effect of the holie Ghost, and cannot be expected from men.

Mat.5.45.

Leui.26.19

Deut.8.18

The vnprofitablenesse of ministers and preachers without the working power of the holie Ghost.

of naturall things, must be expected to come from God, than so to vnderstand that by the ministerie of the Church nothing is brought to passe, but so much as the power and goodnesse of God shall further. Therefore in the

Act.16.14. Actes of the Apostles the 16. Chapter, we reade that the woman which solde Purple heard the Apostolike doctrine, whose heart the Lord opened, that she might vnderstande those things which were spoken by Paul. Apollo, of whom there is mention there, succeeded Paul in the Church of the Corinthians: therefore he is saide to water those things which Paul had planted. The word of planting answereth vnto milke, but the worde of watering answereth vnto stronger meate. Albeit Ambrose vnderstandeth planting to be the first doctrine of the Apostle, & watering to be Baptisme: perhaps alluding vnto this, bicause it is ministred by water. Finallie the increase that is said to come he referreth vnto the holie Ghost. Yowbeit the first interpretation is the more plaine.

Either the same men or els calling in one of equall gifts.

Ambrose.

Apollo succeeded Paul in the Church of Corinth.

37 And how strange of themselues the husband men of Churches be from these labours, it is sufficientlie declared in the Gospell: where those which be negligent to labour in the vineyard, are thrust forth by the goodman of the house. Neither is it to be doubted, but that Moses, Ieremie, and Ionas, withstanding after a sort, were drawen vnto it. Which thing we maie beleeue hath happened vnto manie others, seeing that in this vocation, labours onelie, grieuous dangers, hatred and persecutions are to be expected, the which things our flesh doeth marueilouslie abhorre. Plato and Plato in his first booke of a common weale saieth, that men were wont to be inuited to take offices vpon them, partlie with money, partlie with honours, and partlie with punishments. But they which be honest are not moued for money sake, seeing they are not infected with couetousnesse. And the same men are not led for honours sake, because they be not ambitious. Onelie they maie be allured through punishment, least they being called to the gouernment of the common weale and would not come, they themselues also together with others should be subiected to the gouernment of wicked men, who woulde intrude themselues into the offices: & the common weale falling to ruine, neither might they themselues be safe. So also must a Christian man doe that shall perceiue himselfe to be furnished by God with giftes profitable for the Church. When he shall be called to the gouernment or ministerie thereof, let him beware that he obstinatlie refuse not the charge

Nam.11.6.

Exod.3.10. Ierem.1.6. Ionas.1.3.

Plato saith that the nature of men is moued to take offices.

that is laid vpon him. In deede it is lawfull for him to giue vnto that Church a testimonie of his weakenesse, and to admonish them to seeke for one that thoulde be more fit: but he ought not to contend with an obstinate minde, least afterward by the secret iudgement of God, he together with the whole Church be committed to the pernitious gouernment and charge of naughtie rulers which shall thrust in themselues. But at this daie there is no daunger imminent on this behalfe, seeing we see that benefices and dignities Ecclesiasticall are procured with great ambition: which therefore commeth to passe because these ambitious men doe not laie before their eies the worke which they doe in the Church, but the riches and honours which they abuse at their pleasure. Thereof it is gathered by Plato, that if the Common weale consisted of good men, the strife and contention would no lesse be betweene the Citizens for the not taking of offices, than now the labour is to obtaine them.

The ministerie must not be obstinately refused.

38 But Paul teacheth that it is God that giueth the increase: and certainelie it behoueth that God doe prosper the worke. Yet neuertheless ye ministers haue their workes also which should not be contemned of any man, seeing by those God worketh in vs the things which belong vnto saluation. He could easilie by himselfe without his ministers haue wrought the verie same things: which he would not doe, to the intent that a greater coniunction might happen among the faithfull. So as those wordes which Paul addeth: I haue planted, &c. are not saide as though the Ministers without God either plant or water: But these two things are attributed vnto them, because in these things they be workers together with God, and haue their parts. To quicken, is saide to come of God, because he doeth that onelie by himselfe. And if perhaps it shall come to thy minde that the holie Ghost is also giuen through godlie Sermons, (For while Peter yet spake, the holie Ghost fell vpon them: and the same seemeth to be giuen at the laying on of handes: for when the Apostles had laide their hands vpon certaine persons, the holie Ghost came downe vpon them) giue eare vnto Ambrose, who saieth, that this comes not alwaies to passe. For because neither were handes put vpon Paul: neither did he heare the preaching of man, when he was conuerted vnto Christ by the waie: neither doe all they which heare the holie doctrine, nor they vpon whomsoeuer handes are laide, receiue the holie Ghost, which in anie wise should be if these were the true and proper causes why

Why God would not gouerne his Church without ministers.

Act.10.44.

Acts.8.17.

Ambrose.

The impositions of hands, and workes of the ministerie, be not the perfect and whole cause that the holy Ghost is giuen.

the

Sometime the Scripture attributeth to the ministers that which belongeth to God.

the spirit thould be giuen. Howbeit we muſt vnderſtand, that the holie Scripture doeth ſometimes attribute vnto Miniſters thoſe things which pertaine vnto God. As when Paul ſaith, I haue begotten you through the Goſpell: As alſo, I am againe in trauell of you. And the ſame Apoſtle wrote vnto Timothie: And thou ſhalt ſaue thy ſelfe and thoſe that heare thee. And Peter in maruailous wiſe ioined the holie miniſterie with God; who ſaid vnto Ananias: How hath the Diuell tempted thee, that thou ſhouldeſt lie vnto the holie Ghoſt? for thou haſt not lied vnto men but vnto God. Yea and Chriſt himſelfe ſaide, Whoſe ſinnes ye ſhall looſe they are looſed, and whoſe ſinnes ye retaine they are retained.

1.Cor.4.15
Gal.4.19.
Acts.5.3.
Mat.16.19.

39 Vnto all theſe things on this wiſe confirme thy ſelfe. The miniſters of the Church, if thou accept them as they be of themſelues, vndoubtedlie they can doe none of all theſe things. They are onelie meanes and inſtruments the which God vſeth, and is preſent with while he planteth and watereth. And ſo muſt it be vnderſtoode which the Apoſtle addeth in that place: Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God which giueth the increaſe. But if thou conſider them as they be ioyned vnto God, and as he is of efficacie in them; and as the action of the holie Ghoſt is coupled with the action of the Miniſters, ſo that after ſome ſort one is made of thoſe two, that which belongeth vnto the one part is by the figure Synecdoche attributed vnto another. And after this manner the miniſters of the Church are ſaid to worke thoſe things which we haue declared. And that which we haue ſet downe touching the Miniſters, muſt alſo be iudged of the Sacraments: for if thou wilt regard them as ſimple and bare figures, thou ſhalt verie much erre if thou aſcribe either the forgiuenеſſe of ſinnes or thy ſaluation vnto them. But if in thy minde thou referre theſe things vnto that which they ſignifie, and the ſame imbrace by faith as thou oughteſt to doe, aſſuredlie thou ſhalt drawe from thence both ſaluation and remiſſion of ſinnes, and thou ſhalt receiue and reuerence them as excellent giftes of God. Wherefore let Miniſters take heede that they continually pray vnto God, and beſeech him that his miniſterie through the holie Ghoſt, maie be of efficacie towards them which be committed vnto their truſt, and let them to their power applie themſelues vnto God, that they maie be his apt and meete inſtruments. Nor let them ambitiouſlie goe about to wyeld great honours of the people. Chriſt ſo humbled himſelf, that when he was in the forme of God toke vpon him the forme of a ſeruant: and he acknowledging the weakenes of humane nature ſaid, The father is greater than I. Of that daie and houre none knoweth, neither the Angels, nor the ſonne himſelfe. Peter forbad the Centurion that he ſhoulde worſhip him. The ſame did Paul and Barnabas when the Ethnickes were minded to doe diuine honour vnto them. Yea and the Angel (as it is in the Apocalips) forbad that he ſhould not worſhip him. At this daie the Pope is moſt ſhamefullie abuzed of all men. And howe the worlde doteth vpon the Miniſters of the Church, hereby it is eaſilie gathered, that it hath beſtowed ſuch honors vpon them as God hath not required to be giuen them. I meane Kingdomes, Dukedomes, Earldomes, Parſonſhippes, and other ſuch like, which was no hard matter to giue when Monarchies abounded in them more than enough. But on the other ſide is denied them the obedience and ſubiection due vnto them by the will of God, to wit, that place ſhould be giuen vnto Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and to be obeyed when they commande vs out of the worde of God to reforme our life, to repent and to auoide them whom the church hath pronounced excommunicate, and whatſoeuer things elſe be of this ſort. But becauſe in theſe things the alteration of life and ſincere holineſſe is furthered, thediuell prouideth with great care and diligence that with deafe eares they maie be heard: whereby it falleth out that al goeth to wracke because the Prelates of Churches are come to that paſſe, that not being content to haue immoderate riches & principalities, do altogether buſie themſelues in the affaires of this worlde, neglecting the charge which they haue to feede the people of God. And the people in like manner, thinke, that they haue very well performed their dutie, if they heape vp vppon their Paſtors the gods of this worlde, being nothing carefull in the meane time to be nourished with doctrine and the worde of God. The ſentence of the Apoſtle when he ſaith, that Neither he that planteth, neither hee that watereth is anie thing, maie be vnderſtoode by Hyperbole or exceſſiue ſpeech, namelie that they are ſaide to be nothing, if they be compared vnto the diuine Action.

The miniſters muſt be conſidered of two maner of wayes. 1.Cor.3.3.
That which we haue ſpoken as touching the miniſters is alſo to be vnderſtoode of the ſacraments.
Phil.2
Ioh.14.28.
Act.14.14.
Apo.19.10
The Pope abuſed of all men.
The worlde giueth vnto miniſters that they ought not, and denieth vnto them that which it ought to giue them.

40 But becauſe all the Paſtors of the Church do ſerue one and the ſelfe ſame high God, and do appoint vnto themſelues one & the ſame end, they are al meanes and inſtruments of God for the ſaluation of men. Which they haue in common with all the creatures: for

1.Sam.1.3. Ibid.15.2. Eſa.1.24. and in very many places beſides.

The diuiſion of miniſters & degrees of miniſters are not ſeuered from the Church.

Yet more of the diuiſion of miniſters.

Of them that vnworthily vſurped paſtors.

for the which in the ſcriptures God is called The God of Hoſtes, for that all things doe no leſſe ſerue God, than ſoldiers doe their Captaine. Which compariſon in verie deede Ariſtotle made mention of in his Metaphyſickes. Wherefore as touching thoſe things, the miniſters of the Church are among them ſelues all one: and yet would not Paul therefore take awaie from the Church the degrees of miniſters. For in better place is hee which preacheth the Goſpell, than he which baptiſeth: And in the Church we haue knowen ſome to be Paſtors, ſome Teachers, ſome Prophets, &c. They be all one alſo becauſe they ſerue one an other, becauſe they all conſent in one thing euen as inferiour artes are ioyned with that which is called Architecture. Further they be one becauſe albeit the greater be preferred before the leſſer, that is not done either in neglecting or contemning of the leſſer. They be one alſo, becauſe of the ſelues they haue no other thing as touching the office wherein they be conuerſaunt, but ſo much as God hath diſtributed vnto them. So that in this they be equal, that whatſoeuer they haue, that haue they receiued of him: neither haue the things which they vſe in their miniſterie proceeded of nature. And as a liuing creature is ſaide to bee one becauſe the members thereof being diuers are knit together, and are ſtirred vp in their actions, & quickened with one life wherewith they are formed: euen ſo the miniſters of the Church are by the bondes of charitie knit together with the other members of Chriſt, and they alſo are drawen with the ſame ſpirite wherewith the whole Church is moued; that they might further the commoditie of the ſheep of Chriſt. One of the miniſters indeede is holier than an other, that is nothing to thee, marke then the doctrine, and take thou heede that they be not defiled with thoſe moſt groſſe vices, for the which Paule commaundeth that we ſhould not ſo much as eate with them. Neither perſuade thou with thy ſelfe, that their infirmitie or blemiſhe of vices can hurt thoſe things that are holie. Hierom againſt Iouinian hath two proper ſimilitudes, by the which he erecteth God that giueth a foule vnto the children begotten in adulterie. For (ſaith he) if coyne be ſtolne awaie, the ſinne remaineth not in the ſame, but in him that ſolweth it. And therefore the ſeed ſowen ſpringeth, neither doeth an other mans ſinne hinder it. Furthermore if the hande of him that ſoweth ſhall be defiled and polluted, the ſeede is not therefore ſo infected, as it cannot growe: Euen ſo holie things cannot be corrupted with the ſinne of them that miniſter. And Auguſtine in an Epiſtle to Hierom; Auguſtine. The coyne that is to be purged in the Lordes floore is beate by the ſtalke: & although the huſkes be vnprofitable, yet they doe the Wheat good: euen ſo the vices of the miniſters doe not ſo hurt the beleeuers in Chriſt, that the Sacraments diſtributed by them, & the worde miniſtred by them ſhoulde become of no force.

The Stalkes and huſkes are profita-ble.

The mightie ſimpleneſſe of the Miniſterie.

41 And whereas Paul teacheth that our faith is not of the wiſedome of men, but of the power of God, this doeth chiefelie commend our faith, whoſe roote is not in the earth but in heauen. Whereby thou maiſt gather for perſwading vnto faith, that there is no neede of thoſe things which agree with humane iudgement, our ſenſe and reaſon: whereas rather the things which men iudge likelie to be true are not without ſuſpicion. The faith of Chriſt is not to bee taught by mans wiſedome. This is verie greatlie againſt them which will therefore confirme humane traditions and rites inuented by men, becauſe our wiſedome liketh well of them. Which the Apoſtle hath manifeſtlie reproued in his Epiſtle to the Coloſſians, when he ſaith: According to the doctrines & traditions of me, which verilie in words haue a ſhew of wiſedome, ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ that is, in a will worſhipping & that is inuented of men, the nature whereof he expoundeth a little after as touching the mind vnder the name of ταπεινοφροσύνης. Often times they ſpeak of their inuentions, that they make the mind humble and lowlie, and for this cauſe they commend their clothing and apparell. He alſo addeth, The not ſparing of the bodie, not in any honour to the ſatisfying of the fleſh. Hitherto belonged the choiſe of meats, the ſleeping vppon the ground, and vnpriſtable conſuming of a mans ſelfe vnder a ſhew of the worſhipping of God: in ſuch ſort as neither is honour done vnto the bodie, neither yet is the fleſh nourished as it ought to be. The Apoſtle confeſſeth in theſe words that there is a ſhewe of wiſedome: wherein neuertheles our faith muſt not reſt, although they ſeeme things goodly and godlie: It cleaueth faſt to the onelie foundation of the worde of God. For as it is vnto the Romanes: Faith commeth of hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But and if ſo be that our faith ſhould cleaue vnto mans wiſedome, it might eaſilie be diſſolued, ſeeing

In 1.Cor.2. verſe 5.
The roote of our faith is not vpon the earth but in heauen.
That our faith muſt not reſt vpon humane wiſedome, and why.
Rom.10.17

that godlie things, profitable things, and true things are not euermore accounted all one. And it maie oftentimes come to passe that the things which dio please be cast awaie. Wherefore not without a cause dio Christ say vnto Peter: Blessed art thou Simon Mat.16.17 the sonne of Iona, because flesh and bloud hath not reueiled vnto thee, but the spirite of the father which is in heauen. And this constancie and stedfastnesse of faith (as Chrysostome saith in his seconde Homelie vppon Matthewe) is that rocke, vppon the which Christ builded his Church. But if that mans wisedome cannot be the cause of our faith, the verie same is not to bee expected of our workes: seeing that wisedome doth a great deale excell all other workes. Chrysost. Faith is none of mans worke.

42 And this is a cause why the wisedome of God pleaseth perfect men, but vnto others it is not acceptable, because it is not of this worlde. It is called the wisedome of the world which is attained vnto by naturall power and light, & which is able to gouerne, defende, and administer the things of the world: as thinges pertaining to medicine, things ciuill, Logike, Rhetoricke and such like. These faculties we haue nede of in this world, the which also shall haue an ende therewith. For in the world to come there shall be no place for those thinges. Nowe doe wee teach that the wisedome of this world must not bee shunned, so it keepe it selfe within her owne boundes, for so hath it commodities belonging thereto, Onelie this is not permitted thereunto, that by the guiding thereof it should presume to bring man vnto Saluation. Also it must bee terrified from aduenturing to measure diuine thinges with the reasons which it hath. Yea that must bee reiected which manie doe falselie thinke: namelie, that the wisedome of Paul and of the Gospell doth either take awaie or weaken the wisedome of this world. Manie haue saide, that through the receiuing of the Gospel the Romane Empyre was after a sort destroyed, and that Christian discipline greatlie hindered publike affaires. And Augustine in an Epistle vnto Marcellinus doth excellentlie wel resist these errours and slaunders: and sheweth, that these euils (of which these men complaine) happened not through fault of the Euangelicall wisedome: and he saith, that the Calamities must bee ascribed to the faulte either of the Emperours, or of them, without whom the Emperours can doe nothing. Why the wisedome of God pleaseth the perfect and not others. 1.Cor. 2.6. Which is the wisedome of the world. The wisedom of this world shall end with the world. The wisedome of the Gospel doth not take away the wickedom of this world. Augustine against the that say that common weales are destroyed by the Gospel. Salust describeth whence came the ruine of Empires.

Salust ascribeth the ruine of the Romane Empyre vnto Ryot and lust: for that the Romane holk beganne to be amozous, to fall to drunkennesse, to maruell at miracles, to pill and poule prouinces. And the same man writeth: O Citie set foorth to sale and shortlie to perish, if it finde a chapman! And Iuuenall complained, that nowe riote reuenged the conquered world. Wherefore the wisedome of the Gospell bringeth not in these euils, but doeth rather remedie them. What doeth more serue to confirme the state of Cities, Prouinces, and kingdomes, than peace and concord? The same doeth the Euangelicall doctrine both commaund and preach. A mercifull prince is wanting which forgetteth iniuries: such a one as Cicero commendeth Cæsar to be. But this clemencie is no where more perswaded than in the Gospell. Also for the preseruation of a common weale, nothing is more worth than godlinesse, obedience, chastitie, temperance, iustice, fortitude, and vertues of this sort, which the Gospell doth not driue out of the world, but doeth rather conueie them into the world with the Charioles of the spirite. So that it is manifest, that the wisedome of the Apostle, whereof we now speake, doeth not take away the wisedome of this world, seeing it rather furthereth the same & maketh it better. For there be no ciuill vertues, which hauing godlinesse added vnto them, are not made more profitable, both as touching this life and the life to come. Let there be giuen vnto vs souldiers, Empierours, Magistrats, people, and pastors of Churches, such as the Gospell doeth frame, and then if the common weales flourish not, let men iustly complaine. And now the wisedome of the world is not condemned by Paul, vnlesse it be because the false Prophets did so mingle the same with Religion, as they forsake Christ, disturbed the Church, and ascribed vnto it the first and principal place of iudgement as touching godlinesse. Iuuenal. The Gospel is against those euils which destroy come and weake. The Gospel bringeth in vertues, which are made more profitable.

43 But nowe whether eloquence maie be conuenient for the Gospell, or whether it be altogether repugnant vnto the same, I thinke it best to reason after this manner. The chiefest degree of eloquence is graunted vnto none, seeing those things which Cicero attributed vnto a perfect Orator, hee did not therefore write, because that so manie or so great things maie be found in anie one man, but to the intent that such as be studious, might vnderstand wherevnto they should direct their marke. There be verie few that haue but euen a meane force of eloquence. Wherefore God chose not to himselfe so rare, hard, and laborsome an instrument, that he might thereby teach the Gospell vnto mankinde. For it was needfull to haue 1.Cor.1. 20. Why God chose not the Apostles vnlearned. Reason why the Apostles were not the eloquent of the world.

haue manie ministers, who woulde not easilie haue beene found out, if it had beene needfull for them to haue had so great a furniture. Furthermore, whereas this healthful doctrine, should be set forth vnto al men, if it should be handled with so great Art, the vulgar and ignorant men, into whose capacitie it might not descend, would not perceiue the same. Hereunto adde, that so great Art and exquisite diligence in speaking is not without suspition. Wherefore the excellent Rhetoricians haue wiselie taught, that as much as maie bee, Art must be hidden. Againe, so great light is ioyned with the diuine wisedome, as it needeth not be lighted with the candle or torch of mans eloquence. Neither yet doe we affirme this, that the holie Scriptures haue not their certaine eloquence. For to speake of Paul, he vseth his proper wordes, and frameth his speech most effectuall of all other, which pearceth euē to the most inward partes of the heart. And so that force of eloquence is not wanting in him: which Augustine vnto Crescionius the Grammarian defined on this wise: Eloquence is the power of expressing fitly those things which we perceiue. Neither ought Ecclesiasticall men commit vnder the pretence of an vnpolished speech that they should speake rudelie of a set purpose, but let them rather take heed that they take to themselues a pure and single kind of speaking. The eloquence of Paul. A definition of eloquence out of Augustine.

44 Perhaps thou wilt demaund, that seeing the power of speaking, which is corrupted through originall sinne, euen as the other powers of man, is renewed by eloquence, howe it comes to passe, that Paul seemeth so to be against it. We saie, that in this respect onelie it agreeth the lesse with the Gospell: because God woulde not that men should seeme to bee directed vnto faith by the force thereof. And as touching the renuing of mans powers which were decaied at the first sinning of man, we condemne it not, but wish that it maie be done, yet in a right order, least light matters should preuent things of more weight. For since renewing must be had, first let vs restore the mind, to wit, the better part of the soule in adorning the same with faith, but the will with hope and charitie. And finallie all the other powers of the soule, let vs instruct with sound and sincere vertues. Then if the time wil serue, let vs by Art beautifie & reforme the powers of speaking, singing, running and wrestling. But we must in no wise commit that the care and indeuour about those things which we haue nowe last An answere. An obiection. An answere in behalfe of the true vse of humane learning. Why the Gospell is not ouerthrowen by the eloquence of the world.

recited, should exceede the diligence which ought to be vsed in restoring the better and more pleasaunt powers of the minde. This were to doe contrarie vnto order. We graunt that it is the gift of God to speake well and wiselie. For it is also written, that it is giuen by the holie Ghost, Some to haue the worde of vnderstanding, and others the word of discretion. So that if these things be giuen by the spirite, they must nedes bee good, although that the spirit be not wont to inspire these things vnto all men after one maner. For this he doth otherwhile vpon the sudden, that the thing maie be by miracle: As in the daie of Pentecost it happened vnto the Apostles. But sometime he giueth these thinges by little and little, we applying our owne diligence and indeuor: Wherefore since wee be carefull to challenge vnto our selues good Artes, let vs remember this, that God hath no nede of these Artes for the building of his Church, but yet that he maie vse them when it seemeth good vnto him. Therefore when as men come vnto the very administration of the word of God, it is not meete that we should be carefull about the precepts of Rhetorike, otherwise the whole action would waxe cold. Let vs rather at that time, suffer our selues all wholie whatsoeuer we be, to be ordered by the holie Ghost. And while we teache the Gospell, although we be furnished with these Artes, yet is it not meete that we should trust to them, seeing the whole power of persuading those things which be diuine, must be placed in the power of the word and efficacie of the spirite. And this must be taken heede of, that a man being lawfullie called to Preach the Gospell (so he sufficientlie vnderstand those things that be necessarie) bee should not stop backe from the office committed vnto him, although he perceiue himselfe after a sort destitute of these Artes, but shall rather strengthen & confirme his mind with that sentence of God wherein he saide vnto Moses: Who hath fashioned the mouth of man? Who hath made the blind, the seeing, the deafe and the dombe? Is it not I? And it was answered to Ieremie the Prophet when he alleaged that he was as a childe for that he could not speake I will giue my words in thy mouth: feare not, bicause I am with thee. And Christ thus promised his Apostles: In the same houre it shall be giuen vnto you what you shall speake. So great is the Paiette of the word of God, that no man, although he be eloquent, ought to persuade himselfe that he is able either to better it or to be equall vnto it, much lesse is able to beautifie To speake well & wisely is the gift of God. 1.Cor.12.8 Acts.1.2. Touching the vse of good Arts. Mat.10.19

or decke the same. And as touching those things which are vnder mans eloquence, it verie well agreeth, that they should both be handled and handsomlie set forth. And finallie they that haue the Arte of eloquence, let them carefullie take heede, that they incurre not into those vices wherof ill preachers are accused by Paul, as Ambrose testifieth, because they vaunted of their eloquence, neither sought they the glory of Christ: and further because they did not vrge nor inforce those mysteries of religion which were lesse plausible vnto the wisedome of man, yea rather they could scarcelie allow of them. The things are these: namelie, that the sonne of God was borne in the Virgins wombe: also was fastened to the crosse, was dead, and buried in the graue. These things did they marualious cunninglie dissemble, and digressed into arguments more likelie to be true in mans reason. Erasmus doeth not a little inueigh against them which vnder pretence of this place, raile against good artes, as though the worde of the Crosse, as Paule now saieth, should be abolished by them. And among other things he warneth these men, that the worde of the Crosse is no lesse obscured when contrariwise they pretend that with foxe, riches, titles, and armes, they would defende religion. But the iust complaint of this great learned man I now passe ouer: whereunto this onelie I adde, that the worde of the Crosse is no lesse weakened by superstitious abuses, most cold Ceremonies, and mere traditions of men, (by which the fauourers of the Pope at this daie thinke that Christianitie is to be vpholden) than now when Paul speaketh against them, who through the wisedome of man and the eloquence of speech, were an exceeding great harme vnto the Church of Christ.

Voices of ill preachers.

Erasmus.

The worldly power of the Pope obscureth & weakeneth the Crosse.

Cold Ceremonies and superstitious abuses make feeble the power of the crosse.

The second Chapter.

Of the receiuing and not receiuing of rewards, gifts, and offices. And also of goods Ecclesiasticall, and the immunitie of Ecclesiasticall persons.

In 2. Kings 5. verse. 16. Ministers of the word haue licence to receiue gifts and rewards.

THat which is propounded cannot in one answere be determined, seeing it is a thing in it owne nature indifferent, as that which sometime is rightlie & sometime naughtilie done. But that it is lawfull for Prophets and Ministers of the word of God to receiue rewards and gifts, wherewith they maie maintaine their life, manie reasons doe confirme. For in a common prouerb it is saide, The labourer is worthy of his reward. Which prouerb being true, Christ and his Apostles vsed the same. Further Paul saieth (which thing he gathereth out of the newe Testament) He that serueth at the Aultar, liueth of the Aultar. And Christ did more largelie expound the same in saying: He that laboureth in the Gospell, let him liue of the Gospell. Neither ought such an exchange seeme to be vnuust, That they which sowe spirituall things, should reape carnall things: yea rather it may be called the change of Diomedes and Glaucus, seeing a great deale lesse is receiued than that which is giuen. Of this doeth the Apostle purposelie treate in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where amongst other things he expresselie writeth: Who goeth a warfare at his owne charges. But it is no obscure thing, that the ministerie is a certaine holie kinde of warfare. Wherefore we ought not to defeate it of his wages. Furthermore he alleageth out of the Lawe: Thou shalt not moosell the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth out the corne. And if so be that meate must be freelie giuen vnto the Cattell which labour for our liuing, why shall not things necessarie for their liuing be also giuen vnto Ministers, that labour daie and night for the saluation of soules: Pastors also haue fruite & liuing of their flocke. Are not husbandmen & planters of vines maintained by their labours and fruites? So that the Prophets and ministers of the Church, whe they feede the children of God, and husband them as the spirituall husbandrie, they haue a right to be nourished and sustained thereby. Yea and Paule who receiued nothing of the Corinthians: and among the Thessalonians laboured with his hands. And was often times in hunger, thirst and nakednesse, yet did he receiue those things which were sent from other Churches: and he so praised that sacrifice of theirs, as he called them a sweete fragrant smell. Christ also commanded his Disciples that they should eate such things as were set before them, asking no question for conscience sake. And Pharao, otherwise an Ethnick Prince, fedde Priests from his owne table. Wherefore in the time of a grieuous dearth, when as other men were constrained to sell their inheritance, they still retained those things vnto them. And in the first Epistle vnto Timothie we reade, that The Elders should haue double honour done vnto

Luke 10. and 1. Sam. 9. 7.

1. Tim. 5. 8.

1. Cor. 9. 13.

Ibid. v. 1.

In 1 Sa. 8. 15

2. Cor. 10. 6

1. Cor. 9. 7.

Ibid. v. 9.

Deut. 25. 4.

1. Cor. 9. 11

1. Thes. 2. 9

2. Cor. 11. 27. &c.

2. Cor. 11. 8.

Phil. 4. 18.

Luke 10. 17.

5. & 1. Tim. 5. 17

buildings of Temples, vnto the ornaments of Altars, vnto Passes, and foundations, as they brought their Children or right heires vnto extreme pouertie. Such Testaments were against duetie, and without controuersie should haue bin cut off. There were also manie Tyrants, who, when they had most vniustly taken awaie by violence the goods of the poore, would inrich the Ministerie of the Church with some part of that praie. Briefely they must not be taken, when as the glorie of Christ is obscured, or else where manifest offence doth hinder the course of the Gospell. Howbeit when such dangers are to be feared or not to be feared, if mans reason doe not attaine vnto it, the spirit of Christ doeth readilie suggest. As touching the greatnesse of charges, let there be vsed a certaine and iust measure, that there be no more taken than is meete. And these cautions must be vsed, in certaine cases, and not onelie in these cases which I haue rehearsed, but also in the like. But by an ordinarie and vsuall custome, and where the Gospell is receiued, and the Churches are rightly ordered it is a iust lawe, and the commandement of God requireth it that we should prouide liuing for Ministers, and that no base liuing, but such as thereby they may honestly maintaine themselues and theirs. But there can be no generall rule without exception determined of: for as we saide at the beginning, sometime it is rightlie receiued and sometime wrongfullie. The Pope prescribed to himselfe a generall rule without all exception: namely that he may take al waies and of all men, and that he may bring from whomsoeuer he can, that he may draw all manner of goods vnto him: so as he may iustlie be called the shipwracke of Patrimonies, and the vnsatiable gulfe of possessions.

Bond of strange Princes.

Matt. 6. 24.

In 1. kin. 21. at the beginning.

Of ciuill Rewards.

Whether it be meete for Ministers to receiue pensions.

5 As touching the receiuing of gifts and stipendes by Ministers of the Church, I think it hath beene sufficiently spoken. Now is it meete to speake of rewards and giftes in Ciuill affaires. And I thinke it needelesse to dispute whether it be lawfull for priuate me to giue giftes one to another, neither is it doubtfull, whether it be lawfull for priuate men to giue any thing vnto their Magistrates, so it be not done for corrupting of iustice. Nor doe we contend, whether on the other side a Magistrate maie giue any thing vnto priuate men and their subiectes, for these things be lawfull, and perpetuallie haue beene lawfull, so it be doone with reason and honestie. But this commeth now into controuersie, whether the subiects of any Magistrate maie lawfullie take pensions and gifts of straunge Princes, and whether that be for the common weale. Vnto this I answere, that it is a daungerous and verie hurtful thing to the common weale. For such maner of men serue not one but two Paskers: and those oftentimes requiring things contrary, which they cannot do both together. And whereas men owe more vnto their own Magistrates than vnto straungers, yet they being ouercome with the sweetenes of gain, and hauing more care vnto priuate commoditie than vnto publike, forsake their allegeance which they owe vnto their owne Prince, and do more diligentlie obeie straunge Magistrates: and thus both Kingdomes and the common weale, falles to decaie. This happened at Athens, when the Rhetoricians, who by their eloquence gouerned the commonweale were corrupted with the liberall giftes of the Kinges of the Macedonians or Persians, wherby ỹ Athenian affaires went to wracke. And so the Romane common wealth perished, when ỹ dignities & offices were not committed vnto the more excellent men, but vnto them which beStowed most rewardes vppon the people. But why bring we olde examples, seeing if nede be, we maie vse present examples? Neo sakctie can Magistrates and Kinges looke for, which haue Counsellours, hired with the money of straunge Princes: they that so receiue money, haue already lost the libertie of frank speech it. Those things which seeme good vnto them. And such now and then is the couetousnesse of those kinde of men, as they care not to receiue giftes on both sides, yea and those of Princes at variance one with another: namelie to the ende they maie betrais them both. Wherefore I affirme, that thase princes and publike wealths are well aduised, which by lawes, and those most penall, forbid these stipendes and giftes: and that subiectes which obey those lawes be well aduised. And let this much suffice for the question propounded.

6 But passing ouer these things, two things come now to minde to be examined which, for ỹ our purpose. For there be two things, which pertaine not to our right and power, and yet are they sometime required of Princes: therefore we must see whether it be in our hand to giue them. There be certaine goods which be called Ecclesiasticall goods: of the which the Bishops and Ministers of the Church be disposers and haue the charge; but are not free and absolute lords. For they be assigned for the liuing of ỹ Ministers, and for sustenance of the poore. Neuertheleste, this doeth Princes oftentimes require, that they should be giuen to

them and to their nobilitie. There is also a Catholike & sound faith, which is not ours, but must onelie be agreeable to the doctrine of the holie Scriptures, and oftentimes notwithstanding, it is required by Monarches and Tyrants, that we should bend and apply the same to their will and pleasure. Wherefore it is demanded, whether in those things we should alwaies follow the constancie of Nabaoth, whereof there is mention made in the xxi. Chapter of the first booke of Kings. As touching the first, to wit, Ecclesiastical goods, the opinion of all men is not one, & reasons are sould for both parts. They ẏ will not haue those things to be giuen, say ẏ these goods be not ẏ goods of the ministers, but of ẏ Church, so as it is not lawfull for them to plucke away those things ẏ be none of their own. Leo the first of that name, writing vnto a Bishop neere Sicilia said: these goods are not ours, but are committed vnto vs. Further they saie, that those things being giuen vnto kings & princes, are not conuerted vnto god vses, but serue vnto riot and courtlie pompe: and they thinke it rather the part of a Magistrate to prouide that those be well distributed and bestowed. And that if he shall perceiue that Ecclesiasticall men performe not the same, both they maie and ought to driue them to doe their office. Merilie Ambrose would not deliuer the Church vnto Valence the Emperour when he required the same. Laurence also would not deliuer the Treasures of the Church vnto the most cruell Emperour Decius, but bestowed them vppon the poore: Further hee shewed vnto the Tyrant the lame, the blinde, the afflicted and needie, and those he said are the treasures of the Church. On the other side Augustine being a man of a gentle and meeke nature, was not auctere and seuerait in defending of those things: Naie rather as Possidonius the Bishop of Calamensis reporteth in his life the 33. Chapter, when some of his Clergie were enuied by reason of certaine Farmes and possessions which they had, said openlie vnto his people, that he had rather liue of those things which should be giuen by the people, than to take vpon him the charge of possessions & landes, of the which he with his might be maintained, and that he was readie to giue place that they themselues and the Ministers should be maintained by the oblations of the Aultar, as they were in the olde Testament. And this he not onelie spake in woordes, but performed it by a certaine deede, which differeth not from this his saying. For vppon a time a certaine noble man of Hippo, who notwithstanding liued at Carthage, frankly and of his owne accorde gaue to the Church of Hippo, (whereof Augustine had the charge) a possession by writings made and sealed, which writings he deliuered to Augustine and his clergemen, onely reseruing vnto himselfe the profite of the land during his life. But after a certaine time, when he had repented him of his graunt, he sent his sonne vnto Augustine to require the writings of the graunt, and in the meane time he would giue a hundreth thillings to be bestowed vpon the poore. These things being heard, Augustine lamented and sorrowed, not for the possession demanded againe, but for the inconstancie of men. For he repraued him by letters, but he restored the writings of the gift, neither would he receiue those hundreth thillings. And yet neuertheless he feared not to alienate from the Church that right of Donation which he then possessed. The question is difficulte; in the resoluing whereof, I was first of this opinion, that if the Magistrate and Prince would take awaie those goods, they should not be resisted by force. Howbeit if they would compell me to deliuer those things, I should not easilie yelde vnto it.

Whether goods ecclesiastical are to be bestowed vnto Princes.

Ambrose.

Laurence.

Augustine was a man of meeke nature.

Gate.

7 But oftentimes it commeth to passe that Princes and Magistrates will not take awaie those goods by force, but they would haue them deliuered by writings of exchage or alienation made and sealed. And vnlesse this be doone, there is a danger least their mindes should be alienated from the Church and from the reformation thereof. And whereas they maie seeme after a sort to fauour religion and if they be reiected, they will hinder the same, and through them the Church shall want god Ministers, and Papistes shall be called in, the people shall be destitute of syncere and pure doctrine, neither shall the same haue a due administration of Sacraments. When the cause then commeth into so great daunger; then if that any goods of the Church be delinered, to the end that the Church maie be redeemed from such seruitudes, they which so doe, must not in my iudgement be thought to sinne. For if it be lawfull to sell the goods of the Church for redeeming of the beleeuing captiues, why should it not also be as lawfull for the redemption of the Church it self? That the goods of the Church maie be solde to that vse, Ambrose declareth, who in his second Booke of Offices Chapter 28. saieth, that he sometimes for this cause incurred the enuie of the Arrians, for that he melted ẏ Challices of gold & the holy vessels, whereof he might make a benefit, for the redeeming of captiues; further, that he defen-

For what vses the goods of the Church may be bestowed.

Ambros.

That he bestowed the goods of the Church and employed them to the godlie vses.

ded

vnto them: especiallie they which labour in the word and doctrine. The Lord himself also had purses of Almes, which he committed vnto Iudas, and he was maintained by the wealth of the holie women which accompanied him. And the Apostles receiued their liuing of the faithfull, not onelie for themselues, but also for their wiues which they led about with them, as Paul vnto the Philippians testifieth. Ioseph as it is written in the Booke of Genesis, receiued rewardes of Pharao: by the which he honorablie maintained not onelie his owne life, but had also for his father and brethren which went downe into Egypt vnto him. Moreouer Salomon when he gaue giftes, did also receiue gifts of the Quéene of Saba. Neither did Abraham refuse oxen, sheepe, golde, and siluer, which were giuen vnto him by Pharao, when he had restored vnto him his wife Sara, who neuertheless refused to receiue anie thing of the king of Sodom, least it should haue bin thought that he had bin inriched by him. Yea and let vs call to minde the historie of the holie Prophet, namelie of Elizeus, who, when he would receiue nothing of Naaman, yet did he not reiect the gift of that man which came from Baasalizack: a gift I saie of the first fruites, that is, of xx. barlie loaues and of new wheate corne. Also Elias refused not to be fed by the widowe of Sarepta. Yea and the children of the Prophets which hid themselues in the dennes by fiftie and fiftie, received dailie sustenance of that godlie man Abdias, which was the steward of Achab the king. Wherefore we haue examples and testimonies ynowe, in the holie Scriptures, whereby it is confirmed, that it is lawfull for Prophets & Ministers of the woorde of God, to take a liuing of them whom they bring vp and instruct in godlie doctrine. Hitherto also pertaineth the Law giuen by God as concerning the honoring of parents: and the maintenace of the whole Tribe of Leuie by tythes. Lastlie, the reason that persuadeth this is verie plaine: all men know, that the ministerie of the Church is a thing verie laboursome, which exerciseth and requireth the whole man, if he will doe his duetie. So that he hath no leisure to exercise other Arts and functions, whereby he might get his liuing. For the which cause, vnlesse he should receiue a liuing of his flocke, he should be constrained to die with hunger. Neither must he rashlie attempt so to doe, least while he seeke to liue by anie other meanes, the flocke of Christ should be defrauded of spirituall nourishment.

Ioh.13.29. 7.

1.Cor.9.5. Phil.4.10. 9.

Gen.41.40

10. 1.King.10. verse.10.& 13.

Gen.20.14 11. Gen.14.22.

12. 1.King.17.16 1.King.4.42

13. of new wheate corne.

1.King.18. 14. the children of the Prophets which hid themselues in the dennes by fiftie and fiftie,

15. Exo.20.12. Num.18.24

16. tythes.

Whether ministers hauing wherewithall, other-wise may take his pensio.

1.Cor.9.6.

1.Cor.9.7.

Pastors must doe their duetie with a good courage.

2 But thou wilt saie: what if peraduenture he shall haue whereof to liue either by Patrimonie or by inheritance, or that he hath ynough wherewithall both by occupation to maintaine himselfe, and by ministerie to gouerne and feede well the Church: Which the Ecclesiasticall historie teacheth to haue happened vnto some. For they saie that Spiridion receiued litle or nothing of his Church: when as neuertheless he executed the office of a Bishop, and therewithall exercised the Art of a Potter. Which also Paul and Barnabas sometime did. The matter is hard to be iudged, for daungers are not wanting of each side. For if he take a liuing of the Church, such a one perhaps shall offend his flocke, which will thinke him to be too much addicted vnto gain, for that he seeketh to liue by other meanes, when he can be maintained of his owne charges. But on the other part, if he receiue not the ordinarie profite, he shall grieue and cause to be enuied such as receiue stipend of the Church to liue by. And it will easilie come to passe, that men of his Parish, when they haue not yelded vnto him the accustomed stipend, they being allured by such a custome, would afterward denie the same to the successour. So that such a man in my iudgement maie receiue the bu all profits, but to bestowe the same among the poore, and conuert it into god vses, that it may be prouided as much as is possible that the weaker sort take no offence. Besides this I thinke it meete to consider that Christ himselfe seeing he was God, might easilie haue taken both offices vpon him: namelie to execute perfectlie the office of preaching, and therewithall also to haue gotten his liuing with his handes: which neuerthelesse he did not, but as we saide before, liued vpon the Almes of the godlie. Yea and the Apostles which were plentifullie replenished with the holie Ghost, nor neded great studie, might easilie haue taken both charges vpon them: yet they did it not. Which I suppose was therefore doone, because it should not be thought that this custome ought to be required of ministers. Seeing therefore it hath bin shewed, that it is lawfull for them, both to inioy their right and to receiue fode and raiment, it is to be added, that they on the other side with a good courage ought to doe their duetie, least they be iustlie accused of negligence. For Paul twise his arguments from those dueties and artes which be verie laboursome: namelie from warfare, husbandrie, and from shepheards craft. No man is ignorant how manie and howe great be the labours of warfare. And the troubles which shepheards haue, Iacob expressed when he

Luke.8.3.

Christ and his Apostles liued at the charges of the godlie.

1.Cor.9.6.

Gen.31.40

was at variance with Laban his father in law. For there he made mention of the watchings, cold, heat, violence of Lions, Wolues and theeues. But as touching husbandrie, how hard that is, we haue no neede to declare, seeing we haue ỹ afflictions and veratiõs thereof continuallie before our eyes. So as Prophets and ministers are hereby admonished that they receiuing foode and sustenance, should not be daintie of their labours, but should diligentlie and with courage behaue themselues, while that they be able in respect of their age and health: which thing I therefore speake because that euen they which haue lost their strength, and who are vered with grieuous diseales, ought to be vercused, nourished and cherished as though they laboured.

The ministers may not without great offence be denied their stipendes.

3 These things thus concluded, it is requisite to see how greuously they sinne, which either denie or vnwillinglie yeeld sustenance vnto the Prophetes and ministers of God. Which not onelie some of the Anabaptistes doe, but also verie manie of them which would seeme Gospellers. And of the causes of this enuie (I will not saie vngratiousnes) towardes ministers of the Church, I see that there be manie rotes. For some be moued with couetousnesse, and thinke it to be lost whatsoeuer is giuen to the ministers of the Church. Others seeme to be moued of an vn-
1. Cor. 9. 6. Ibid. 15. skilfull zeale: for they bearing that Paul and Barnabas laboured and receiued no reliefe of the faithfull, are of the opinion, that all the ministers of the Church should doe the same. But the argument is naught: for of a particular and priuate fact, they bring in an vniuersall lawe, when as rather it should bee concluded on the contrarie, neither should all ministers be charged by one example. So it is said to be done at this daie in that part of
The bishoppes of Waldensia. Polonia where the Waldensian brethren do gouerne the Churches: for they put ỹ people to no charges for their liuing, but they liue of their owne labours, and those things that remaine they bestowe vpon the poore. Herof it commeth that the noble men of that prouince, which triumph ouer others, haue Euangelicall Pastors, and (as méete it is) doe maintaine them, saying, that they haue true Pastors, and that others be rather bellie gods than ministers of the Church. The third rote is, that certaine hypocrites crept into the Churches, and the more to allure the mindes of the people, they faine that they would yeelde of their owne right, and that neither they would haue yeerelie rentes nor certaine reuenues. Which doubtlesse at the first shew abused simple men: for they were persuaded that they would liue of their own. But the craftie men began afterward to beg from doore to doore. Wherefore when they had gotten large liuing, they were by wise men called not beggers but bellie gods. Another occasion was giuen vnto this diseale, in that they liued idlie: neither take they care of the Lordes flocke, by whom they were maintained in steade of ministers: as at this daie there doe an innumerable sort of Monks and Abbots, Carthusians, Benedictines, and such like. Against whom all things agrée by rule and squire, which Augustine hath written in a little booke of ỹ institution of Monks whom he would haue altogether be constrained to labour with their hands. Lastlie the incredible abuse of Ecclesiasticall goods, and the vnmeasurable greatnesse of them is an offence vnto men. For there is no equal partition made of them. There be of them which haue a thousand, ten thousand, a hundreth thousand, & two hundreth thousand crowns, which they lauish, waste and spend vppon most wicked vses. And thus for the most part, we see it come to passe that they which haue most, doe labour least, nay rather they vere the Church of Christ, and in miserable wise afflict the same, when as notwithstanding by ỹ office of Iustice distributiue much reward should not be giuen, vnlesse it be to them that deserue wel of the common weale: and that Iustice, which is called commutatiue, forbiddeth anie thing to be receiued, vnlesse altogether so much bée rendered againe.

Lamentable abuse of the reuenues of Monks

4 There remaineth that we declare when it shall not be lawfull to receiue. First if they that giue and receiue giftes and stipendes of this kinde, thinke them to be an hire and reward of spirituall giftes, as though it should be lawfull to buie and sell them: such marchandize is vniust. For Christ saide, That which ye haue freelie receiued, giue you freelie. Further in planting of Churches and in spreading of the Gospell, if men should be burdened with this kinde of charges, and so burthened, as they will not imbrace the heauenlie doctrine: it must not be taken of them, but Paul must be followed, who preached freelie vnto the Corinthians: and iudged that all things ought to be suffered, least the worke of God should be dissolued. Also ỹ liuing of the minister must not be extorted frõ thẽ which are vexed with extréme powertie. Which I therefore speake, because in Poperie there were manie Testaments made, by which simple men (I will not saie foolish, fond and superstitious men) bequeathed such and so manie of their goods vnto Monks, vnto the buil-

When it shall not be lawfull to receiue giftes & stipendes.

Matt. 10. 8.

1. Cor. 11. 9

ded that the soules of the Captiues which were redeemed bée more acceptable vnto God, than vessels of golde, and other ornaments of Temples. Beside this, he rehearsed
The example of Laurence. the example of Laurence of whom we spake a little before, adding that the Church hath gold, not to keepe it, but to bestowe it. That the verie same is lawfull, Gratian in the decrées 12. *Quæst. 2. Can. Apost.* And it is out of ỹ first Synod. And ỹ same thing is in the same place in the Canon: *Et Sacrorum Can.* Therefore if it be lawfull to redéeme captiues with the Church goods alienated awaie, it shall be much more lawfull to redéeme the Church it selfe being captiue. Another argument also maie be drawen from the ciuil lawes, which graunt vnto a guiltie man in perill of his life, and that should fall into extreme punishment, to redéeme for a price, euen his owne bloud, namelie by making agréement with the accuser that he should surcease his action. And this is in ỹ Code *De Transact.* in the law Transigere. And in the Digestes *De eorum bonis, qui ante sententiam latam mortem sibi consciuerunt*, in the first law. And if it be lawfull for a man through the abandoning of goods and possessions, to redéeme his owne bloud, why maie it not be lawfull for Churches which belong vnto eternall life, to redéeme by their outward goods, seeing these things are more of value than corporall life.

8 But they saie: no man can giue these things, because they appertaine vnto the Church, and are not in the power of any particular men. I answere, Neither would I that a Bishop or Minister of the Church doe this by his owne onelie counsell and will, but that the Church should be priuie and consenting to the same. Ouer this let vs imagine that there is some Steward which gouerneth the goods and possessions of his maister. If it happen that he commeth into the daunger of his life or be taken prisoner, who will blame the good Steward if by selling some of his maisters goods he redéeme him and deliuer him from calamitie? If it be lawfull to giue skinne for skinne, & all that we haue for ỹ soule, that is, for the life: doubtles it is much rather to be done ỹ we may haue ỹ pure Gospel, and maie obtaine eternal life. Let vs put the case ỹ there is some Pope created (which neuertheless is not to be looked for) but for example sake let one be imagined, that will saie vnto our men: permit ye me that I maie possesse these Cities and Castels: and I will suffer that ye shall haue the
The liberty of Church goods is to be restored. Gospell frée, that ye shall reforme the Churches as ye will, I will not trouble you: nay rather, I will be fauourable to your indeuours. Who woulde not giue these things vnto him? Wherefore if anie being put in such or in the like danger, doe deliuer anie goods of the Churches vnto Princes, they are not straight waies to be accused as though they haue sinned: nay rather if they obstinatelie delaie to doe it, they maie incurre the suspition of couetousnesse. Yet this must they take héede of, namelie that they being moued through Ambition to attaine vnto dignities or Bishoprickes or other spirituall promotions, shew not themselues readie either to giue or to alienate such goods. This also must be foreséene, that they giue not vnto their nére kinsfolke and friends those things which they faine that they would not graunt vnto Magistrates and Princes. But as things now are in Popish religion, I cannot tell what profit it maie be to the Church, that so manie and so great riches are possessed by Ecclesiasticall men (as they will be called) séeing they abuse those goods, especially against the Gospell and profession of true religion. The effect is, that in this difficult & hard cause, I would allow that if it might possiblie be, they which haue the gouernment of Churches should not resist Magistrates which pluck awaie such things by force, and yet ỹ they should not by their owne proper assent deliuer thẽ. Yowbeit if ỹ same be done at anie time in maner & forme as it is now described, in my iudgmẽt it cánot be blamed.

9 But as to the other kinde of god, that is to wit, the true and right faith: because the same is the vine of God, it is lawfull for no man to yeeld that vnto anie. For nothing must be added or diminished at princes places. In this matter verie manie at sundrie times departed from the constancie of Nazaoth. Verilie there were some weake men in the time of Diocletian and Maximinianus, which deliuered euen the verie holie bookes to be burned. Of which offence Cœcilianus Bishop of Carthage was greatlie accused by Donatus, whereupon arose the heresie of the Donatistes. Moreouer vnder Constantius rose some which otherwise were good Bishops, being forced by feare, subscribed to the opinions of the Arrians, among whom was the father of Gregorius Nazianzenus. Also manie reuolted what time as Iulianus the Apostata obtained the Empire: neither did they faithfullie kéepe the vine of the Lorde: I meane the inheritance of their parentes.

Whether the true and right beliefe is to be yeelded to of priuate secteries of the Church.

Whence arose the heresie of the Donatistes.

The father of Gregorie Nazianzene.

10 But in verie déede the Clergie and Ecclesiasticall men contend, that they by the benefite of Princes are exempted from tributes and customes. Doubtlesse Christ vsed not this priuiledge, for he payed to paie

In Rom. 13 verse. 9.

tribute

Mat.17.27

Why the Clergie be exempted frō tributes & cuſtomes. Looke after in pl.13. Art.23.

tribute both for himſelfe and for Peter. Againe if we looke vpon the Ciuill lawes, they are not exempted from all burthen of tributes. Iuſtinianus in deede willed that they ſhould be free from perſonall offices, as it is in the Code *de Eccleſijs & epiſcopis*. And thoſe are called perſonall offices, which we execute giuing hereunto induſtrie and labour onely. For if the miniſters ſhould be bounde to them, it coulde not be choſen but that they ſhould be hindred from their function. And the ſame Iuſtinian ſeemeth alſo to haue exempted them from extraordinarie, and not from ordinary exactions. Yea they are bound to the mending of common high waies and to repairing of bridges. Neither doeth the lawe of charitie ſuffer, that when as they poſſeſſe landes and manie other things, they ſhould withdraw themſelues from ciuil burthens, and laie the whole weight vpon others, that there ſhould be a burden vpon all

2.Cor.8.13

others and they onelie diſcharged. Bonifacius the 8. a man (as the Papiſtes themſelues

A moſt vniuſt decree of Boniface the 8.

confeſſe) ouer proude and arrogant in his decrees, as we haue *De Immunitate eccleſiarum*, made a decree, wherein he ordained, that Eccleſiaſticall men be altogether free from all payment of tributes: yea rather he ſtraitly forbiddeth thē that without the commandement of the Romane Biſhop none ſhould be ſo hardie as to paie anie thing to prophane Princes. A moſt grieuous conſtitution of a moſt outragious man: from whence haue ſprong welneere infinite garboyles and endleſſe quarels. Howbeit, ſome haue patched it vp with a goodlie interpretation: namelie, that ſomewhat notwithſtanding maie be exacted of them, if Church matters, or Religion, or common weale, be in any extreme danger. As though (for ſooth) theſe men ought not to ſuccour the cōmon weale except

A Philoſopher wittily quipped by Diocleſian.

when it is in extreme neceſſitie. I remēber a verie wittie ſaying of Diocleſian to a certein Philoſopher that deſired immunitie. Thy profeſſion (ſaide he) much differeth from thy petition. For thy Philoſophie teacheth that affections ought to be ouercome: but thou plainlie declareſt thy ſelfe to bee ouercome with greedie deſire and couetouſneſſe. So the clergie when as aboue all other they profeſſe Religion & charitie, do yet neuertheles deſire not to be compelled to obey Magiſtrates, or to ſuccour the commonweale.

In what ſort the Prieſts of Egypt were exempted. Gen.47.22

11 Thomas Aquinas thinketh that this exemption of the clergie came by the priuiledge of Princes: Howbeit he ſaith that it is agreeable with the lawe of nature: and he cyteth a place out of the booke of Geneſis, where it is written, that the landes of the Prieſtes were free from the penſion of the fifth part: but if a man diligentlie conſider the whole matter, he ſhall eaſilie finde, why their lands were free from that fifth part. Namelie bicauſe they were not ſolde to the King when the famine was verie great. For the prieſts had corne of the King, ſo that they were not compelled to buie corne. Wherefore the poſſeſſion of their lands abode whole vnto them: which neuertheleſſe might at the pleaſure of the king be charged with other cuſtomes and tributes, although they were not comprehended in that general penſion of ẏ fifth part. Others obiect that it is written in Eſdras, that King Artaxerxes commanded that no tributes ſhould be laid vppon the Prieſtes.

Eſdras.7. verſe.23.

The Prieſts of Iſraell were iuſtly exempted becauſe they poſſeſſed nothing.

But this was no maruell, ſeeing they poſſeſſed not lands among the children of Iſrael, but onelie liued of oblations and ſacrifices. Cæſar alſo writeth that the Druides among the Frenchmen paide neither tributes nor cuſtomes as other did, but that they were altogether francke and free. But Plinie in his 16. booke and 44. Chapter writeth that thoſe Druides had nothing: wherfore it is no maruell if they paide no tribute. I ſpeake not theſe things bicauſe I thinke that Princes may not remit ſome of their tributes to eccleſiaſticall men, which diligentlie execute their office, and keepe hoſpitalitie, and ſuccour the neceſſities of others, ſo that a regard be had that this turne not to the harme of others, and that ſuch indulgence doe nothing elſe but maintaine their pompe. I graunt in deede that princes maie not doe this, howbeit I affirme that Eccleſiaſticall men cannot by anie lawe of God claime vnto themſelues anie ſuch immunitie, and that they cannot in conſcience denie tribute vnto princes if it be demanded. Neither ought Pope Boniface by anie meanes to haue challenged vnto himſelfe a right to make that mad decree. It is alreadie concluded by Paul, that all people doe owe obedience and ſubiection to publike gouernours. Neither ought the godlie (ſaieth Chryſoſtome) to take it in ill part to be ſubiect vnto Magiſtrats, although they themſelues are the children of God, and appointed to the kingdome of heauen. But their glory is not in the ſtate of this life: they waite vntill Chriſt appeare, in whom their life is as yet hidden. Col.3.4. In the meane time, they ought not to count it a thing grieuous, if they riſe vp, if they vncouer the head, if they giue the vpper hand, if they obey Magiſtrates. Here is nothing vnmeete or vncomelie, nay rather whatſoeuer is done by them according to the preſcript of the word of God, is a full decent and worthie thing.

THE

The third Chapter.

Whether two heads may be in the Church, one viſible and another inuiſible.

In 1.Sam. at the end. 1.Sam.8.7. Iud.8.23. Looke after in pl 6. Art.19. Looke in Iud.8. 23.& 18. at the beginning. In 1.Cor. 11.3.

THey doe not (ſayeth God vnto Samuel) reiect thee but mee. And Gedeon in the Booke of Iudges, when the kingdom was offered vnto him: I (ſaith he) will not raigne ouer you, but the Lord ſhall raigne ouer you. Here it may be demanded whether when he was choſen King, God ſeaſed to gouerne his people, or whether he perſeuered to gouerne together with kings, that there ſhould be one king to be looked vppon, and another that might not be ſeene? Hereof alſo ariſeth another queſtion: For if this be true, why alſo can there not be two heads in the Church. For if God maie be king together with a viſible king, why maie he not together with a viſible head be an inuiſible head? But theſe two queſtions cannot be reſolued both after one maner. As to the firſt: the rule of a king doeth not exclude the Empire of God: nay rather a king is the miniſter of God and ex-

God ruleth together with good kings.

ecuteth his office: for God ruleth together with good kings, why then doeth the Lorde ſaie: They haue not reiected thee, but mee? Wherefore ſaid Gedeon, I will not raigne ouer you, but the Lord ſhall raigne ouer you. Theſe things are therefore ſaid, becauſe the people would innouate the ſtate of the common weale by God preſcribed. For this was to deſpiſe God himſelfe. For if God deſcribed this ſtate of the common weale, why ſhould the ſame be changed by the people? But yet God did not for that cauſe depart with his gouernance which he before had ouer the people. On the other part they ſeemed to reiect God, becauſe they went about to change the common weale without the commandement of God. Further God raigneth together with good kings, becauſe they no where elſe receiue the forme of gouerning the common weale than by the lawe of God. Againe, becauſe they be not onelie carefull that the bodies and goods of ſubiects ſhould be well prouided for: (For that is the office of a herdman and ſhepheard, not of a king) but that men maie liue rightlie and with vertue and godlineſſe. But they be not alwaies godlie, nor they doe not alwaies deſire the rule of gouerning by the lawe of God. Whether doeth God raigne alſo with theſe mē? Theſe things it behoueth to diſtinguiſh wiſelie.

There be many good things euen in ill gouernments.

There is no gouernment ſo euill, that hath not alſo manie goods things. Who was euer worſe than Nero? yet publike peace was maintained vnder him: there were preſidents in the prouinces. The lawe was executed. Paul by vſing of Neroes name, brought to paſſe, that he was not deliuered to the will of the Iewes. Acts.25.11. When he was to be beaten with roddes, He cried out that he was a Citizen of Rome, and ſo he eſcaped: He was alſo diſmiſſed out of priſon. Theſe things being good, cannot be denied to be of God: For euerie good thing is of the father of light from aboue. Iame.1.17. But if thou aſke of the wickedneſſe of vngodlie kings, thoſe things they haue of themſelues, neither is there anie neede that becauſe of them men ſhoulde complaine of God. For God doeth blame, reproue, puniſh and condemne thoſe things, yet as they be puniſhments of ſinnes, it cannot be denyed but that they are of God. For they haue a reſpect of Iuſtice. For ſo doth God oftentimes for the ſinnes of the people raiſe vp an vngodlie Prince. But although he be vngodlie

After what ſort wicked kings muſt be obeyed.

he muſt be obeyed, howbeit ſo farre forth as Religion ſhall permit. And if he ſhall command vngodlie things, he muſt not be heard. Neither is it lawfull with ſilence to diſſemble anie thing that the King doeth peruerſlie and vngodlie. We ought to warne, counſell, reproue, chaſten and amend him, for ſo did the Prophetes. Alſo for defence of the common weale we muſt obey without exception. Therefore Cicero, Cato, Pompeius, and others muſt not be blamed who tooke warres in hand againſt Cæſar. But when he had once attained to the Empire, no priuate man ought to haue takē armes againſt him. Therefore when Auguſtus Cæſar, had heard railing wordes to be ſpoken againſt Marcus Cato being nowe dead, becauſe he dealt tyrannouſlie againſt Iulius, anſwered, that Cato was a good Citizen in that he would not haue the preſent ſtate of the common weale to be changed. So that God raigneth together with kings, whether they be good or euill.

Kings be the heads of the common weale. Pſal.18.44.

*And kings maie be called the heads of the Common weale. For ſo Dauid writeth of himſelfe. Thou haſt ſet mee to be the head of the Nations. Yet are they not properlie but Metaphoricallie called heads. For euen as from the head is deriued all the ſenſe and motion into the bodie, ſo the ſenſes by good lawes, and motions, by edictes and commandements are deriued from the prince vnto the people. And this ſtrength exceedeth not the naturall power.

2 Now as touching the other queſtion,

none

No mortall man may be called the head of the Church.

none may after this maner be called the head of the Church, for here the consideration is farre otherwise than in a common weale. For the Church is a celestial, diuine, and spirituall bodie; Sense can be giuen vnto hir by no mortall man. For those things which pertaine to the sense of the Church be of such sort as neither eare hath heard, nor eye hath

Esa. 64.4. 1.Cor.2.9.

seene, neither haue they ascended into the heart of man: for all quickening of the Church proceedeth from the holie Ghost. So as they which will raise by vnto vs a newe head of the Church, are not wel aduised what they saie. For regeneration and remission of sinnes doe flowe from the spirite of Christ, and not from man. Also the Scriptures doe sufficientlie testifie, that Christ alone is giuen to be head of the Church. Paul vnto the

Onely Christ is head of the Church.

Ephes. 4.15

Ephesians saith: Christ is the head of the Church, by whom all the members by order of assistance make increase of the bodie. And vnto the Colossians, speaking of hypocrites:

Col. 2.19.

They hould not (saith he) the head whereby all the bodie is knit together by synowes & ioyntes. And againe vnto the Ephesians: Let

Ephe. 4.15

vs therefore growe vp in him which is the head: namelie Christ. So that euerie sense and mouing of the Church floweth from Christ alone, not from anie mortall man.

An obiection.

But thou wilt obiect: that Princes vndoubtedly cannot ingender ciuill vertues in the mindes of their people. Wherefore the reason on both partes is a like. Yes verilie they can: for that doth not exceede the power of

The consideration of the Church and common weale in diuerse.

nature. For vertue springeth of frequented Actions. So when as princes by lawes and edictes driue their subiects vnto actions, they also driue them vnto vertues. But the spirit of God and regeneration is not attained by manie actions, but onelie by the blessings of God. For these gifts of God flowe vnto the Church, by ioyntes and synowes, that is, by preachers and ministers. For their part is to teache the people to minister the Sacraments, to excommunicate offenders, and to reconcile the penitent. For albeit that Christ is the onelie head of the Church, yet doth he vse the ministerie of these men.

Whether in the Church may be an outward head that should gouerne the ministers.

3 But thou wilt saie, that although the inward sences and mouings of the Church be of Christ, yet there maie be an outwarde head to rule ministers, and to keepe them all in their duetie. There maie not be, neither vndoubtedlie is it lawfull to change the order appointed by God. For God would that in the Church there should be a gouernment of the best men, that Bishops should take the charge of all these things, & should chose Ministers, yet so, as the voyces of the people

The Israelites shoppes are to chose ministers.

should not be excluded. But euen as the Israelites cast awaie the gouernment of God, that they might make themselues a king, euen so they that would haue the Pope to be the Head of the Church, haue cast awaie Christ the true head of the Church. Paul vnto the Ephesians saieth: that Christ Gaue some Eph. 4.11. to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists, some Pastors, some Teachers, for edifying of the Church: neither addeth he that he set one ouer al these persons. Who commaded these men to alter this order? Further when Matthias was to be substituted in the Act. 1.15. place of Iudas, and when Deacons should be Act. 6.3. created, the matter was referred, not vnto the Pope, but vnto the people. Besides this, if the Pope were head of the Church, he should be the Bishop of bishops or vniuersall bishop: which thing no reason would beare. But least that the Papists should thinke that there is smal weight in my words, let them heare Gregorie the cheife of all Popes. Hee in the fourth booke of the register in the Epistles vnto Mauricius the Emperour, vnto Constantia the Empresse, vnto the Patriarch of Ierusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and vnto Iohn of Constantinople, writeth at large of this matter. I will compasse his arguments in as fewe words as I can. There cannot (saith he) bee one head of the whole Church. For if paraduenture that head should fall into anie hereſie, it would of necessitie be, that the whole Church should be corrupted. And that the same head maie bee corrupted, Nestorius, and Macedonius may be a tryall, who sometimes gouerned the Church of Constantinople. The one of these affirmed distinct persons to be in Christ, the other denied the holie Ghost to be God. Furthermore if there might bee one onelie head of the Church, he saith it would of necessitie be, that the authozitie of all other Bishops should be deriued vnto him. But that would be absurde. Therefore Cyprian saith, that there is one Bishop zicke whereof a part is wholie holden in grosse of euery one. He addeth further, that whosoeuer will arrogate this title vnto himselfe is Antichrist. Here we will adde the Minor: But the Pope challengeth vnto himselfe this title: Wherefore the Papistes must beare it with an indifferent mind if we call the Pope Antichrist. Lastlie in the Epistle vnto Iohn of Constantinople: What aunt were (saith he) wilt thou make before the tribunall seat of Christ, whose office thou hast so arrogantlie vsurped? Here Gregorie confesseth that this title is mete for Christ onelie. But the foundation & strength of these reasons is, that it is not lawfull to re-

The Bishop of Rome not the vniuersall Bishop.

Agreement of Popes & Papists touching this matter.

reuerse the order which Christ hath appointed.

4 Yea verilie saie they, Christ himselfe appointed one head in the Church: For hee

Mat.16.18. Whether Christ ordeined one head in the Church.

saith, Thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke, &c. But these men leane to a ruinous foundation. Peter confessed Christ to be the sonne of God: Then Christ: Thou (saith he) shalt be Peter, because thou hast confessed the rock that is me, being the foundation of the Church: And vppon this rocke which thou hast confessed I will builde my Church. But now saith Paul, none can laie any other

The words of Christ, Thou art Peter, &c. expounded.

1.Cor.3.11

foundation, but that which is laid, Christ Iesus. But if at anie time we read among the Fathers, that the Apostles be foundations,

Apo.21.14

as in the Apocalips we read that there bee twelue foundations of new Ierusalem, foundation is not here put for the rote of the building, but for the 12. stones which are next vnto the foundation. For otherwise Christ is the foundation ouen of the Apostles. But they obiect that the keyes were committed vnto Peter: Yea rather they were giuen to all the Apostles without difference.

Obiect.

Ioh.20.22.

For Christ gaue the holie Ghost vnto al, and said vnto all: Go ye, preach ye: The which in verie deede be the keyes of the Church.

Mat.28.19

But vnto Peter it was saide: Feed, feed: Yea

Ioh.21.15.

rather they were all bidden, and they ought to feed. And Peter in his Epistle writeth vnto the other Bishoppes: Feed yee as much as

1.Pet.5. Of feeding the flocke of Christ.

in you lieth the flocke of Christ. Why then was it chiefely said vnto Peter before others,

Mat.16.23

Feed thou? Because when he had thrise openlie denied Christ, he might haue seemed to haue fallen from his first dignitie. Wherefore Christ as though he had restored him into his place, had him by name to feed. Howbeit what he spake vnto him alone, he spake vnto all. By this also he signified, that hee which will teach in the Church ought to be indued with singular loue towards Christ.

Gal.2.6.

Paul, although after the death of Christ hee were made an Apostle, yet he saith, That he learned nothing of Peter, or conferred anie thing with anie of the Apostles. But if so be that Peter had beene the prince and heade of the Church, nothing ought to haue beene done without his authoritie and sufferance. Naie rather Peter and Paul so allotted the

Ibidem. ver. 7.

Prouinces betweene them, as Peter taught

1.Pet.5.3.

among the Iewes, and Paul among the Gentils. Further Peter admonisheth the Bishops that they should not raigne ouer the Clergie. Therefore how maie anie one obtaine the kingdome ouer others and beare himselfe as head? But this reason is first of all to be noted; Iohn the Apostle liued vntil the time of Domitian; Peter died at Rome vnder Nero. Him did Linus, Cletus, and Clemens succeede. Now if they will the Pope to be head of the Church, they must of necessitie confesse that Iohn the Apostle was subiect vnto Clement. So then let them either denie the Popes to be heades of the Church, or if they will not, let them subiect the Apostles vnto them. The Epistles of Clemens although they be manifestly fained and inuented, yet are they oftentimes cited & highlie esteemed by them. Then let it be lawfull for vs also to consider, what he writeth.

The Pope be head of the Church? The Apostles were subiect vnto him.

His Epistle vnto Iames the Apostle hath this inscription: Clemens vnto Iames, the brother of the Lord, the Bishop of Bishops, ruling all the Churches of God which are founded

Clemens called Iames the Bishop of Bishops.

euerie where by his Prouidence. Wherefore Rome the head of the Church shall be translated to Ierusalem. To this, how maie the vniuersall Church be ruled by one man?

The vniuersall Church cannot be ruled by one man.

Sometime the Romane Empire was the greatest, yet could it not imbrace the Parthians, Scythians, Indians, & Ethiopians: and although it obtained not the whole world, yet (as Titus Linius saith) it was wearie of his owne burthen: Quen so these men when they saw that no one man might imbrace the whole Church, they inkituted as it were a Quadrumuirat, that is, that the world should bee ruled by foure Patriarches: Namelie, that the Patriarch of Antioch should be ouer Syria, the Patriarch of Alexandria ouer Egypt, and Ethiopia: The Patriarch of Constantinople ouer Asia, Greece and Illyricum: The Patriarch of Rome, ouer all the West part. But what came to passe at the length? Verilie this, that they stroue among themselues and rent the world in sunder: for each one would reigne ouer all. And this welneere is wont to be the end of humane counsels. But Paul said, that he toke care of all the Churches: I graunt, but yet he said, hee had a care, not a dominion: and that therefore he rather woke vnto, admonished, counselled, and reproued the Churches: but neuer called nor could haue called himselfe the head of the Church.

The Church would be a monster if it had two heads.

5 But we are sometimes wont to saie: If the Church should haue one head in heauē and an other in earth, it should be double headed, and so seeme a monster. This argument the Bishop of Rochester deriueth: For a wife also hath both her owne head and her husbandes; so by this meanes euerie wife should be a monster. But I maruell at Rochester, being so great a Logitian, that he noted not a false argument in that which he reporteth of the wife. For those two heads

The Bishop of Rochester.

of the wife be not of one and the same order, for one is naturall and other is Oeconomicall. But it would be a monsterous thing if a wife should haue two naturall heads, or two Oeconomicall heads, or two husbands.

The difference which they put betwene Christ and the Pope.

But they adde: The Pope is onelie a ministeriall heade, be powreth not into the Church sences and spirituall motions, for that is onelie the part of Christ. Wherefore the Pope and Christ be not two heads of one and the same kinde. If thou require of Papistes, they will neuer graunt that their Pope is onelie the ciuill head of the Church: May rather they will haue them to be called spirituall fathers: So as they haue two heads of one and the same kinde. For they will neuer suffer themselues to bee inclosed within these boundes. For they dispence against the word of God: they forbid marriages, they applie the merites of Christ and of the saintes, they ordaine new Sacraments, they sel Pardons. This pertaineth not to a ciuill head. Wherefore let them graunt that their Church hath two heads, and that it is a monster. But I will deale frankelie. Admit the Pope be a ciuill head, yet doe yee fal into the selfe same errour. For seeing the Magistrate also is a ciuill head, ye shall be constrained to confesse that in the Church there be two ciuill heads both of one order, and that to your Church is a monster. But these men as they be impoztunate, dreame of two heads: First that the Pope is the ciuill head of his ministers, and so is one head of the Church. For they will haue ministers to be exempted from the power of the ciuill Magistrate. But this is a vaine conceite. For Paul commaundeth that euerie soule should be subiect vnto the Ciuill power: he exempteth none. Pea and Chrysostome saith that neither the Apostles, nor Euangelistes ought to be exepted. Peter also exhozteth ministers, that they should obey the ciuill power. Wherefore in vaine doe they babble, and ridiculouslie doe they adioyne two heads vnto their ministers. What then will thou saie: Shall the Magistrate beare rule ouer ministers and Preachers? I answere: that the word of God and the Sacraments are subiect to no potentate. But ministers are subiect two manner of waies, both in respect of manners, and of their function: For if either they liue wickedlie or doe not their duetie, they may be both reiected by the Magistrate and deprined.

That if the Pope be a ciuill head, yet the Church is double headed.

Whether the Pope be be ciuill head of his ministers. Rom. 13.1

Whether the Magistrate may beare rule ouer preachers. Ministers subiect two manner of wayes.

Look part 4. pl. 13. Sect 7

6 But these men still dreame of one ciuill power that is Ecclesiastical, and of an other that is profane. The one of the which they attribute vnto the Pope, and the other vnto the Magistrate: but all in vaine: For as much as pertaineth vnto Ecclesiasticall power, the ciuill Magistrate is sufficient. For he, as saith Aristotle in his Politikes, must prouide, that all men doe their duetie: both lawiers, Philittians, husband men, Apothecaries: among whom we may also reken ministers and Preachers. What neede haue we here to multiplie heades? Salomon, Dauid, & Iosias, being ciuill Magistrats, yet did they not thinke religion to be without the compasse of their charge. Constantine, Theodosius, and Iustinian thought vppon nothing more than to set in order the church of God. So then there was no need that these men should raise vp a newe head vnto themselues in the Church: and especiallie for the setting vp of tyrannie. For the Church hath Elders, who must prouide in what order all things ought to be done, and that all things be in order the Magistrate ought to prouide. But what if the Magistrate be wicked? Yet there is a Church, there be Elders, there be Bishops: by these it must be decred and appointed what ought to be done in Religion. And this perhaps is it, why the king of England would be called head of his own Church next vnto Christ. For he thought that that power which the Pope vsurped to himselfe was his, and in his owne kingdome pertained to him selfe. The title indeed was vnwonted, and displeased manie godlie men: Howbeit if we consider the thing it selfe, he meant nothing elle but that which we haue now said.

What the Church must doe if the magistrate be vngodlie

How the king of England is called the head of the Church

7 But they obiect, that after the Pope once became a Monarch, and that we see that christ is not therby excluded, he must not rather lie be removed. For so the Israelites, although they had made themselues a king without the commaundement of God, he being once appointed, they did not afterward reuolt from him. I answere: The reason is not alike. For the Israelites in creating their king had the voyce of God: which thing if these men can shewe of their Pope, we will confesse that the reason on both partes is alike. But they cannot do it, naie rather they haue the contrarie out of the holie Scriptures. Wherefore we conclude first, that it is not agreeable for the Church to haue a double head. Secondlie, that although it might be agreeable, yet that one monarch man cannot rule and regard the whole world, for that both farre exceed mans strength. But thou wilt saie, If this reason be of force, euen a ciuill Monarch ought not to be suffered, who hath more Prouinces than he is able to take the charge of. Wherefore if a king be not able

Whether a Pope being none made been ought to be remoued. 1. Sam. 8.

Whether ciuil Magistrat ought to be subiect to more Popes than one

able to prouide for all the his, shal we reuolt from him as ye haue done from the Pope? I answere, that these Empires large extended, cannot be without fault: For seeing kings cannot deale in all things themselues, they cõmit their Prouinces vnto vnsatiable and gredy cormorants, by whom the people is miserablie drawen drie and suckt out. And in auncient times, when things were better, seuerall cities had seuerall kings. We read that Nynus first made ware vppon the nations adioining, and amplified his borders. So we read of so manie kinges, that were in the land of Canaan being no verie great Region. Indede it is an ill thing to haue so large a dominion, yet must not the people for that cause reuolt from their kings. Howbeit, if they will commaund anie thing against God, they must in no wise be heard. Christ came not to chaunge the order of common weales.

Ioh. 18.36. For my kingdome (saith he) is not of this world. Neither did Paul at anie time perswade, that there should be anie defection from Nero. So as we haue the word of God that we should obey the Magistrat whosoeuer he be, but we haue no word to obey the Pope.

Whether there be one head of the Church, whether the same ought to be at Rom.

8 But admit that there maie be some one head of the Church, why should he rather be at Rome than else where? Because Peter, saie they, sat in Rome. First that doth not sufficientlie appeare: For by some it is denied. But be it he was at Rome: he was also at Antioch and Ierusalem: Whie then should not the Bishops of these Cities be heades of the Church? But Peter, saie they, died at Rome. And Christ died at Ierusalem which is more. We declared at the first, that the Pope hath no word of God whereby he should appoint his kingdom: then, that no one man can be ouerlor of the whole world: lastlie if he might, yet he ought not any more to be the Bishop of Rome, than anie other Bishop. Besides this, the authozitie which they boast of, either they haue it of God or of men: if of God, let them bring forth some testimonie of the word of God that we maie beleeue: But if they will saie of men: yet men cannot nor ought not determine of the kingdome of God. For that were to vsurpe vppon an other mans kingdome. Neither doe we onelie shake off this power, but also in a manner all the elder Fathers. In the time of Cyprian there were such as would appeale out of Aphrica vnto Rome. Of that matter Cyprian wrote vnto Cornelius: Let causes be heard where they be committed. There is one Bishop in the, a part whereof is thoughtlie possessed by each one. Apiarius the Priest being condemned of his owne bishoppes, appealed to the bishop of Rome: who commaunded that he should be wholie restored. The councell of Carthage had decred that if anie man had appealed beyond the sea, he should be excommunicated. And so the Bishops of Aphrica receiue not Apiarius: & answere that this is not lawful vnto the Romane Bishop. Vnto the was sent Potentinus a bishop. The Aphricans demand frõ whence the Pope chalengeth so great authozitie: he answereth not of Christ, not of Peter (for as yet they became not so shameles) but of the Synode of Nice. The Aphricans desired the originall coppie. The Pope made delaie: for he had not what to shewe. They send to Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, in the Libraries of which Cities they doubted not but that all decrees of the Nicene councell were extant. But no such thing is there to be found. Afterward the Pope by no verie faithful dealing instede of the councell of Nice foisted in the councell of Sardis. But the authozitie of that councel was ouer light. Gregorie writeth, that this title in in the councell of Chalcedon, was tendered vnto Leo the Bishop of Rome, but that he would not accept the same. But nowe as touching doctrine, we shall find, that the Pope doeth teach in a maner all things contrarie vnto Christ: Justification by workes, inuocation of the dead, maiming of the Sacraments, prayers in a straunge and foraine language. By these Argumentes which we haue spoken of, is sufficientlie proued, that there is no head in the Church besides Christ.

The Elder Fathers dislike this power.

Whether a Bishop may prouide for other bishoppes in matters of doctrine

The Pope concealeth not from Christ, nor frõ Peter, but from the Councels of Nice

The Pope teacheth things cõtrary vnto Christ.

Arguments of the aduersaries. 1.

Acts. 1. 9. Christ went into heaue, therefore there must be of an other visible head. 2.

Ephe. 5. 23. Christ is with the Church, therefore he would haue a head. 3.

Howe Christ remaineth with vs.

9 Now will we weigh the foure strongest Arguments of our aduersaries, what force they beare. First they saie: Christ went into heauen, therefore the Church hath need of a visible guide. Further, Christ loueth his Church, therefore to the intent that the same might be the better gouerned, he would haue it to be prouided for by one head. For euen as the bodie cannot be gouerned without the soule, so neither the Church without a head. Thirdlie they saie, that the old Fathers had alwaies refuge to the Romane Church, as vnto the head. Lastlie they say, The ministers be not equall among themselues. Therefore least the matter should growe to a tumult, one must be chosen, who should be preferred among others, and haue a preheminence of voice in councels. As touching the first Argument: Christ so went his way, as he neuertheles remaineth perpetual lie in his Church: not in bodie, but in spirit, grace, and prouidence. For so he promiseth:

Mat.28.20. Behold I am with you euen to the end of the
Mat.18.20. world. And wherſoeuer two or three be gathe
red together in my name, there am I. Wher-
How Chriſt remaineth with vs. foꝛe Chriſt is alwaies with vs, that is in
our hearts. Further he left his woꝛd, from
whence the foꝛme of gouerning the Church
muſt be fought. But ſo, thou wilt ſaie, as he
cannot be ſeene: I grant it. And your Pope
alſo when is he ſeene of the Indians oꝛ Ethi-
opians? But thou wilt ſaie: The Pope hath
his legates: As though Chriſt hath not like-
wiſe his Legates. To the ſecond Argument:
Chriſt would haue the Church to be pꝛoui-
ded foꝛ, therefoꝛe he would haue one head
therof. The Argument foloweth not. Foꝛ the
How the Church is ruled & pꝛo-uided foꝛ. Church maie be otherwiſe pꝛouided foꝛ. The
Romane and Athenian commō weales were
beſt adminiſtred, and were moſt flouriſhing
whē they were ruled by Senatours. Wher-
foꝛe in the Church there maie be Ariſtocratia,
that all things be oꝛdered and ruled in coun-
cels: as in times paſt it was done among
the Apoſtles, and in the auncient Church.
Foꝛ what? Cannot Heluetia be ſafe without
a king? Yet ſo ſtrong are the Arguments of
Pigghius, although to himſelfe he maie
ſeeme verie charpe. Thirdlie, the auncient
An argument taken of the By-ſhops appealing to Rome. Biſhops being wꝛonged, repaired alwaies
vnto the Romane Church: therefoꝛe it was
the head. I denie the Argument. Foꝛ in the
common weale, if perhappes a man receiue
iniurie, he flieth vnto ſome Senatoꝛ, whom
he beleeueth to be a god man: ſhall it there-
foꝛe follow that the ſame Senatour is the
head of the common weale? In thoſe dayes
the Romane Biſhop was moꝛe holie, moꝛe
learned, and leſſe coꝛrupt than others: he
was of great authoꝛitie and in great place
about the Emperour, therefoꝛe Athanaſius,
Chryſoſtome and others went vnto him foꝛ
refuge; not that they tooke him foꝛ the head
of the Church. And in that gouernment of
the foure Patriarches, of which we haue
ſpoken befoꝛe, the weſt part did not ſo com-
mit it ſelfe vnto the Romane Biſhop as vn-
to their head, but tooke his aduice in doubt-
full cauſes: and afterward referred the mat-
ter vnto a councell.

10 Vnto the fourth, Miniſters be not al
An argument taken from the vncom-meneſſe of mi-niſters. equall among themſelues: Therefoꝛe leſt
there might be a confuſion of all things, it
were neceſſarie there ſhould be one head. I
anſwere. He that is better learned & more
ſpirituall, let him be aboue the reſt. So was
Dignitie muſt not be tyed to Chayres. there verie much aſcribed to Athanaſius and
Baſil, not foꝛ the woꝛthineſſe of the ſeat, but
foꝛ doctrine and holineſſe ſake. Manie
in all parts, foꝛ learning ſake, tooke coun-
ſell of Auguſtine: but the polleritie bound
al the dignities vnto certaine chaiers, name-
lie of Alexandria, Conſtantinople, Antioch,
and Rome, becauſe they hoped that in theſe
ſeates there would alwaies be moſt learned
and holie Biſhoppes. But it fell out other-
wiſe; foꝛ afterward the Emperours choſe
Biſhoppes, not the woꝛthieſt, but thoſe
whom they moſt fauoꝛed. Auguſtine being
moſt learned, was a Biſhop of Hippo, being
a place of no great name. Aurelius being a
man much moꝛe vnlearned, was Biſhop of
Carthage a famous Citie. But ſince they
feare confuſion, let the Romane Biſhop ſit
in the firſt place in Councels, the Biſhop of
Conſtantinople in the ſecond place, and af-
terward others in their place: but let not one
reigne ouer all. Let the gouernment be A-
riſtocratia, which oꝛder ſeemed alwaies the
beſt. Foꝛ it is harder to coꝛrupt manie than
one. Foꝛ euen blind men maie ſee that the
Popes are moſt ſhamefullie coꝛrupted by
thoſe their flatterers and paraſites. Foꝛ *De*
electione & electi poteſtate in the Chapter *Fun-*
damentum, in the Gloſſe it is written, that
the Pope is no man. In the Pꝛoheme of
the Epiſtles of Clement in the gloſſe it is
written, that he is neither God noꝛ man:
Wherefoꝛe he is directlie oppoſite to Chriſt.
Foꝛ Chriſt was both God and man: he is
neither God noꝛ man. Therefoꝛe he is ei-
ther an Angel oꝛ a beaſt: but he is no Angel,
therefoꝛe he is a beaſt. In the Extrauagants
de verborum ſignificatione in the Chapter *Ad*
Conditorem, it is written, that the Pope is
no pure man. This I eaſilie beleeue, foꝛ he
is oftentimes an vnpure Ruffian. Gelaſius in
the Decret the 9. Quæſt. 3. Chapter *Cuncta*
per orbem: The Romane ſeat (ſaith he) ought
to iudge of all men: none of it. It is lawful
foꝛ all men to appeale vnto it: and from it, it
is not lawfull. The ſame maie condemne
thoſe that be abſolued in Councels, and ab-
ſolue them that be condemned. In the Ex-
trauagants *De conceſſione Prebendarum*, in the
Chapter *Ad Apoſtolorum*: None ought to ſaie
vnto the Pope: Sir why doeſt thou this? And
in Quæſt. 2. in the Chapter *Abſtinſiſti*, and
they be the woꝛds of Anacletus: God is the
father becauſe he hath made, The Church
is the mother becauſe it hath regenerated.
Hereof Panormitanus in the treatile of the
councel of Baſil. Therefoꝛe (ſaith he) the
Pope is the ſonne of the Church, therefoꝛe
he muſt obey the Church. Which neuerthe-
les Eugenius, and Paul the third in the coun-
cell of Trent would not. But if of theſe
woꝛds doe alſo gather an other thing: Hee
is the ſonne of the Church, therefoꝛe he is
not head. Hee is the ſonne, therefoꝛe he is
not

Iſidꝛus bodes to coꝛrupt manie than one. What reuerence the Popes flatterers haue giuen him.

The Pope quite contꝛarie to Chriſt.

The Pope muſt obey the Church.

not the ſpouſe, vnles he will conſeſſe himſelfe
to be inceſtuous.

Of the dignitie and woꝛthineſſe of the ho-
ly miniſterie, looke the Sermon vpon a place
out of the 3. of Kings. Alſo of the powee
of the keies: looke the Sermon vpon a place
in the 20. of Iohn: Whoſe ſinnes yee remit,
Iohn.20.v.23. they are remitted, &c. At the ende of this
booke.

The fourth Chapter.

Of Eccleſiaſticall lawes, of Traditions, of the diſcerning of ſpirits, of Councels, Fathers, and of the Canons, which they call the Canons of the Apoſtles.

In 1.Sa.14. in the end. HEre are thꝛee things to be conſidered of vs. The firſt is, whether it be lawfull foꝛ Biſhops & Eccleſiaſticall men to ſet foꝛth ſuch maner of lawes and decꝛees. Secondly, if it be lawfull, what manner of lawes thoſe ought to be. Thirdly, what foꝛce they may haue to binde the conſcience. As touching the firſt, wee
That Eccleſiaſticall lawes muſt be obeyed. Rom.13.5. Ephe.6.1. 1.Pet.2.8. Mat.17.27. know that all godly men are bound to obey
Princes and Magiſtrates, And that as Paule
ſaieth foꝛ conſcience ſake. Peter and Paule
command ſeruantes to obey their Maiſters,
euen though they be froward. Chriſt himſelfe
paide tributes and cuſtomes, and was neuer
againſt the lawes. We are commanded to
Exo.20.12. obey parents. And the Magiſtrate is in ſteed
of a parent as vnto whom our parents haue
referred all their power and authoꝛitie. Sa-
Pꝛou.24.21. lomon in the pꝛouerbes ſaith. Feare God
and honour the king, and meddle not with
Seditious men, foꝛ their diſtruction is at hand.
But this is true ſo long as they commaunde
nothing againſt the Loꝛde. Foꝛ if that hap-
pen, we muſt obey God rather than men.
Albeit in the Ciuill lawes there be certaine
things belonging vnto the neceſſitie of a Ci-
tie: ſome vnto decencie onely. It is foꝛ ne-
ceſſitie, that men ſhoulde punith offen-
ders: vnto decencie, that it may not be
lawfull foꝛ a matron to marrie in the time of
mourning: which was pꝛouided foꝛ by the
Romane lawes. Further his purpoſe alſo is
to be conſidered who made the Lawes. Foꝛ
ſome things he would haue to be ſtraitlie and
thoughtlie obſerued: and that ſome things
ſhould be certaine pꝛouocatiōs and admoniti-
ons. Laſtlie in theſe lighter ſoꝛtes of matters

we muſt take heede, that nothing be violated
by contempt. The effect is, that men ſeeing
they be not borne to themſelues, but to the
common weale, ſhoulde indeuour with all
their cares to obey lawes.

2 But ſome thinke that Biſhops may
Biſhops may not make lawes. not make lawes. And thus to ſaie they are
moued by no ſmall oꝛ obſcure reaſons.
Foꝛ firſt they denounce from whence they
ſhould haue that parte: I ſpeake heere of Bi-
ſhops ſo farre foꝛth as they bee Miniſters
of the woꝛd, not in reſpect that they be ciuill
Pꝛinces: foꝛ the conſideration of that matter
is otherwiſe. That power they haue not of
Chriſt, foꝛ he neither made lawes, noꝛ yet
euer gaue ſuch commaundements to his Ap-
poſtles. Wherefoꝛe, if Biſhops bee ſo ſent
from Chriſt, as he was ſent from the father,
they cannot make lawes. Further if behoo-
eth that they which make lawes, ſhoulde
haue dominion: But Peter warneth Bi-
1.Pet.5.3. ſhops that they ſhould not beare rule ouer
the Clergie. Beſides, hee that writeth
lawes, it behoueth he haue an intereſt to pu-
niſh: as it is in the Pandects *de legibus & Se-*
natus conſultis out of Demoſthenes. Foꝛ hee
ſaith, that the lawe is τιθεμένη χάριν τῶν ἀμορ-
τημάτων καὶ ὑπεύθυνον καὶ ἀναίτιον, this, the lawe
is a lawfull coꝛrection of offences cōmitted
willingly oꝛ unwillingly. But the Church
hath not the ſwoꝛd oꝛ power of puniſhing.
Moꝛeouer where ỳ law is, there of neceſſitie
muſt follow the tranſgreſſion: ſuch is the infir-
1.Cor.7.39 Iam.4.12 mitie of our nature. But Paule woulde not
inſnare any man. And Iames ſaith, in the 4.
Chapter: There is one lawmaker who can
ſaue and deſtroy. And Eſaie in the 33. Chap-
Eſa.33.22. ter: Thou art our King, Thou art our Iudge,
thou art our Lawgiuer. But the Canons de-
The Canons haue licenced the Biſhops to make Lawes. cree farre otherwiſe. Yea & when they ſpeake
of them which make lawes, they giue
the firſt place vnto the Pope: the ſecond, vn-
to ỳ Councels and Biſhops: the third, vnto
Emperours. And of this mind be ỳ Schoole-
men, as Thomas *in Secunda Secundæ de Ieiu-*
nij: ſaith, that the Church cannot decꝛee at
what time and in what manner we ſhoulde
faſt. Foꝛ euen as (ſaith he) ciuill Magiſtrates
make decꝛees and ratifie thoſe things which
be confuſedly and obſcurely ſhadowed in the
lawe of nature: ſo the Church may define &
determine thoſe things which be confuſedlie
taught in the holie Scriptures. And Oſti-
Oſtienſis. enſis *de voto Conſtitutionum* ſaith, that ſuch de-
cꝛees ought to be of that foꝛce, that he which
ſtammeth them ſhould be excommunicated.
And we reade in the hiſtoꝛies that Victoꝛ
would haue excommunicated al the Eaſt part,

for no other cause but for that they did not solemnise the feast of Easter after the Romish vse: Albeit that matter was somewhat repressed by the Counsell of Irenæus. The

An answere to the reasons bringing in of the power into Bythops.

reasons that are brought for the contrarie, they thinke that they be able inough to refell. For whereas it is saide, that the Bithops receaued not authoritie of Christ to make lawes, they answere, that that is nothing. For they saie that lawes doe belong vnto doctrine: For the lawe (as Cicero saith) is a commaunding of honest things and a repelling of things shamefull. So that seeing the Church hath the authoritie to teach, it hath also (saie they) authoritie to make Lawes.

Cicero. what the lawe is.

And albeit Peter saith that a Bishop ought not to beare rule, yet that he ought to haue ouersight in the Church and to haue the power of the keies. And whereas it is alleaged that the Church hath no right to punish, they say it is false: For the Church may bind, lose, & excommunicate. And whereas Paule wit-

1.Pet.5.3.

1.Cor.7.37

neth that he will not cast any man into a snare, they say he writeth this particularly of virgins, because chastitie is not commonlie giuen but o al men: And that it is a weake argument for a man thus to gather: It is not lawfull to make a lawe of virginitie, therefore it is not lawfull for any cause. And that whereas Esaie saith; Thou art our lawmaker

Esa.33.22.

and king: that is true as touching the last iudgement & eternall damnation: By the

* Antonomasia is when in the place of a proper name an other name is put.

figure * Antonomasia, because whatsoeuer is, is of him. For otherwise by the same reason euerie ciuil magistrate should be taken away.

3 But whether these bee Lawes or no, I will not contend, because it maketh not much to purpose. Wherefore let it bee set downe, that it is lawfull for the Church to make to it selfe, either Canons, or lawes: or decrees, or statutes, or call them by what name they will. For the Church is a company, and must be ruled by the word of God, especially because it belongeth to the saluation thereof, and to the worshiping of God. But there be other things which belong onelie vnto outward discipline. For there is neede of certaine outward bondes, to the end that the fellowship of the people may be retained. So the Apostle decreed, that women

1.Cor.11.5

ought to praie with the head couered, and

Acts.15.29

men vncouered. And the Apostles in the Acts, decreede that we should abstaine from bloud, from strangled, and from things dedicated vnto Idols. And alwaies in Councels after they had done with doctrine, they began to intreate of discipline. Finallie so did the Fathers as Tertullian, Origen, Basil, Augustine and Ierom. The ende of these lawes must be edefying and good order. But for in much as they be not of necessitie, they maie be changed according to the times and places: as in Baptisme, concerning the three times dipping, of sprinkling of them that are diseased: of the time of Easter and Penticost: at which times onely Baptisme was wont to be giuen. Of the Eucharist, in what place, at what time, after what manner, whether we ought to communicate standing or sitting, in the morning or at euening: vnlesse that these things thalbe determined of, there will neuer be any tranquillitie of the Church. For one man will beare a Sermon at one time, and an other at an other time: one in this place, and an other in that. So as it is lawfull to appoint such decrees if it be done with the peace of the Church. Others reason thus: The people is vnlearned and vnskilfull, therefore to be held in Ceremonies. But this difference is betweene vs and them of old time: They had many Ceremonies: we, as saith Augustine, haue verie fewe. And Christ saith that God will haue a people of whom he shall bee called vpon in spirit and in truth. Yet Paule teacheth the Corinthians, that it behooueth that there should be some things which maie serue vnto order and comelinesse. Howbeit this order consisteth not in great pompe, in apparell, in songs, in the noyse of bels, and organs, but in that which may serue vnto modestie and grauitie, which may remoue lightnesse, confusion, and barbarousnesse.

1.Cor.14.40

What manner of lawes ought to be of Church

4 Now that we maie vnderstand, of what sort such lawes should be, we ought to remember, that some there bee, which pertaine to doctrine, and some to gouernance. Vnto doctrines nothing ought to be thought necessary, but that which is gathered either expressely or by manifest and sound reason out of the holy Scriptures: such as is of the baptising of Infantes, and of *Homousion*, that is (That Christ is of one substance with his father.) For God expressely commaunded in

Deut.12.32

Deuteronomie, that there should not any thing be added vnto his lawe. Againe, those things which pertaine to gouernance, are distinguished two manner of waies. For some be necessarie and serue vnto saluation: of which sort none must be thought, vnlesse they be taught in the holie Scriptures. Others there be indifferent in their owne nature, the which we may vse either well or ill. Vnto this part onely belongeth all this discourse. In this kind we must speciallie take heede, that nothing be thought to be done to the worshiping of God. For diuine worshiping dependeth not of the will of men, but of the

Lawes indifferent of themselues.

the counsell of God. Therefore Christ in

Mat.15.9.

Matthew saieth out of Esay: In vaine do they worship mee, teaching doctrines being precepts of men. For the worshipping of God must remaine simple and pure. Therefore

Esa.29.13. Ibid.14.

God saieth in Esay, that he would send furie and madnesse vpon them of whom he is worshipped according to the preceptes of men. And in deede so we see it commonly come to passe, that they which are wholie occupied in this, are after a sort giuen vp to a reprobate sense: they dote, they are mad, and they cannot see, euen those things that bee most cleare. Paul vnto the Colossians saieth: If ye

Col.2.20.

be dead with Christ, why are ye yet as it were liuing held with decrees? And vnto the Ga-

Gal.5.1.

lathians: Stand you in the same libertie wherein Christ hath deliuered you. And to the Co-

Col.2.22.

lossians he vtterly condemneth all voluntarie worshippings. These things in deede haue a shewe of holinesse and wisedome, but that their standeth in superstition, in humilitie, in ἀφειδίᾳ, that is, neglecting of the bodie, and in the reuelation of Angels, but in deede they be rebuked, as Christ saith in Mat-

Mat.15.9.

thew. But now if these things be neither necessarie, nor yet belong to the worshipping of God, they may be changed: neither is it necessarie that they should be after one sort in all Churches. In these things saieth Ierom let euerie Prouince abounde in his owne sense. And Ambrose, as he is cited by Augustine to Ianuarius: If ye will not erre do you (saieth he) as I am wont: For I vnto what Church soeuer I come, doe applie my self vnto the ceremonies therof. Neither vndoubtedlie ought the Church be depriued of that libertie, which Christ would haue euermore remaine whole vnto it. Yet doe I not therefore speake these things, to the intent I would haue Ceremonies to be euerie daie altered in the Church, for nothing must either be changed or abolished without great counsell and graue deliberation. Further we must take heede, least these ceremonies do growe to an exceeding number, and so doe ouerturne all things. Augustine in his 119. Epistle vnto Ianuarius saieth, that in his time the number of obseruations was so great, as the condition of the Iewes seemed much more tolerable than do the condition of the Christians. All things (saieth he) be ful of presumptions: so as he may seeme to sinne more grieuously, which during their Octaues treadeth on the ground with his bare feete, than he that drinketh drunke. And what doe these things profite in the ende? Verilie they will make vll men nothing the better. For as wee haue said, they are onelie effectual vnto good order,

Matt.15.3.

for so much as manie of these kinde of things are inuented for filthinesse, and gaines sake: for by these artes the Papistes kitchings are made fatte. It also happeneth oftentimes, that by these small matters men are led away from the true worship of God. This did Christ reproue in the Pharisees, that for their traditions they contemned the preceptes of God. Wherefore such inuentions and decrees of men must be taken away so often as they begin to hinder holinesse to Godward. For

2.king.18.4

so Ezechias tooke away the brasen Serpent when the people had once begun to honour it for God, although it was erected by Moses. Ceremonies therefore are to bee suffered so long as they serue to good order and to any vse of the Church: but where as there thalbe no more vse of them, they must without all doubt be taken away.

Of what force the lawes of the Church be.

5 Nowe let vs see as touching the third part, which sit the best our purpose, what force such decrees should haue for the binding of consciences, and what difference there is betweene these things and ciuill decrees. First of all those things binde not, if contempt and offence be renewed, and that wee doe not either through pride and of set purpose abolish those things that be well instituted, or else trouble the common quiet of the Church. Those things being obserued, the conscience is nothing bound. For example sake: The Apostles decreed that the gen-

Act.15.29.

tils conuerted vnto Christ should abstaine from strangled, from bloud, and from the thing dedicated vnto Idols. Wherein they had respect vnto nothing else but the tranquillitie of the Church: for otherwise the Iewes could neuer haue agreed with the Ethnickes. If anie man had eaten those things, preseruing the common quiet of the Church, he had nothing at all sinned against

Ibid.ver.10

conscience. For otherwise Peter saith: Why tempt you God, in putting on a yoke &c? And Paul vnto the Colossians: Let no man

Col.2.16.

iudge you in meat and drinke. And if so bee we ought not to be iudged of our brother, much lesse ought we to be iudged of our selues. And Christ saith, That which goeth

Mat.15.11.

in at the mouth, defileth not the man: and so he defended his disciples when they had eaten with vnwashed handes, and when as they iourneied, they rubbed out the eares of corne in their hands. The same doeth Paul

1.Cor.10. 25.

prooue in the Epistle to the Corinthians, saying: Whatsoeuer shall bee set before you, that eate without asking anie question. But if anie man shall declare vnto thee, that that meate is dedicated to an Idol, eate not for conscience sake, not thine owne conscience,

Where in they differ from lawes politike.

but his that shewed it vnto thee. But a farre other there is in ciuill precepts. For we are commaunded to obey, not onelie because of wrath, but also for conscience sake: the conscience I meane not of an other man, but our owne. Therefore great is the difference betweene Ecclesiasticall decrees and politicall. So then it is of necessitie that those thinges doe not binde the consciences. For in Ecclesiasticall things, good order must be regarded, but in ciuill things we must obey, although thou perceiue not that good order.

Rom.13.5.

In 1.Sam. 15.22. Matt.9.13. Osee.4.7. In 1.Sa.15

6 In fine we must alwaies hold that common rule, To obey is better than sacrifice: and to harken, is better than the fat of rammes. Samuel disputing of sacrifices and obedience, vseth a double comparison. For first he saith, that those things are not of like estimation. Further he saith, that obedience is better than all sacrifices. Ben Gerson sheweth this reason thereof. Because sacrifices (saith he) are inuented to take awaie sinnes, but obedience maketh a man not to sinne at all. And much better is that which causeth vs not to sinne, than which purgeth sinne committed. An other reason is, because, that must needes be lesse which is sometime refused by God, than that which is alwaies required: but sacrifices are often reiected of God; obedience, neuer: wherefore this must needes be the better. For Ieremie saith in the 7. Chapter: When I brought your fathers out of Egypt, I spake not a word vnto them of sacrifices, but onelie that you should obey my word. And Esaie, Why offer ye (saith he) so manie sacrifices vnto me? I am full of burnt offerings and of the fatnes of fed beasts. And Dauid in the 50. Psalme: I will take no calues out of thy stall, nor heegoates out of thy flockes, for al the wilde beastes of the forest are mine, and so are the cattell vppon a thousand hils. I know all the foules of the mountaines, and the wild beasts are with me. If I be hungrie I will not tell thee. I might cite manie other places for the confirmation hereof, but it sufficientlie appeareth by these fewe, that sacrifices were sometimes refused: but GOD neuer refused obedience.

Why obedience is better than sacrifices.

Ier.7.22.

Esa.1.11.

Psal.50.10.

7 But here by the waie, somewhat must be spoken of those words of Ieremie, how it can be said, that God spake not to the olde Iewes as touching sacrifices. Ierom refereeth this vnto the ten commaundements, because in it there is no mention made of sacrifices, but that afterward, when they had made vnto themselues a Calfe, God commaunded, that if they would needes doe sacrifices, they should rather doe them vnto him than vnto Idols. Albeit there maie be an other reason no lesse probable gathered by the Prophete it selfe. For when the people was brought forth into the wildernesse, when the tabernacle was consecrated and that nowe the Priestes were appointed, there was instituted a most plentifull sacrifice vppon mount Sinai. But after that time, so long as they remained by the space of fortie yeares in the wildernesse, they neither had circumcision nor sacrifices. Hereunto it semes that Ieremie had respect, rather than vnto the Leuitical lawe. A third exposition may be: that God required not these things, that is to wit, chiefelie and especiallie: For this kind of speach is vsuall in the holie Scriptures, that that which is not chiefelie done, is absolutelie denied to be done. So Paul saith: Christ sent not me to baptise; Whereas yet he said vnto al the Apostles: Go ye and baptise. But because that semed to be the least part of the Apostolicall office, therefore Paul denieth otherwise that the same belonged to his office. Otherwise he baptised Gaius and Stephanas, in the doing wherof he had swarued from his vocation, if he had not bene sent to baptise. So as God commaunded not sacrifices vnto the old Iewes: that is, he did not specialliie and chiefelie commaund them. Also we maie saie, that God required not sacrifices of them, namelie after such a manner as they were done of them: that is to wit, with dissimulation and hypocrisie, when as their heart was altogether strange from God. For sacraments be seales of the promises of God, and confirmations of our faith. But if faith be absent, what can either be sealed or confirmed? Moreouer God requireth no such kinde of sacrifices, which for the verie worke sake should be thought to purge sinnes; or which should be gathered of robberie of poore mens oblations. In sacrifices, the thing signified did please, that is to wit, Christ, vnto whom those things, and the mortification of affections stirred vp the mindes of men. So Paul saith: I beseech you my brethren that ye wil giue your bodies a liuelie sacrifice, holie, acceptable vnto God, which is your reasonable seruing of GOD. Without these things, sacrifices were nothing else but dead bodies without life. The third reason why obedience is to be preferred before sacrifices, is, that sacrifices maie be common vnto God and vnto Idols, but obedience is peculiar vnto God. Lastlie in sacrifices, a man maie make much of the belie and of good cheere: but obedience is referred vnto God alone. But that sacrifices are of some estimation, it appeareth by the verie

The place of Ieremie expounded by Ierom.

Matt.28.19.

1.Cor.1.17

What the Sacrament.

An excellent argument to proue that a Sacrament cannot worke by the verie worke, that is, of it selfe.

Rom.12.1.

Other reasons why obedience is better than sacrifice.

1.Sa.15.22

rie words of Samuell, to obey (saith he) is better than sacrifice: therefore sacrifices are good, so that they be done rightlie and in order. This place doe the Papistes wrest vnto that obedience, which they crie out to be due vnto them and their traditions. Howbeit if Samuel spake not of this obedience, but of that which is due vnto the commaundement of God. So Paul saith: that he receiued grace & Apostleship to the obedience of faith, that al the Gentils might be brought vnto Christ.

What are the words of Samuell to meane.

Luk.10.16.

But Christ (saie they) saith: He that heareth you, heareth me, & he that despiseth you despiseth me. These things indeede agree vnto you, but yet so as you must alledge the word of God.

Of Traditions.

In 1.Cor.4 ver.17.& In 1.Cor.1. 10.

8 Moreouer false Apostles are by Paul reproued, because they brought in maners and doctrin altogether without Christ. Let them consider therefore howe far they straie which earnestlie affirme that traditions should be urged, seeing the same be not taught euerie where in the Church, neither were alwaies receiued: and yet are they called Apostolical.

The maner in calling Apostolicall the rites and doctrine giuen to the Apostles.

There was a tradition in Tertullians time, that milke and honie should forthwith be given to them that were baptised, that so (as he speaketh) they might be fed like infants.

The Eucharist ministred vnto Infants.

Also it was a tradition, that the Eucharist, and that vnder both kindes, should be giuen to Infantes in the time of Augustine and Cyprian, and should so be giuen as things necessarie vnto saluation. Epiphanius *in Doctrina compendiaria contra hæreses*, saith, that it was an Apostolicall tradition, that they should fast the day before the Sabboth, which is called Fridaie, because Christ as that date suffered. Also the fourth daie of the weake, because Christ on that date was assumpted into heauen. And when he lined on the earth he said that the Apostles should not fast so long as they had the bridegrome with them. But that they should then fast, when the bridegroome should be taken from them. It is there added and confirmed by Augustine, in an Epistle to Casulanus, that there is a tradition, that we should not fast from Easter vnto Pentecost: There is also a traditiō, as Basil confirmeth in his booke *de Spiritu Sancto*, that during all those daies we should not worship vppon our knees. The verie which he affirmeth of the Lords daie. The tradition was Apostolicall at Ephesus and in Asia, that the feast of Easter should be kept after the fashion of the Iewes. In the Church of Rome that the tradition of the Apostles was said to be otherwise. Seeing therefore they be so diuers and are repugnant in them selues, they cannot be the waies of Paul or of the Apostles. For he saith, that hee himselfe taught euerie where and in euerie place one and the selfe same thing. Wherefore Cyprian writeth vnto Pompeius, that he also followeth not of traditions, vnlesse it be those which are in the Gospels, Apostolicall Epistles, and Actes of the Apostles, whereto I adde those which necessarily are inferred out of the holie Scriptures. Whatsoeuer things else are brought they be vncertaine and not euerie where receiued. So as if a due consent ought to be preserued in the Church, it is necessarie that we firmelie and constantlie staie our selues in the holie Scriptures.

Traditions forbidding Thursday and Friday

Matt.9.15.

Augustine. Of fasting betweene Easter and Pentecost.

Cyprian alloweth no traditions but such as are in the Gospel.

Of discerning of Spirites.

9 But the discerning of spirits is a gift, by which the difference of the which are moued by an euill spirit is knowen from them which are inspired with the holy ghost. Which, how necessarie it is, Christ admonished, when he said, Beware of false Prophets which come vnto you in sheepes clothing, but inwardlie they be rauening wolues. And Paul vnto the Thessalonians, Prooue all things and keepe that which is good. But how spirites are to be knowen, Iohn teacheth in his first Epistle when he saith: If a man confesse that the Lord Iesus is come in the flesh: he is of God: and he that denieth that the Lord Iesus is come in the flesh, is not of the Lord, but is of Antichrist. Augustine treating on these wordes, marueileth, that manie Heretikes be verie pernitious, which confesse the Lord Iesus to haue come in the flesh, who neuertheles be not of God: but he answereth to this effect: that they confesse the Lord Iesus to be come in flesh, which with a found faith receiue all those doctrines which either goe before or follow this article. If Christ come in the flesh, he was before his comming: he toke verie flesh vppon him to this end, that he should verilie die, and that afterward he should rise againe, whereby he might also giue vs the hope of resurrection. And manie other things are knit vnto that principle, the which aswell heretikes as infidels doe refuse, either in whole or in part. Wherefore Iohn would not distinctlie reckon vp euerie thing which we ought to confesse vnto saluation, to the end that our spirite might be appoynted, but he onelie spake of that which was the chiefe, vnto which in a man-

In 1.Cor. 12.ver.10. How Spirites may be discerned.

Matt.7.15.

1.Thess.5. 21.

1.Iohn.4.2.

Augustine.

ner

ner all other things necessarie to saluation are adioyned. But if thou wilt saie: Admit there be some which rightlie and faithfullie hold al those opinions, is he therfore thought to haue the spirit of Christ, if he liue vnpurelie? Augustine answereth, that there is a certaine confession which is in outward wordes onelie, and an other which is true, and hath god workes with it. And this he prooueth out of the Epistle vnto Titus: They confesse that they know God, but in deedes they denie him. Therefore by contraries he saith: there be some which in dedes confesse God him selfe: therefore he affirmeth that confession, of which Iohn speaketh, is no vulgare confession, but such a one as hath deedes. But through these things which are spoken by this godlie man, we haue as yet no certaine rule by the which spirites are discerned. For there be manie Heretikes, which in outward shew haue had their life garnished with workes notable enough, but the same in the meane time was contaminated with the indeuour of humane glorie, and we being ignorant of the purpose of their mind, can iudge nothing of the godnes of ỹ workes which they make semblance of: for this iudgment pertaineth onelie to the conscience. Wherefore Iohn in the same Epistle writeth: And if so be our heart accuse vs, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. As if he had said: Although thou shalt behaue thy selfe notablie in outward shew, and shalt haue an euill minde, thinke not that thou art hidden: for God also vnderstandeth the peruersenelle of thy minde, seing he is greater than our heart. So as to God must be left the secrete iudgement of perfect vprightnelle of workes: because he being the iudge, it maie be, that he which shall giue his bodie to be burned, seing hee is without charitie, it is nothing: and that these things which he seemeth to doe verie well, are condemned: Onelie we can iudge of those thinges which appeare manifestlie.

Lodw part. 2. pl. 3. Cer. 8 Euery one that holdeth euyr opinions is not therefore saide to be of Christ.

Two rules for the trying of spirites.

The confession of opinions must be examined according to ỹ scriptures.

Before the new Testament was written, opinions were examined by the Apostles sayings.

Tit.1.16.

Many heretikes haue liued godlie in shewe.

1.Ioh.3.20.

1.Cor.13.3.

1.Ioh.4.2.

1.Ioh.4.6.

10 Wherefore there remaineth two rules for to iudge of spirites. One is, if the opinions, as touching faith be retained perfect and pure. And this meant Iohn when he said: If anie man confesse the Lord Iesus, &c. And this confession of opinions must be examined by the holie Scriptures: the which seeing they had not in the Church at the beginning, as concerning the new Testament, they were examined by the wordes and doctrine of the Apostles. Wherefore Iohn a little after saith: He that is of God heareth vs, and he that heareth not vs is not of God. Then he addeth, that thus we doe prooue the spirit. An other rule is of maners and life: This did Christ expresse when he said: By their fruites ye shall knowe them. And as opinions are knowen by examining of them with the Scriptures, so life and maners should be tried by the discipline of the Church. Howbeit either rule of examination is at this daie waxen cold. For the life of the faithfull is not looked vppon, but the sheepe of Christ doe miserablie perish and are neglected. Further the holie Scripture is lesse red than méet it should; neither is it carefullie and diligentlie handled. And the Papistes will that the opinions should bee examined, not by the Scriptures, but by the councels and fathers. Thereof it commeth to passe, that the Church hath these manie yeares béene deceiued. In the Primatiue Church a gift was extant, whereby it might easilie be knowen with what spirite they which did speake were ledde. By these meanes Satan was reuiled when he transformed himselfe into an Angel of light.

Life and maners must be tryed by holie plume.

Of Councels,

11 Wherefore let them take héed which in diuers places boast of the Councels, in which it hath bin iudged as touching religion, what men it behoued there to bée, namelie spirituall, for somuch as the iudgement onelie of diuine things is brought to the: But at this daie the greatest part of a Councell, is so ouerfraught with grosse imperfections, as in verie déede it is not lawfull to take meat with them. They saie that they be the Church: howbeit although they be baptised, and haue taken orders in the Church, yet doe they not therefore prooue themselues to be spirituall, seing it is prooued that they do the workes of the flesh and not of the spirit. And although some spirituall men maie perhappes agrée with them, verie fewe they be and are ouermatched both in number and authozitie of the carnall sort, neither deale they alwaies valiantlie as they ought to do. And in trueth as the case now standeth it is the Pope which gouerneth the councell. For he summoneth, suspendeth, alloweth, and refuseth the same at his owne pleasure. Who, how truelie he maie be called spirituall, all men vnderstand. Besides further seing the holie Scriptures be inspired by God: therefore most spirituall, none that be spirituall can decrée in councels anie thing against them. For spirites are not one against another. But in Councels they haue sundrie times

1.Cor.1. verse.14.

Out of this place is gathered an argument against Councels.

Luke after pl.6.Sect.9. 8.17.&c. Luke par. 2. pl.6.Sect. 11.

times defined against the decrées of the holie Scripture. There the communion was mangled: Matrimonie was forbidden the ministers of the Church: Innumerable abuses were brought in of masses: namelie Inuocation of Saints, the vse of Images: the superstition of Purgatorie and infinite pestilences of this kinde were confirmed. And what authozitie a councel should haue, Augustine sheweth in the 3. booke against Maximinus the bishop of the Arrians, when he saith: But now neither ought I alleadge the councell of Nice, nor thou the Councell of Ariminum as though we would preiudice one an other, neither must I be tyed to the authozitie of this, nor yet thou to the authozitie of that: Let thing with thing, cause with cause, reason with reason striue together by the authozities of the scriptures, not being each mans owne testimonies, but by those which be common to both parties. Where thou seest, ỹ this father doth appeale from the Councels vnto the Scriptures.

Augustine.

We must appeale fro the Councels and fathers to the Scriptures.

Augustine. The same father in the 2. booke against the Donatistes the 3. Chapter, saith: The letters of bishoppes and the decrées of Prouincial councels giue place to the greater councels, but the Canonicall Scripture giueth place to none. And the same father writing vnto Ierom with whom he disputed as touching the reprehending of Peter which is spoken of to ỹ Galathians, he most manifestlie appealed from the Fathers which Ierom cited, vnto the wozds of the holie Scripture.

Look in the order of bookes pag. 70. in Epist. ad Galat. Anno 59. pag. 135. & 419. Ioh.16.12.

Nothing necessarie to saluation concerneth mans vnderstanding to appoint.

12 Neither must we passe vpon that which they often times obiect vnto vs: namelie, that Christ saide vnto his Apostles: I haue manie things to speake vnto you, but ye cannot nowe beare them away. Whereof they will gather, that many things as touching the worshipping of God and Religion, may be appointed by them, which the holy Scriptures haue not taught: As though Christ in those wozds had spoken of worshippings and Ceremonies. Might not the Apostles then abide such things, who both had bin bozne and were conuersant from their childhod in ceremonies and rytes? Was Moses able to teach those things to the ignozaunt people, and could not Christ teach the Apostles those things which be of the same kinde? The case doeth not so stande: but those manie things were the same which he had alreadie tolde them: and they were moze expressedly and effectuallie to be expounded vnto them and to be printed in their mindes, by the power of the holy ghost which he promised vnto them.

Ioh.16.13.

For a little after he saieth: When the comforter shall come, he shall prompt you in all things that I haue shewed you. Moreouer he testified, that all things which he heard of his father, he tolde it vnto them: All things (saith he) which I haue heard of my father, I haue made them knowen vnto you. So as there shall be nothing left necessary vnto saluation which is lawful for these men to decrée. Neither are these things spoken, to the intent that the authozitie of councels should be vterlie reiected. For if so be they shall reprehend, excommunicate, or absolue by the word of God, and shall pray together by the power of the spirit, these things shal not be in vaine and without fruite. Yea and Paule went to Peter and to the Apostles vnto Ierusalem, not to deriue doctrine from them, but least he should runne in vaine, he went for the commoditie of others, that they might vnderstand, ỹ his kind of doctrine did not disagrée from the opinions of the Apostles as some boasted that it did. If Councels were otherwhile had for this purpose, that all Churches might acknowledge a consent in the veritie of the Scriptures, they might verie well be borne withal. But when they decrée against the testimonies of the holie Scriptures, they are not to be suffered. For Paul if he had perceiued any thing to haue bin defined, either by Peter or by the other Apostles, otherwise than he himself had heard of Christ, he would not haue giuen his allent, no verilie Not to an Angell, if he had shewed from heauen any thing other than the Gospell which he had receiued: so as we also must esteeme none to be spirituall, nor yet to iudge aright, if they haue decréed against the scriptures.

The authozitie of Councels must not be reiected, when they be ale by the word of God.

Gal.2.6.

For what cause Councels should be sometimes bad.

Gal.1.8.

13 Wherefore that which Paul writeth of the Corinthians iudgement, wee must retaine, if we be iudged either by a Councell or by the Papistical Church, against the scriptures, we may boldly saie with Paule, we esteeme it least of all to be iudged by you. Neither must our aduersaries be heard, who say, that the iudgement of the Church must bée preferred aboue the Scriptures: and they thinke that they haue prooued it by a sufficient reason, when they say: the Church hath iudged of the Scriptures, by receiuing some and refusing some: which it might not haue done vnlesse the iudgement thereof had excelled the Scriptures. But these men must consider, that there hath bin euen from the beginning some men replenished with the spirit of God, by whom God hath set foorth his Oracles vnto men, the which he would haue to bee registred in writings. These wordes of God, when as others eyther heard or read, it happened by the benefite of the spirit, that the faithfull acknowledged those to

1.Cor.4. verse.3. Look part.1 pl.6.Sect. 7.

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be the naturall and sincere wordes of God. Wherefor it came to passe that ẏ holie scriptures be admitted. But ȩ if they which being illuminated with the holy Ghoſt, acknowledged the holie scriptures to be the worde of God, had bin demaunded, whether they woulde not haue their owne authoritie to be preferred aboue them, they would not haue suffered it: but on the other side, thoſe being knowen ȩ receiued, they altogether submitted themselues, and agreed that they should be reputed for the moſt sure rule of their faith ȩ life. Wherefore it is but a weake consequent: The fathers accepted and discerned the holie Scriptures from other writings, therefore they ought to be preferred aboue them. Because we also acknowledge one verie God, and admit Jesus Christ, wee differ not him from Jools and from the Deuill: yet for all that we cannot inferre, that we are more excellent either than Christ or God. Also our minde admitteth the perswasions and motions of the holie Ghoſt vnto reading and praying, vnto chaſt liuing, and them discerneth from the intisements of the diuell, the flesh and the worlde: yet shall not our minde for that cause be called, either superiour or better than the holie Ghoſt. Further also, a man indued with the knowledge of Philoſophie, when as he shal receiue Aristotle or Galen or noble Philosophers, and shall place them aboue Epicurus, Aristippus or Democritus: dare he therefore because he hath so iudged as touching Philoſophie, preferre his owne authoritie either aboue Aristotle or Galen? Wherefore men haue by faith and illumination of the holie Ghoſt knowen that thoſe things which the Patriarches, Prophetes, Christ, and the Apoſtles haue spoken are the wordes of God. Which things being so knowen and receiued, they did not accompt themselues either greater or better than the Scriptures of them: naie rather (as we said at the firſt) they cõmitted themselues to be gouerned and ruled by them. There was also an other manner of iudging of the Scriptures, that thoſe things which the latter Canonicall writers did speake or write did not disagree with the firſt, but they agreed verie well with them. The Prophets, agree vnto the lawe in all things. The Euangeliſts and Apoſtles borowed the Ceremonies of their sayings, al well of the lawe as of the Prophets. Whereby thou seeſt that the law is allowed by the Prophets, and the Prophets are confirmed by the Apoſtles and by the Euangeliſtes. And when they demaund how it came to passe that Luke and Marke being writers of the Gospell were received, whereas the Gospel of Bartholomew, of Thomas, of Thaddeus, and of the Nazarits, was excluded: we will answere, that the holie Ghoſt did not perſwade the hearts and the minds of faithfull men that these were the wordes of God, as were thoſe which bee written both of Luke and also of Marke. To this, there were many yet remaining in those daies which had heard Christ, and had beene much conuerſaunt with him: as Peter, John, and many others of the Diſciples, who bare faithfull witnesse vnto the writings of Marke and Luke; and did not so vnto the monuments of others, who perhappes erred, not onelie from the trueth of the Hiſtorie, but also pecced in manie things, which sounded to be contrarie to the olde Testament and to the other Euangeliſtes.

Similitudes.

The first way to iudge of the Scriptures is by faith and the spirit.

An other way to iudge of the Scriptures.

Why some Gospels were allowed and some not.

VVhat authoritie the Fathers are of.

14 Finallie as touching this, to wit, the iudgement of Fathers, I protest that it seemes vnto me not the part of a Christian man, to appeale from the Scriptures of God to the iudgements of men: For this is to doe iniurie to the holie Ghoſt. For faith commeth of hearing, and hearing, of the worde of God, and not of the Fathers. And vnto the Corinthians: That your faith (as he saith) may be yours, not through the wiſedome of men, but by the power of God. And vnto Timothie: The whole Scripture (saith he) giuen by the inſpiration of God, is profitable to teach, to conuince, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe, that the man of God maie be perfect and inſtructed to euerie good worke. These wordes muſt be diligentlie noted. For there be foure things necessarie in Eccleſiaſticall doctrine; to wit, that we should teach true things, that we ſhoulde confute falſe things, that we should inſtruct vnto vertues, and reproue vices. And all these things are to be fought out of the holie Scriptures. And to speake more manifeſtlie hereof: whatsoeuer the minister doth vnto the people; that belongeth either vnto doctrine or vnto maners. And either muſt the opinions be taught which are true, or else be confuted which are falſe: and either muſt manners which bee good bee taught, or which be euill bee corrected. So shall the man of GOD be perfect, that nothing can be wanting vnto him, as touching either doctrine or manners. There is also an other place in the ſame Chapter: Thou haſt learned the holie ſcriptures, out of which thou

Out of the Booke of Wordes. We muſt not appeale from Gods iudgements vnto the Fathers. Luke in the Gospell ſaith: Search the Scriptures, in which ye thinke there is eternall life. Againe, Yee erre, not knowing the Scriptures. And he citeth the place of Paul: Whatsoeuer things are written, are written for our learning that by patience and conſolation of the Scriptures we may haue hope. Laſtlie he bringeth al those places the which are cited by me a little before, and in his oration *de profectu Euangelij*, vppon the place of Paul vnto the Philippians. Whether by occaſion or by enuie, &c. If ye would holde faſt these wordes (saith he) ye may encounter with heretikes. But vpon the Epiſtle to the Galathians *de Diuite & Lazaro* he hath manie things much more euident. Abraham answereth: They haue Moſes and the Prophets. Here Chryſoſtome sheweth (saith he) that greater credite ought to be giuen to the ſcriptures, than if a man should riſe againe from the dead. And he addeth, that we ought not onelie to giue more credite to the wordes of God than vnto dead men, but alſo more than vnto the Angels, as Paul hath admonished. Also if an Angel from heauen ſhall teach you an other Goſpell than that which wee haue taught, let him be accurſed.

Gal.3.15.

Ierom.

Ierom.

Chryſoſt.

Chryſoſt.

Mat.22.29

Rom.15.4.

Phil.1.18.

Luk.16.29.

Gal.1.8.

16 Furthermore it is certaine, that the libertie of the Church muſt not be taken awaie. But the Church hath alwaies iudged by the word and the ſpirite: Therefore it is now meete alſo that it ſhould iudge as it liſt.

The Church iudgeth by the word, and by the Spirit.

thou maiſt haue ſaluation. These things manifeſtlie teach, that we muſt not appeale from the Scriptures vnto the Fathers: for that would be to appeale from certainties to vncertainties, frõ manifeſt things to obſcure from ſtrong to weake. For although fathers being wiſe and learned, ſaw much, yet were they men, and might erre. And that which I haue ſaid is moſt of all to be conſidered: namelie that the Fathers do not alwayes agree among themſelues: and otherwhiles not one of them indeed doeth agree with himſelfe. But here the aduerſaries aunſwere: But they muſt be heard, when they all agree among themſelues. But we ſaie that they muſt not therefore be heard because they agree among themſelues, but for that they conſent with the word of God: ſo as that maie be ſaid vnto them which was ſpoken vnto the Woman of Samaria: Now doe we not beleeue becauſe of thy worde, but becauſe we our ſelues haue ſeene. For albeit that all the Fathers ſhall conſent among themſelues, yet wil we not do this iniurie to the holie Ghoſt, that we ſhoulde rather giue credite to them, than to the word of GOD. Yea and the Fathers themſelues would neuer haue themſelues to be beleeued: and that haue they ſufficientlie teſtified by their writings, that they will not haue that honour to be giuen vnto them, but to the holie Scriptures onelie. So as he that appealeth from the Scriptures to the Fathers, appeaſeth vnto the Fathers againſt the Fathers.

John.4.42.

Augustine.

15 This hath Auguſtine in manie places confirmed: That when Cyprian in his treatiſe *de baptiſmo Hæreticorum*, was obiected, he aunſwered, that he accompted not the Epiſtles of Cyprian for Canonicall, but ẏ he attributed ẏ to the word of God onlie. And he oftentimes reproued thẽ which preferred more vnto his owne writinges than was meete. And when as Ierom had cited thẽ out of foure fathers as touching the reproouing of Peter, he aunſwereth, that he alſo can cite fathers, but that hee had rather appeale vnto the holie Scriptures. Baſil in his Morals Summa 80. Chapter 22. saith: If all that is not of faith be ſinne, and faith is of hearing, and hearing by the word of God, then whatſoeuer is not of the word of God is ſinne. And in a certain oration of the confeſſion of faith: It is a fall (saith he) from faith, and a crime of exceeding great pride either to ſtart backe from that which is written, or to admit that which is not written. And he addeth a promiſe: Because my ſheepe heare my voyce. Neither are we bound (saith he) to heare others than the ſhepheard. And that he might affirme his saying the more, he brought a place vnto the Galathians: No man altereth a mans Teſtament, or addeth thereunto: And if ſo great honour (saith he) be done to the teſtament of a man, howe much greater muſt bee done to the Teſtament of God? And in the expoſition of the Creede which is attributed vnto Cyprian, after the recitall of the Canonicall Scriptures: By these things (saith he) are gathered what soeuer is neceſſarie to ſaluation. And againſt the Aquarians, he alwaies appealeth from cuſtome vnto the holie Scriptures, and vnto thoſe thinges which Christ himſelfe did. And in an Epiſtle vnto Pompeius he hath manie things to the ſame purpoſe. Ierom alſo vppon Ieremie the 9. Chapter: The Elders (saith he) muſt not be followed as touching errors, but faith muſt be fought for, out of the holie ſcriptures. Chryſoſtome vppon the 7. Chapter to the Hebrewes: Euen as they which giue rules haue no neede to teach a thouſand verſes, but a certaine fewe by which the reſt maie bee vnderſtoode: euen ſo if we would onelie hold faſt the Scriptures of God, not onelie we ſhould not faill our ſelues, but we ſhould alſo call them backe which be faine. And this he proueth by that which Christ ſaid: Search ye the Scriptures, in which ye thinke there is eternall life. Againe, Yee erre, not knowing the Scriptures. And he citeth the place of Paul: Whatsoeuer things are written, are written for our learning that by patience and conſolation of the Scriptures we may haue hope. Laſtlie he bringeth al those places the which are cited by me a little before, and in his oration *de profectu Euangelij*, vppon the place of Paul vnto the Philippians. Whether by occaſion or by enuie, &c. If ye would holde faſt these wordes (saith he) ye may encounter with heretikes. But vpon the Epiſtle to the Galathians *de Diuite & Lazaro* he hath manie things much more euident. Abraham aunſwereth: They haue Moſes and the Prophets. Here Chryſoſtome sheweth (saith he) that greater credite ought to be giuen to the ſcriptures, than if a man ſhould riſe againe from the dead. And he addeth, that we ought not onelie to giue more credite to the wordes of God than vnto dead men, but alſo more than vnto the Angels, as Paul hath admonished. Also if an Angel from heauen ſhall teach you an other Goſpell than that which wee haue taught, let him be accurſed.

Basilius. Rom.14.23. Rom.10.17.

John.10.27

Ibid.ver.15

For what did those most auncient writers, when as yet there were no fathers? If then the Church iudged by the word and the spirite, why maie it not now also iudge in the same sorte? For the Fathers vndoubtedlie meant to helpe the Church, & not to depriue the same of her libertie. But they are wont to saie, that in the Apostles times was onlie an infancie of the Church, and that afterward the same grew more and more to perfection. These things are not to be confuted but to bee laughed at. For woulde to GOD that wee could attaine to the lowest steppe of the Church which was in the Apostles time. Howbeit, admit that the same were the infancie of the Church as ye affirme: but if to bee that they were then able to aduaunce the Church by the word and the spirit, why can not wee now also promote it after the same sorte? For there bee manie thinges alwayes in the Church which ought either to be renewed or taken awaie, iudging by the spirit and holie scriptures those thinges which the fathers ordained, either by giuing consent vnto them, or dissent from them, according as we are now in a riper age of the Church than they were. But how do these men esteeme of the Fathers? If for age sake; we also shall one day become fathers: and those schoolemen which were fiue or six hundreth yeares past, shall now bee fathers: And so there will neuer bee anie certaine number of the fathers. But they saie, that the Scriptures are obscure, and therefore, that there is nede of Fathers to bee interpretours. But the fathers were also obscure, and therefore there was nede of the Maker of Sentences. But seeing the Maker of sentences himselfe might seeme to be obscure, there was nede in a manner of infinite commentaries. And hereof arose verie manie sectes disagreeing in opinions one from an other: so that some were called Scotistes, others Thomistes, others Occamistes: others were called by other names. Neither certeinlie can it be denied, but that the fathers erred often times. The fathers Councels & Treatises erre, and are sometimes one against an other.

Cyprian erred as concerning the baptisme of Heretikes, Tertullian as touching Monogamia, that is the Mariage of one wife: and others after another sort. Councels also did oftentimes erre, as we haue aboue declared at large. Lastly ye traditions do other while erre & are repugnant in them selues. The tradition of Ephesus was, that the Christians should celebrate Easter vppon the 14. date of the moneth, as the Iewes did: and they ascribed the same vnto Iohn the Apostle and Euangelist. But contrariewise the Romane tradition was, that the Christians should not celebrate Easter but after the 14. daie of the moneth, least they might seeme to agree with the Iewes. And of this tradition they make Peter and Paul to be authours. Either of both is Apostolicall yet both of them maie not be allowed. But Panormitanus *de electionibus* in the Chapter, *Significasti*, saith that the vnlearned, if they bring the Scriptures must be more beleeued, than the Pope & the whole Councel if they deale without the scriptures. A man that was a Canonist, although he oftentimes erred in manie other things, yet could he see this. Paul saith: When anie man prophesieth, let the rest sit still and iudge. The fathers when they interprete the scriptures, doe not they Prophesie? Wherefore we must as it were sit and iudge of their sayings. Panormitanus. 1.Cor.14. 29.

17 But they saie that then at the least wise the Fathers are to be allowed, when they agree among themselues. No verilie not then alwayes. For the consent of the Councell of Chalcedon toke awaie the consent of the second councell of Ephesus. In the Synode of Constantinople vnder Leo the Emperour, there was a consent to take awaie Images. But that consent in the Synode of Nice, vnder Irene was taken awaie by an other consent. And that selfe same consent was afterward also taken awaie by the Councell of Germanie, vnder Charles the great. But I will adde a proufe by induction that we must not alwayes iudge of the scriptures by the Fathers, but we must rather iudge the Fathers by the Scriptures. Other Fathers saie, that iustification is of Faith, and not of workes. Others doe affirme that workes doe much availe vnto iustification. Who shall decide this controuersie? The word of God. Paul vnto the Romanes saith, We iudge that a man is iustified without the workes of the law. Neither can it be saide, that Paul in that place doeth onelie treate of Ceremonies, for he treateth in that place as touching that lawe which the weth sinne and worketh wrath: and he adderh that we be iustified frelie, and he mentioneth the decaloge: I had not knowen lust (saith he) vnlesse the lawe had saide: Thou shalt not lust. Peter was reproued by Paul, because he dissembled and withdrew him from the Table. Here doeth Ierom contend with Augustine, Ierom saith that Peter so dealt with Paul as though that matter had been done of set purpose: that by the reprouing of Peter, the Iewes which were present might the better vnderstande the whole matter. Augustine cannot abide anie dissembling or lie in the scrip- The fathers are not to be allowed in all things wherein they agree together. We must iudge of the fathers by Scripture.

scriptures. Who shal here be the Iudge? The word of God. Paul to the Galathians: He was (saith he) to be reprehended or blamed, because he did not walke vprightly according to the truth of the Gospell. Vpon these words: Thou art Peter, & vpon this rocke will I build my Church, others vnderstand: vppon the rocke, that is vppon Christ, and vppon the faith, and confession of Peter: but others: vpon Peter himselfe. Who shall iudge this controuersie. The word of God. Paul saith, An other foundation can no man laie than that which is laide, euen Iesus Christ. In the Scriptures the dead are oftentimes said to sleepe. That doe some referre vnto the bodie, others vnto the soule. Who shall iudge this case? The word of God. Christ saith vnto the theefe: This day shalt thou be with mee in Paradise. And Paul saith, I desire to be dissolued and to be with Christ. Daniel confesseth his sinnes. In which place, Origen saith, that he doeth not sustaine his owne person, but the person of others, Augustine citeth this verie place against the Pelagians and teacheth, that none is innocent. Who shall iudge these things? The word of God. Paul saith: All haue sinned and need the glorie of God. And Iohn: If we shall saie that we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and the truth is not in vs, Paul saith: Who shall deliuer me from this bodie subiect vnto death? This doe Ambrose and Augustine interprete of Paul regenerate. Others thinke it was spoken of others not regenerate, and that it cannot be applied vnto Paul. Who shall iudge of these sayings but the word of God? In the same place it is written, I serue the Law of God in my minde: But those that be not regenerate serue not the lawe of God in mind. And he addeth, The good which I would, that I doe not. But those that be not regenerate, those cannot will that which is good. And he addeth through Iesus Christ our Lord. It is not the part of a man not regenerate to giue thankes vnto God: the Heretikes called Millenarii, thought that Christ would returne vnto the earth, and raigne among men for the space of a thousande yeares. And of this minde was Papias, Lactantius, Apollinarius, Irenæus, Iustinus and others: those doeth Ierom flout and calleth it a Iewish fable. This controuersie doeth the worde of God easilie decide. Paul saith: The word of God is not meat and drink. And Christ saith: In the kingdome is not of this world. And in the kingdome of my Father they are neither maried nor doe marie. In the times of Cyprian and Augustine, the Eucharist was deliuered vnto Infantes. This is not done in these

Bidu.er.11 Mat.16.18 1.Cor.3.11 Ioh.11.11. 1.Thess.4. 13. Luk.23.43. Phil.1.23. Dan.9.5. Rom.3.23 1.Ioh.1.8 Rom.7.24. Bidu.er.22. Verse.19. Verse.25. Rom.14.17 Ioh.18.36. Mat.22.30

hayes, but which is the better the worde of God shall iudge. Paul saith: Let a man trie himselfe, and so let him eate of that bread and drinke of that cup. But Infantes can not trie them selues. I might besides recite manie things in which the fathers disagree among themselues, where it should be necessarie to referre the iudgement to the word of God. Wherefore let Smith consider howe wiselie he might write thus: According to the rule and leuell of these fathers let vs examine the sense of the holie Scriptures: let vs follow the iudgement of these men in reasoning of things pertaining to the holy scriptures. 1.Cor.11, 28.

18 But our aduersaries, while they thus obtrude the Fathers, seeke no other thing but to beare rule ouer our faith. But this would not Paul. We will not (saith he) beare rule ouer your faith: That is, vnder that pretence that we teach you faith, we would not beare rule ouer you in taking awaie your substance. Wherefore it is not meete that the Fathers (in respect that they taught faith in the Church) should to farre ouerrule, as whatsoeuer they haue laide or written, it should not be lawfull to iudge the contrarie: for that would not be to beare rule, but to exercile tyrannie. Augustine in his second booke to Cresconius Grammaticus, We (saith he) do iniurie vnto Cyprian when we seuer any of his writings from the authoritie of ye Canonical Scriptures. For it is not without cause ye Ecclesiastical Canon was made with so wholesome care, wherunto certaine bookes of the Prophets and Apostles doe belong, the which wee ought not in any wise to iudge, and according vnto which we may freelie iudge of other mens writings whether they be faithfull or vnfaithfull. And Constantine in the Synode of Nice, exhorted the Bishops that they should decide all controuersies by the Canonical Scriptures, by the scriptures Prophetical and Apostolicall and inspired by God: As Theodoretus testifieth in his history. And Augustine against Faustus the Maniche in the 20. booke and 5. Chapter: The scripture (saith he) is set as it were in a certaine seate aloft, to the which euerie faithfull and godlie vnderstanding should humble it selfe. Therein if anie thing as absurde, shall moue vs, it is not lawfull to say: the authour of this booke helde not the trueth, but either the booke is faultie, or the Interpretour erred, or else thou doest not vnderstand it. But in the workes of them that came after, the which are contained in innumerable bookes, but are in no respect made equall vnto that most sacred excellencie of Augustine. Augustine. Augustine. Constantine.

the Canonicall scriptures, yea in which soeuer of them is found one and the same truth, yet the authozitie is farre vnequal. Wherefoze if perhappes anie things in them are therefoze thought to dissent from the trueth, bycause they be not vnderstode as they be spoken, yet the reader oz hearer hath there a frée iudgement, whereby he maie allowe that which shall please him, oz disallowe that which shall offende him: And all, which be of that sozt, vnlesse they be by sure reason, oz else by that Canonicall authozitie defended, so as it maie be plainelie shewed, that that which is either there disputed oz declared, is altogether so, oz that it might be so; if it shall displease anie man oz that he will not beléeue it, he is not blamed. And in the 19. Epistle vnto Ierom: This frée seruice I owe vnto the diuine Scriptures, whereby I so followe them alone, as I doubt not but that the writers of them erred nothing at all, noz put anie thing guilefullie in them. And there is no antiquitie oz dignitie of person so great as can prescribe vnto the wozd of God. Whether we our selues (saith Paul) or an Angell from heauen shall preach vnto you anie other gospell than we haue preached, let him be accursed.

19 But our aduersaries continuallie make much a doe of yeares, of times, and of the holinesse of fathers: But all these things ought to be of none importance against the wozd of God. Christ and the Apostles neuer cited the Rabbins and Fathers, although manie were verie well learned, but they taught all the things out of the lawe and the Prophets. Ierom vppon Esay the 18. booke and 65. Chapter. That they should not hasten to beléeue without reason, let them follow Nathanael, who was praised by the mouth of the Lozd: Behold a true Israelite in whom there is no guile. He sought Christ by the authozitie of the scriptures, and was desirous to haue knowledge of the Prophets, saying: Can there anie good thing come out of Nazareth? And the sense is: why bring ye me Messias out of Galile and from Nazareth, whom I know was sent before out of Bethleem Iuda? Wherefoze the Apostles and Apostolicall men will so beget their children as they maie instruct them in the holie scriptures. The same father vppon the 23. chapter of Matthew vppon these wozdes: And vpon you shall come all the bloud which hath beene shedde from the bloud of Abell the iust, vntill the bloud of Zacharie, dealeth with the place in controuersie, who was that Zacharie that was slaine betweene the Temple and the Altar. And he alleadgeth the opinion of them which would haue him to be the father of Iohn Baptist, who was slaine because he had preached Christ. Wherof he thus speaketh: Because this thing hath no authozitie of ẏ Scriptures, it is as easilie reiected as it is prooued. And by these wozds he closelie quippeth Basil, who was of the same mind. So in the seuententh cha. of the Actes, when Paul had preached Christ to the Thessalonians, they did not straight waie giue credite to his wozds, but they take counsell of the scriptures whether the thing were so oz no. And vnto the Corinthians whẏe he had said: An other foundation can no man laie than that which is laide, euen Christ Iesus: he addeth, that some, but not all, doe build vppon it gold and siluer oz pretious stones, but othersome haie, others stubble.

Ierom.

Iohn.1.47.

Verse.35.

Verse.11.

1.Cor.3.11.

Cyprian.

20 When I read Augustine in the third booke *de Doctrina Christiana* in manie places, where he intreateth of the interpretation of the Scriptures, I neuer see him send the reader vnto the fathers: If saith he there happen anie obscure oz hard place in the scriptures, conferre the same with an other place in the scriptures, either moze manifest, oz with the like. When if out of one place manie senses maie be gathered, chiefelie imbrace thou that, which shall most séeme to edifie. Chirolie indeuour (saith he) that being instructed in the tongues thou maist come to the interpretation of the scriptures. For it oftentimes commeth to passe, ẏ what thou vnderstandest not in one language thou maist vnderstand in an other. Fourthlie, let it not gréeue thée to take counsell of sundrie interpretours: for that which one hath expounded somewhat obscurelie, an other hath expressed oftentimes moze plainelie. Fifthlie, all circumstances must be diligentlie considered. Sixtlie, thou must see what went before, and what followeth: but speciallie (saith he) neuer remoue thine eyes from the purpole of the writer. By this waie and meanes Augustine thought that we might most easilie attaine to the sense and vnderstanding of the Scriptures. Although I disallow not but that young men maie also take counsell of men better learned & of interpretours. Howbeit this let them remember, that they whosoeuer they be, although neuer so well learned, cannot prescribe against the manifest wozd of God. There is an excellent Epistle of Cyprian vnto Cæcilius the 2. boke, the 3. Epistle. We must not regard (saith he) what this man oz that man shall iudge, but what Christ shall doe and teach. In that place was disputed against the Aquarian heretikes

Rom.10.17.

1.Cor.13.

Rhetorike must be expounded by the 2. cap. in the treatise against slanderers. pag. 479.

retikes who in the celebration of the Lozds supper, vsed water in stéede of wine. Those did Cypriã blame, because they did it against the wozd of God. At this daie the Papistes vse not water indéede instead of wine, but they teare and mangle the Sacrament, and the one part they plucke awaie from the people: neither doe they consider in the meane time, what Christ taught oz did, but onelie what some men haue decreed against the wozd of God. Euen so in those ancient times of the Iewes, when all things were weighed according to the Scriptures, all things were sound and perfect. But when the controuersies were reuoked vnto the Rabbins, who sate in the chaire of Moses, all thinges were mard and corrupted: And therefoze the Pharises were reprooued by Christ, because foz their owne traditions they violated the commaundements of God.

21 Further what else is there sought, but that the minde maie be in quiet? But the minde cannot be in quiet, vnlesse it be in the wozd of God. But the wozd of God (say they) is obscure. Admit it be: and the Fathers also be oftentimes obscure. Wherefoze they must néedes wauer alwayes in minde and conscience, which take awaie this anchoz from themselues. This ozder also the Ethnicke writers followed. For from things (say they) that be better knowen, we must goe to things ẏ be lesse knowen. But those things which belong vnto religion, are only knowe by faith and not by the sense. But vnto faith the Scriptures are better knowen than be the fathers. For faith is by hearing, & hearing by the wozde of God, & not by the wozde of the Fathers. But we must specially note, that which Paul hath in the first to the Corinthians: Comparing spirituall things with spirituall things, for a carnall man doeth not perceiue those things which belong to the spirit of God. So then a cõparison must be made, that our spirit may be confirmed by spirituall things. What is so spirituall as be the diuine Scriptures? For they proceéde (as I may say) immediatlie from the spirit of God. But they say, that the fathers also are spirituall. I confesse: for they were faithfull and regenerate. But how were they spirituall: Verilie not in that they were fathers, but in that they were Christians: and this is a thing common to all the faithfull. And be it they were spirituall fathers, yet were they not so altogether of the spirit as they had nothing of the flesh oz humane affection, for they did not alwaies speake, oz write, oz iudge according to the spirit, they are euen at variance sometime among themselues. So be not the holie Scriptures. I adde, that in Christ there is neither man nor woman, neither bond nor free, but onelie a new creature. For the spirit of God is not bound to persons that it should be in this man because he is a king, oz in that man because he is a subiect: for it is common vnto all men. A father hath the spirit of God, but not in that respect that he is a father. A young man hath the spirit of God, yet not therefoze because he is a young man. Augustine against the Donatists the 2. Booke and 3. Chapter: Who knoweth not that the holie Canonicall scripture, as well of the olde Testament as of the new, is contained within his owne certaine boundes, and that the same is so preferred before all the latter writings of Bishops, as thereof may in no wise be anie doubt oz disputation? But the writings of Bishops which after the Canon confirmed either haue bin written, oz now are in writing, we knowe, if that any thing in them haue perhaps scaped the truth, must bee reprehended both by a speech perhaps moze wise, of some man that is moze skilfull in that matter, and by a greater authozitie of other Bishops, & also by the wisedome and counsels of them that bee better learned. And these Councels which are made by particular Regions oz Prouinces must giue place (without casting any doubtes) to the authozitie of moze fuller councels, which are held by the whole Christian wozld. And that the moze full Councels themselues being the former are oftentimes mended by the latter: when that which was closed vp is by some experience opened, and that which was hidden is knowen. And against Maximinus the Arrian Bishop: Now (saieth he) neither I ought to alleage the Councell of Nice, noz thou the Councel of Ariminum, as it were to giue iudgement before hand. Neither must I take my selfe vppon the authozitie of this, noz thou vpon the authozitie of that. Let vs contend by the authozitie of the Scriptures, which are not eche mans owne, but common witnesses of both, so ẏ matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason, maie encounter together. And in his treatise *De bono viduitatis*: what thonlde I moze teache thée than that which we reade in the Apostle: For the holie Scripture ioyneth a rule with our doctrine: that we thoulde not presume to vnderstand moze than we ought to vnderstand, but that (as he saieth) we should vnderstand according to sobrietie, euē as the Lozd hath dealt vnto euerie man the measure of faith.

22 But they obiect vnto vs that Paul in the Epistle vnto Timothie, calleth ẏ Church

1.Tim.3.

Why Paul calleth the Church the pillar of truth. Wherefor the Church is so called.

the pillar of trueth. I graunt it, it is in deede the pillar of truth, but not alwaies, but when it is stayed vp by the woꝛd of God. And it is called a Church of ỹ Greek woꝛd, ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, which is to stirre vp: and it is stirred vp and called foꝛth by the woꝛd of God: and as long as it doth accoꝛding thereunto, so long is it the pillar of trueth. What then? Doe we reiect the fathers? No not at all. But as concerning the authoꝛitie of the Fathers, we diminish the superstition of many, who accoũt their woꝛdes in the same place and number, as if they were the woꝛdes of God. In deede they wꝛought and founde out manie things, which we peraduenture shoulde neuer haue founde out. Yet haue they not so written all things but that we must iudge and weigh what they haue written. But in iudging of things obscure we must set foꝛth two markes. The one of which is inwarde, that is the spirit: the other is outward, that is the woꝛde of God. Then if vnto these things, there come also the authoꝛitie of the fathers, it shall be verie much woꝛth. So in ciuil causes, Dzators, when the thing is confirmed do adde other agreements taken from things alreadie iudged, and those other while are of verie much weight: howbeit ỹ Iudge pronounceth not accoꝛding to those things: foꝛ we liue by lawes (as saith Demosthenes) not by examples. Hereby is vnderstoode that saying of Augustine *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*. I would not beleeue the Gospell (saith he) vnlesse the authoꝛitie of ỹ Church should moue me. Here doe the aduersaries maruelloulie boast themselues, and crie out, that the authoꝛitie of the Church is greater than is the authoꝛitie of the woꝛd of God. And they bring foꝛth the rule of Logicke, *Propter quod vnumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale*: that is, That whereby any thing is such as it is, that it selfe is moꝛe such: but foꝛ the Churches sake (say they) we beleeue the Gospell, therefoꝛe much rather we must beleeue the Church. Let vs examine that rule, and see howe much it maketh foꝛ them. A schoolemaister was the cause why Virgil should be a Poet, therefoꝛe his maister was moꝛe a Poet than Virgil. By reason of wine a man is dzunke oꝛ furious, therefoꝛe wine is moꝛe dzunken and furious. Why doe not these things followe? Because in efficient causes this rule doeth not holde, vnlesse it be both the whole cause and the next cause, not the removed oꝛ instrumental cause. But the Church is not the whole cause why we beleeue the Gospell, the spirit helpeth also, without which we neuer beleeue. In deede the scriptures are preserued in the Church, and the Testaments are kept safe by the Bishop oꝛ Magistrate: but neither the Bishop noꝛ Magistrate may alter them. A Notarie oꝛ Scriuener writeth actes and bargaines, and otherwhile retaineth the writings in his office: yet must not greater credite be giuen to the Notarie than to the testatoꝛ oꝛ to them that make the bargaines.

Augustine.

A rule in Logicke.

An examination of ỹ foresaid rule.

A proofe ỹ the Church is inferiour to the scriptures.

23 But they are woont to say, that Heretickes beleeue not the Scriptures: but that is their owne fault and not the fault of the Scriptures. And the obstinate Iewes would not beleeue, no not Christ oꝛ the Apostles. But this must be imputed to their own fault and not to Christ noꝛ to the Apostles. What, will they saie that they will not beleeue, no not the Church? Foꝛ after ỹ Synode of Nice the Arrians both were moꝛe in number and moꝛe obstinate than euer they were before. But why doe they place the Church aboue the Scriptures? Let themselues goe vnto the Turkes, that by the authoꝛitie and name of the Church they maie bring them vnto the faith. Cyprian, *De singularitate Clericoꝝ* hath an excellent place: If (saieth he) all that we doe, we doe it onely to the ende that we may please the Lord, vndoubtedly, whatsoeuer the Lord, whom we seeke to please shall will and command and allow, that onelie shalbe iust. Foꝛ seeing that seruantes cannot knowe of themselues, what will please their loꝛdes, vnlesse they follow the commandements of their loꝛdes, and that men doubtlesse are not able to knowe the mindes of men like vnto themselues, vnlesse they haue receiued that which they shoulde obserue: much rather moꝛ tall men cannot compzehend the righteousnes of the immoꝛtall God, vnlesse he himselfe vouchsafe to declare the iudgements of his righteousnesse. Wherefoꝛe they which shunne the scriptures and make much of the Fathers, seeme to me not to be students of diuinitie, but of Fathers. But wee will saie, that which in olde time a certaine Ethnick answered, that he cared not foꝛ those dimi gods, so he might haue Iupiter to bee fauourable. Euen so we make not so great account of the sayings of the Fathers, so the Scriptures make of our side. So as we see that in olde time it was a laudable custome, that nothing shoulde be read in the Church besides the Canonicall Scriptures: and this was decreed in the thirde Councell of Carthage. And in the Synodes when the controuersies were disputed both of the one side and of the other, at the last, ỹ Bishops pronounced sentence out of the holy scriptures, wheroꝛ we haue a most manifest example in Cyprian, Foꝛ when there was a controuersie in the

Cyprian.

The third Councell of Carthage.

Iewish Sabbaths.

Two waies of iudging obscure things.

the Councell as touching the Baptisme of Heretickes, euerie Bishop pzowed his opinion by the testimonie of the Scriptures. Againe, seeing we would restoꝛe the Church in which the aduersaries themselues confesse many things to be coꝛrupted, there is no better counsell than to reuoke all things to the first beginnings of the Church, and to the first oꝛiginals of Religion. Foꝛ so long as we staie in Councels and Fathers, we shall alwaies dwell in the same errours. So in the Common weales, where any thing is decaped, good Citizens giue their indeuour, that the same maie be reuoked to the first beginnings and foundations of the Citie if so be that those were good.

A iudgement touching the Canons ascribed to the Apostles.

Out of the bake of Nowes.

24 But Smith kẽpeth a great stirre foꝛ Canons of the Apostles, and vehemently accuseth vs because wee will not by publike teaching receiue them as Canons of the Apostles. But I would haue him to tell mee whether they themselues receiue them oꝛ no. Perhaps, as he is wilfull, he will saie: yea. But in the 1x. Chapter, it is there commanded, that a Bishop and any else of the Catalogue of Pzests, which standeth at the ministration of the holie mysteries, if he will not communicate, either let him shewe the cause, oꝛ let him be excommunicate. Merilie if he will admit this lawe, he himselfe shalbe a thousand times excommunicate, seeing he is verie oftẽ present at his idolatrous Masse, and doeth neither communicate noꝛ yet shew a reasonable cause why he abstaineth from the communion. In the 1x. Chapter also it is there commanded, that faithfull men which enter into the Church, should heare the scriptures, should perseuere in pzayers with others, and should communicate; otherwise they ought to be depziued of the Communion. Let this fellowe saie, whether at this day his Papisticall Churches will haue this Canon to be of foꝛce, oꝛ whether they do receiue it foꝛ a Canon oꝛ no. In the 6. Canon it is commanded that no Bishop oꝛ Pzieſt vnder the pzetence of Religion, should put awaie his owne wife, and that if he should put her awaie, he should be excommunicate, and finallie if he perseuere, he should be depziued. Doeth not this place sufficientlie pzowe that they which were called to be Bishops, might lawfullie retaine the companie of their owne wiues? And againe it appeareth hereby, that Patrimonie is not so repugnant to the holie Ministerie as these men imagine. Which thing is nowe declared by Paul: and therefoꝛe foꝛ the confirmation of this, there is no neede of these vnwritten Canons. But let vs yet pzocede further, & see whether these Canons doe so greatlie please Smith. In the 38. Chapter we reade that the Councels of the Bishops should be celebzated twise in the yeare: namelie at the feast of Pentecost, and in the moneth of October. Here would I knowe, whether the Papisticall Church receiue this Canon. It receiueth it not, seeing the Councels of Bishops are rare therein. Woe be to Gregorie Nazianzene if this Canon were true: who not onelie conueied himselfe away from the Councel of Bishops, but as it is in a certaine Epistle of his, he durst write that he neuer in a maner sawe anie good ende of the Councels of Bishops. Certainlie these Canons, if they were written by the Apostles (as this man would beare me in hand) they should no lesse be reckoned within the account of the diuine scriptures, than be the Epistles of the Apostles. Foꝛ what pzeuiledge should be moꝛe assigned vnto the Epistles than vnto the Canons, if the Apostles had bin authoꝛs alike of both soꝛtes of Scripture? Did euer anie man recken these Canons among the Catalogue of the Scriptures? But yet I minde to adde that which is written in the 8. Canon. If any Bishop, oꝛ Pzieſt, oꝛ Deacon shall with the Iewes celebzate the holie daie of Easter befoꝛe the winter Equinoctiall, he shall be depziued. This Canon if it had bin made by the Apostles, what place could haue bin left foꝛ the contention which happened in the time of Victoꝛ, Policrates and Irenæus? The Ephesians did celebzate Easter after the maner of the Iewes, alleaging the tradition of Iohn the Apostle. The Romanes did otherwise, and made vaunt of an olde institution of Peter their Apostle. Vndoubtedlie the Canons of the Apostles if they had bin nowe synong yp had defined this vaine question. Hereby this commeth to my minde, that, as the selfe same Canon cyteth, they make mention both of the readers & singers, as though in the time of the Apostles eyther readers oꝛ singers were reckoned among the holie oꝛders: these oꝛders (beleeue me) were bzought in after the Apostles. There is neuer anie mention made of these oꝛders in the holie Scriptures of the new Testament. Thou maiest finde Bishops, Elders, and Deacons. The rest be put in and inuented by men, not that there were not in ỹ Apostles time those which read oꝛ recited something in the holie congregation, oꝛ those which did sing some-

The Communion.

Priuate malitious bonnes.

Ecclesiastical call men mamie.

Gregorie Nazians zene.

Easterday.

What oꝛders in the Clergie ma ỹ scriptures acknowleges

what,but thou canst neuer shew, that these things belonged to the holie orders. Where-
The Canons of the Apostles are fained. Zepherinus.
fore seing the Apostolicall Canons haue made mention of these orders, they bewraie themselues to be counterfeit. Further I passe ouer that Zepherinus the Bishoppe of Rome in his decretall Epistle, maketh these Canons of the Apostle to be seuentie; when as there are onelie reckoned fiftie. Which to great a diuersitie of number, declareth them not to be of the right sort. For if they had bin properlie and lawfullie set forth by the Apostles, we should haue them preserued with singular diligence,and there would be a certeintie of their number, according as the

Canonicall Epistles of the Apostles are extant: neither is there anie doubt of their number.

The fifth Chapter.

Of discipline & gouernment of the Church, and namelie of Excommunication: Of order Ecclesiasticall: Of Temples and their ornaments.

In 1.Cor. 10.verse.9. Definition of ecclesiastical discipline. Luk.the 18 &Epistle, whose beginning is, Sum planè

ECclesiastical discipline is nothing elle but a power graūted to the Church by GOD, by which the willes and actions of the faithfull are made conformable to the lawe of GOD: which is done by doctrine, admonitions, correction, and finallie by punishments, and also by excommunicatiō if nede require. They that cannot abide this kinde of medicine, speake ill of their Pastors for dooing well their office. Nowbeit of God whose messengers they be, they are not nor euer shall be forsaken. Wherefore let vs set before our eyes, what things must be obserued in good
Two extremities in bothe the correctio to be auoided. In 2 Sa.12. at the beginning.
Verse.15.
order correction. We must take heede that we auoide two extremities, and keepe the meane. On the one part, that we vse not a faire and flattering speche, whereby we rather nourish vices than remoue them. On the other part, that we vse not ouer rough & rawe admonition: least we rather turne a man from saluation, than leade him vnto it. The meane must be kept which Christ will haue to be kept in the 18. Chapter of Matthew: If thy brother trespasse against thee (saieth he) goe and reproue him betweene thee and him onelie. But if he shall not heare thee,take yet with thee one or two. And if he refuse to heare them, tell the Church, the
In 1.Sam.a verse.22.
which is verie necessarie, aswell in ỹ Church as in the Common weale, and in euerie familie: for lomuch as the same being taken awaie,all goeth to wrack. For euen as there shall neuer want poore folkes whom we may
Mat.26.11.
helpe with our liberalitie, so there will neuer lacke vices of men, the which by reproouing we maie heale: so as reprouing is an
Of reproouing.
action pertaining to discipline, whereby of
A definition of reproouing.
charitie we are earnest with them that are fallen as touching their sinnes, warning them to repent according to the manner and forme set forth by Christ, to the intent that euill maie be taken awaie from among vs. In this definition,action is placed as the generall worde: the efficient cause is charitie, for that it is no iust correction, if it proceede of hatred, wrath, or iniurie. But the matter wherein it is occupied, be sinnes, and those grieuous sinnes, seeing lighter faultes pertaine not to this kinde of correction. The forme is the maner prescribed by God. The ende is, that euill maie be taken awaie from among the faithfull: which is euerie godlie mans part to haue a care of in the Church, so much as possiblie maie be. Yet neuertheless
Coercion compareth not discipline generallie.
correction containeth not discipline generallie, because neither a Father, neither an Ecclesiasticall Pastor, nor yet a ciuill Magistrate ought to suffer sinnes to passe, so that there be manie with whom brotherlie admonition is of no force. Wherefore the father if his offending sonne, and the Magistrate if stubborne Citizens will not amend their liues, ought to punish them more sharplie than by admonitions. A Pastor shall correct with the greater discipline, a brother that goeth forward in disordinate life. Neither is this kinde of Action inuented by men,
This action placed as inuention of men.
but stablished by the lawe of God. Christ, as it is written in the Gospell, saieth: If thy
Mat.18.15
brother trespasse against thee, reproue him betweene thee and him alone. And Paule vnto the Galathians: If thy brother be sud-
Gal.6.1.
denly taken in anie offence, ye that be spirituall, instruct him with all gentlenesse. And in the 2. to the Thessalonians: Yee shall not es-
2.Thes.3. 15.
teeme them as enemies, but admonish yee them as brethren. And in Leuiticus the xix.
Verse.17.
Chapter it is written: Hate not thy neighbour, but beare with him, correct him when he sinneth, least thou beare his sinne: Reuenge not nor keepe hatred against him, but thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. So we are commaunded not onelie by the Gospell but also by the lawe to admonish and rebuke our brother. And vndoubtedlie if we be commaunded to lift vp the asse of our enemie fal-
Exod.23.5.
ling

ling downe vnder his burden: howe much more is it commaunded that we should helpe our brother when he falleth? Also in an other
Leui.19.14
place,to wit,in the 19. Chapter of Leuiticus God hath charged by the lawe, that a man should not laie a stumbling block in his waie that is blinde, but should rather bring him into the waie againe: but brethren which do sinne grieuouslie, are blinded with couetousnesse and doe straie out of the waie: so as they cannot be ouerpassed of vs without a fault.

Of Excommunication.

In 1.Cor.5 proem.
2 Excommunication, as concerning the Etimologie of the word, is that, whereby we make anie voide of the fellowship of communion. The Ayecians call it ἀνάθεμα. And vnder that name is signified some thing severed from common things for Religions sake, & that aswell in the god as in the euill part. For euen great offenders be called Anathemata or accursed. And in this sense Paule
Rom.9.3.
would haue bin accursed from Christ for his brethrens sake. Among the Hebrewes it is called *Cherem*, that is, perdition, prohibition, or a thing prohibited. And it maie be also defined by those things which are taught of the
A definition of excommunication.
Apostle, after this maner: Excommunication is the calling out of a godlesse man from the fellowship of the faithfull, by the iudgement of them which be chiefe and the whole Church consenting, by the authoritie of Christ, and rule of the holie Scripture, to the saluation both of him that is cast out, and of
Number of the people of God.
the people of God. Now let vs see how necessarie this punishment is. Secondlie what things ought to goe before. Afterward who is to bee excommunicated. Further from whence he should be cast, whither he should be cast, by what degrees, by whom, when, why and by what motion or inspiration, and what we should at the length doe with him that is excommunicate.
How necessarie the excommunication is.
3 By the Gospell we easilie knowe how necessarie this ought to be accounted in the Church. In the 18. of Matthew when Christ
Mat.18.17
had taught as concerning brotherlie correction, he added: But and if he shall not heare the Church, let him be vnto thee as an Ethnick and Publicane. Againe, Whatsoeuer ye
Ibid.ver.18
shall binde vpon the earth, shall be bound also in heauen, and whatsoeuer ye loose vppon the earth, shall also bee loosed in heauen. Wherefore seing it is the Gospell of Christ, as touching all the parts, it ought to be receiued of the Church, & credite euerie where to bee giuen vnto it. So as they are to bee woondered at, which would plaie at the Gospell, and yet doe exclude this part. Wee
Verse.5.
reade in the 13. of Deuteronomie: Take away the euil from among you. And in Ieremie it is
Ier.51.6.
written concerning Babylon: Flie you from the middest of her. Moreouer the Israelites
Esa.52.11.
were forbidden to touch impure things: and if they had perhaps touched those things, they became so vncleane as they were seuered from the companie of others. The lepers
Leui.13.46
were banished from the Campe. And the Lord expelled out of the garden of pleasure,
Gen.3.23.
the first parents when they had sinned. Caine also after the killing of his brother, went as
Gen.4.14.
a runnagate from the sight of his parents. Finallie if there were no other testimonie extant: that which we haue out of Paule to
1.Cor.5.3. 2.Thes.3.14
the Corinthians, to the Thessalonians and else where, ought to be sufficient. Also Iohn in the second Epistle, the which Irenæus in his
Irenæus.
first booke confirmeth to be the Apostles, (al-
2.Ioh.ver. 10.
though some thinke the same to be the Epi-
The second Epistle of Iohn whose it is.
stle of one Iohn a Priest) saieth: If any man come and bring not this doctrine, him receiue ye not into your house: neither say ye vnto him: God speede, and doe not ye communicate with euill workes. In like maner doeth the Apostle seeme to haue written vnto the Ephesians: Haue no fellowship with the vn-
Ephe.5.11.
fruitfull workes of darkenesse.

4 Before excommunication, goeth bro-
Coercion goeth before excommunication.
therlie correction. For Christ saith: If thy brother shall haue sinned against thee. Nei-
Mat.18.15.
ther is he to be thought that he sinneth not against vs, which sinneth against God, seeing we be his children & the members of Christ, yea verilie, the Saints are so prepared, as they easilie neglect that which is committed against themselues, and some forgiue their owne iniuries, except so much as they perceiue them to redound against God. But and
What manner of coercions ought to be.
if the sinne be common and knowen to all men, shall it haue nede of brotherly correction? So verilie, let it be brought and made manifest vnto the Church. But it shall be nedefull that the minde of the sinner be searched out, whether he haue minded to repent and returne into the waie. This being purposed, he which sinneth openlie, must be exhorted and admonished. Whereby it appeareth that in al sinne aswell secret as publike, there is nede of brotherlie correction. The which behoueth not to be done softlie and slacklie: but verie earnestlie must be layde before the eyes of ỹ sinner the weight of his transgression, the wrath of God kindled and stirred by against him, the punishment that remaineth for him: finallie the offence wher-

by

by he hath hurt the Church: But let the rebuke be gentle, as proceeding from a friendly minde. Otherwise if he shall thinke the to bee his enemie, thou shalt rebuke him without any fruite. This unto the Galathians is commended: You that be spirituall rebuke your brother in the spirite of gentlenesse. Excommunication must not be rash. Let space be given to the sinner to thinke with himselfe, that he may be easelier repent. A Philistian doth gently handle sores: he doth not straightwaie prepare an Iron & fire: And all waies and meanes must be attempted, if it be possible without impairing the word of God, to retaine him that hath sinned in the Church, before that excommunicatiō be used. If he which was fallen, giue place to admonitions, & promise faithfully, that he will change his life, and with teares and confession of sinne doe testifie a repentance and sorrow of minde, and doe take awaie the offences and occasions of sinnes, there let admonition ceale. For now the brother is won unto Christ. But if he shall dispise to heare, being warned twise or thrise before witnesses, let him be brought to the rulers of the Church, of whom also he shalbe admonished. But if he shall make light of them, let the Elders referre the matter unto the people of Christ, and by the institution of the Apostle, unselle he shall first repent, let him with the consent of the whole Church be excommunicated. These things ought to goe before this iudgement.

Gal.6.1.

5 Nowe remaineth to see who he is that must be excommunicated. He must be (as Paul taught) among the number of the brethren, who although he confesse Christ in wordes, yet in deedes (as it is written unto Titus) denieth him. Neither is the opposition of Augustine allowed, that ὀνομαζόμενος, that is, the partie named to be excommunicate should be referred to an adulterer, a drunkard, and to other great crimes which follow after. For sinnes also which be not so publike and knowen unto all men, when they shall be stirred up through brotherlie correction, are by accusing to the Church, made publike. Also they that be infected with ill doctrine are excommunicated. As unto the Romans it is written: Beware of them which bring discordes and offences among you, besides the doctrine which ye haue learned, and shun ye them. It is also said unto ꝧ Galathians: He that shall preach any other Gospell than that which wee haue preached, let him be accursed. Unto Titus: After one or two admonitions auoide an Hereticke. The selfe same thing also hath Iohn, whom we alleaged a little before, that for false and corrupt doctrine sake we shulde not saie unto him that cometh unto be: God speede. And unto this haue all those vices respect, of the which Paul saieth: They that doe such things shall not possesse the kingdome of Heauen, of the which thou hast a particular enumeration aswell to the Corinthians, as also unto the Ephesians, and Colossians, and else where. And when thou hearest reckoned up euill speakers, drunkardes, couetous, &c. Under these names understand them, who are not penitent at all, but be of an obstinate minde, neither will amend those things which they haue committed, but rather make vaunt and boast of these vices. But in the Epistle which is written unto the Thessalonians, when he had spoken of them which labour not with their handes, but be idle and deale curiously, he adyed a generall particle, when he saieth: And euerie man walking inordinatelie. And he is said to walke inordinatelie, which declineth against the word of God. Neither must it be suffered that one should be excommunicated for another, unselle perhaps be also whose one must not be excommunicated for another. haue offended, and is intangled in the same vice or gaue his consent unto him that offended. Augustine in an Epistle unto Auxinus a Bishop wrote: The whole house must not be comprehended within the curse for the sinne of the gouvnā of the house: as the same Auxinus unwitelie did. Unto the Galathians it is said: Euerie man shall beare his owne burthen.

1.Cor.5.10

Excommunicatiō of a man body not as yet all fet lastingly.

Ephe.5.5. Col.3.5.

2.Thes.3. verse 10 &11

Augustine.

Gal.6.5.

6 Now presently will we shew from what things he who is severed from the Church by excommunication is excluded. This if we shall expresse in a worde, is the fellowship of the faithfull, among whom there is a conjunction, for so much as company is not shewed in respect of Religion. But it is meete that we distinguish what fellowship is. One is inward and as touching God, unto whom we are coupled by our spirit in faith, hope, charitie and all vertues, together with all the beleevers in Christ. But an other is outward, whereby we are partakers, aswell of the Sacraments as also of the conversation with the members of the Church. From that first coniunction, excommunication doeth not call us out, as the first and principall cause: but from thence euerie man falleth away by his owne sinne, while he doeth against faith, is enemie unto charitie, and resisteth other vertues. But from the latter, excommunication driueth us, least we should be partakers of the Sacraments and fellowship of the faithfull: and the latter dependeth altogether of the first. For a man is excommunicated

From what things the partie excommunicated is excluded.

Communion with God.

Excommunication driueth vs from the Sacraments.

municated for no other cause, but that he is now for some grieuous sinne that is knowen and manifest, declared a straunger from God and from the charitie of his neighbours. But because Paul wrote: For then ye should goe out of the world, he signified that all fellowship with excommunicates is not taken away: because it is lawfull to communicate with them in those things without which we cannot liue. For if by chaunce a Magistrate should be excommunicate and something in the meane time should happen wherby there ought to be treating & dealing with him, we must not refuse to deale with him, least the Common weale should be troubled. And the verie same must be iudged, if a father or a husband shall be excommunicated. The wife or children are not for this cause set a part from liuing with him, neither be they excommunicated by reason of the conuersation with him, unselle they consent and be partakers all in one crime. Neither is it to be otherwise iudged of the buying of Marchandise of them that be excommunicate, if that necessaries unto life cannot otherwise be had: for if all euill men should be auoided in bargains and ciuill contracts, we shoulde of necessitie goe forth of the world. Albeit I confesse, that seing at this daie the Churches be most large, we are not so greatlie urged with this necessitie. For that which we cannot get of some, we shall easilie attaine of others.

1.Cor.5.10

Excommunicatiō of a man body not as yet all fet lastingly.

The bridle of the Church towards the excommunicate.

The cause of excommunication

Sinne against the holie ghost.

The gift of tryall of spirites ceased in the Church.

Abstinents

Chrysostome of a man accursed.

That the dead stand now at the tribunall seat.

Gal.1.8.

In the Synode of Nice there séeme also some degrees to be appointed in the Church. In ꝧ firſt place were herers, bicause they were suffered to be present at ꝧ holy preaching. Wher for none were vtterlie driuen awaie, vnles there were some open derider & contemner. There were also men that prostrated themselues, who desired pardon of the ministers of the Church for their sinnes committed. There be also suppliants reckened, who not withstanding they were driuen from the sacraments, yet when the faithfull prayed, they were suffered to be present: vnto which degrée it séemeth that the abstinents did pertaine. Finallie they are reckened which communicated in the Sacramentes with the whole Church. Among these degrées it was accompted the smallest to be driuen from the Eucharist for a time: more grieuous to be put apart from the companie of them that prayed, but most grieuous of all to be remoued from them that laie prostrate. But as touching the Councell of Nice, manie thought that these articles were counterfeit, and that they are not to be reckened for the lawfull decrées of that Synode, séeing they are almost no where obserued: yet out of Cyprian we manifestlie gather, that there were some degrées, vnto them which were falen into Idolatrie, (as he saith) there was giuen no peace by the Church, vnlesse it were about the houre of death: but vnto

Men prostrated.

Suppliants.

Excommunicants.

To men falen into Idolatrie no peace giuen but at the houre of death.

ad-

Adulterers. Libellatices what they were.

adulterers it was graunted after a long repentance. But vnto the Libellatiftes (for so were they called which for monie redemed themselues in the time of persecution) pardon was somewhat easilier granted. So as out of the Fathers are easilie gathered these degrées, which neuerthelesse cannot be proued by the holie scriptures.

Who should bee the sentence of excommunication.

8 Now are we to intreate, who they be which ought to exercise excommunication. Separation from God and from the members of Christ, the which (as wee said) happeneth through infidelitie and other sins, cannot be laid vppon vs by anie creature: we separate our selues from God. Wherefore Esaie saide: Sinnes haue made a separation betweene me and you. And Paul saide that he certainlie knewe that no creature could pluck him awaie from that loue wherwith God & Christ loueth theirs. But Excommunication which is a token of this inward * Apostasie (in dede not a certaine and necessarie token, yet a great one and greatlie to be feared) must be inflicted by the Church of Christ. And therefore I haue said, that it is no certaine and necessarie token of the separation from God, and the members of Christ, because it maie sometime be, that a good and innocent man maie be excommunicated by the corrupt iudgement of the rulers in the Church, as we haue knowen it to bée done more than once in the councels and among the Fathers which were otherwise accounted holie. Wherefore by excommunication we are not properlie said to be separated from God, but are shewed and discerned to be separated: as in the old law, a priest when he iudged anie Leaper, did not infect him with leprosie, but pronounced him to be alreadie infected. Neither is it against this sense that the Church is said to bind & loose: because this iudgement when it concurreth with the word of God, is not in vaine. And séeing God worketh together with them, the separation which had alreadie happened to the worse, is become more grieuous. But now this onelie we say, that in excommunication it perpetuallie happeneth, that Apostasie and falling awaie from God goeth before the same: and so God worketh together with this iudgement of the Church, when according to the rule of the holie scriptures it decréeth that he maie send scourges and vncleane spirites for to ver them that be excommunicate. We read of Ambrose, that the Deride of Stellico, when as he had excommunicated him, beganne to be grieuouslie vexed with an ill spirite. And these thinges doth God to the intent he maie declare, that he confirmeth that in heauen which in earth shall be iustlie bound.

Apostasie is a falling away from him that we professe.

Excommunication is no certaine token of the separation from God.

Aimilitude

Mat. 16. 18

Howe God worketh together with the iudgement of the Church.

Ambrose.

9 But that we maie rightlie vnderstand, who ought to be excommunicate, it is needfull to discusse in what sort the societie of the Church is. It is not simple, but it is copounded of one alone, of manie good gouernours, and of the gouernment of the people. For from it must be removed pernitious kindes of common weales, I meane, Tyrannie, the gouernment of a few, and the Lordlyppe of corrupt people. If thou respect Christ, it shall be called a Monarchie: For he is our king, who with his owne blod hath purchaled the Church vnto himselfe. He is now gone into heauen, yet doeth he gouerne this kingdome of his, indeed not with visible presence, but by the spirit and word of the holie scriptures. And there be in the Church which doe execute the office for him: Bishops, Elders, Doctors, and others bearing rule: in respect of whom it maie iustlie bee called a gouernment of manie. For they which are preferred to the gouernment of Churches, onlie because of the excellent gifts of God, as touching doctrine and pureneile of life, must be promoted vnto these degrées. These offices are not committed vnto them, according to the estimation of riches and reuenewes, not for fauour, bewtie, or nobilitie sake, but in respect of merites and vertues: but if it be otherwise, it is done against the rule. But because in the Church there be matters of verie great weight & impotance, referred vnto the people, (as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles) therefore it hath a consideration of politike gouernment. But of the most weight are accounted excommunication, absolution, chosing of ministers and such like: so as it is concluded, that no man can be excommunicated without the consent of the Church. On this wise it stood with the common weale of Rome: In the miserable & most daungerous times. It created a Dictator, who behaued himselfe as a Monarch. It appointed also a Senate, hauing respect vnto vertues and merites. By reason whereof it might be called a gouernment of manie. Howbeit in the most weightie affaires and in confirming of lawes and decrées, the matter was brought vnto the common people of Rome, by meanes whereof it was iudged to be a gouernment of the people.

What maner of Gouernour of Church we are.

How it is a monarchie. Act. 20. 28.

How it is an Aristocratie.

1. Cor. 12. Ephe. 4. 11.

How it is a Democratie

Act. 15. Act. 6. 2.

No man can be excommunicate vnto the consent of the Church. The like must be vnderstanded.

10 Cyprian writeth vnto Cornelius the Bishoppe of Rome, that he laboured much with the people that they which are fallen might haue pardon. Which if it might haue bene giuen by him selfe, there had bene no need that he should so greatlie haue trauelled in

Cyprian.

Augustine in perswading of the people. And Augustine against the Donatistes sheweth y same, when he saith: We must then cease to excommunicate, if the holie people shall be infected with one and the selfe same vice. For it will not (saith he) consent to excommunication, but will defend and maintaine him whom thou shalt excommunicate. Wherefore this right pertaineth vnto the Church, neither ought it to be plucked from the same: against which opinion they chiefly are, which would haue the same to be committed vnto one Bishop or Pope, because they saie that a bishop is the vniuersall Church, (as they speake) virtuallie. But at this daie we sée that he is oftentimes the whole Church, as I maie so saie, vicionllie. This vnderstand thou of them that be euil & that deale tyrannoullie. They are wont to saie that this is therefore to be done that tranquillitie maie be kept. For if so be that consent of voices should be left vnto the multitude, there wilbe tumults and seditions raised vp. But these men ought to consider that the Citie of Rome was in better state, when it suffered those broiles of the Tribunes and people, than afterwarde when it was come vnto Tyrantes. For in those turmoiles of the people, thou maiest perceiue some good and wholsome lawes continuallie to be made: and manie wicked were condemned. By meanes whereof, the Romane common weale flourished and stod. But when it was come to the Tyrannie of one, it suffred Neroes, Domitians, Caligulaes and Commodoes, and other like pestiferous persons. Euen so, when excommunication was turned to one man, thou maiest often times sée him with great abuse excommunicate others, who is himselfe excommunicated, and cut off, both from Christ and from the true Church: which thing is in no wise conuenient to be done. For he that commandeth a man to be banished, it is necessarie that he himselfe haue the right of the Citie. And that the Bishoppes of Rome be excommunicate and be strangers from the Church, the Epistle to the Galathians doth sufficientlie teach: where it is said: If anie man shall preach any other Gospel than we haue done, let him be accursed. And that they doe teach otherwise than doe the holie Scriptures it is so euident as it needeth no proofe. Further it is required, that they which be excommunicate should be present: neither can it therefore be, that they which be in England or in Spaine should be condemned by them which be at Rome. Of this matter as we haue aboue declared, did the councell of Africke complaine; And Cornelius the Bishoppe of

Augustine

Apostle & the Pope is excommunicated from the Church Gal. 1. 8.

The Councell of Africke.

Rome, in the time of Cyprian sent backe to bee absolued into Africa those which were there excommunicated. And Tertullian *in Apologetico* Chapter 39. writeth that iudgements were giuen in the Church with great consideration, as with them that were allured of the sight of God, and that there was a singular prouidence of the iudgement of God the elders or Priestes sitting as chiefe, who attained vnto the degrée and honour, not by reward but by testimonie: that is to wit, because they were allowed for their life & maners.

Tertullian

11 There is a saying of some, that in times past, séeing Magistrates were Ethnickes, excommunication might take place: but not at this daie when as the Magistrate is a Christian, who with the sword and ciuil punishments, taketh awaie euill from among the Cities and Church. But let these men know, that there be manie vices where at the ciuill lawes do wincke, as adulteries, drunkennesse, euill talke and such like kind, yet cannot those things be suffered of the Church. Againe, the Magistrat doth oftentimes punishe by monie, by a certaine exile and prisonment for a time: which punishments being performed, he restoreth them to be citizens, neither requireth he anie repentaunce: but the Church cannot reconcile vnlesse they be such as be penitent. Wherefore let not iurisdictions be confounded. Let one be ciuill and an other Ecclesiasticall. Yet doe we not denie, but that princes or a Magistrate hath that principall power, by which, although he exercise not all offices and all Arts in a common weale, yet doeth he prouide that all things be done in due order: And if so be that the ministers of the Church behaue not themselues well he correcteth them, as Dauid, Ioas, Ezechias, and Iosias reformed the religion and Priestes.

The opinion of them which say that excommunication is not to be vsed.

The difference betweene ciuill power and Ecclesiasticall gouernment reconciling.

1. Chro. 15. & 25. &c. 2. kings. 12. 2. king. 18. 4 2. kings. 22. &c.

12 Now let vs sée, when excommunication must be vsed. Augustine in the 3. booke against the Epistle of Parmenianus and in manie other places against the Donatistes writeth that the same must be vsed when there is no danger of schisme. The Donatistes did vrge him, obiecting that the Catholikes haue no Church, because they wanted excommunication. On the otherside Augustine obiected Cyprian, who in his Sermon *de lapsis*, complaineth, that certaine bishoppes of his time were greatlie corrupted, who notwithstanding the prize did starue, they would possesse plentie of siluer, they drew lands vnto them by craftie practises, and by manifolde increasing of vsuries they made their gaine

When excommunication must be vsed.

Augustine The Donatistes.

Cyprian.

the greater: from whom neuertheleſſe Cyprian did not ſeperate himſelfe: and yet neuertheleſſe we muſt not beléeue but that he had a Church. Therefore Auguſtine ſaide: If it maie be done without ſchiſme, let it be had: if otherwiſe let vs ſtaie our ſelues: For that would be to ſéeke deſtruction, and that which was inuented for charities ſake, would be repugnant vnto charitie. He alſo bringeth the parable of the tares, wherin Chriſt would not haue the tares plucked vp, leaſt the wheate ſhould be deſtroied together with it. And he calleth to minde the example of Chriſt, who for bare Iudas whom he knewe to be a thiefe, and did communicate with him in the inſtitution of the ſupper. Let vs excommunicate (ſaith he) the faults: the which ſéeing no man dare defend, we ſhall runne into no danger. Let vs alſo excommunicate mé when we perceiue it may bée done. But and if we ſhall perceiue that the greater part of the Church is infected with one and the ſame vyce, it remaineth that we ſorrow & lament. And he maketh mention of the 9. Chap. of Ezechiel, where it is read: They which in the middeſt of the people did lament the iniquities of the people, were noted with a ſigne in their foreheades, and ſo they eſcaped from the diſcroyers. So (ſayeth he) it will ſometymes without ſeparatiō be enough, among the middeſt of wicked men, to lament and bewayle the iniquities which are committed. And where as the Apoſtle ſayth: Take ye away the euil from among you, he ſometimes meaneth that each one ſhoulde vzue away ſinne from himſelfe. And becauſe that Paul (as we haue noted) ſpeaketh of the taking awaie of an euill man, he interpreteth his wordes of the inward euill man, which each one ſhould put off. And he interpreteth that which Paul ſaith: If anie that is called a brother: He ſaith not: If manie bzethzen, or if the greateſt part be ſuch: but, If anie man in the ſingular number: as though hée had ſaid: If one or two ſhall ſo be. And hée aleadgeth out of the ſecond to the Corinthians: I feare if I ſhall come vnto you, the Lord will humble me, & I ſhall be conſtrained to bewaile many, which haue not repented them of whoredome, vncleanneſſe, and wantonneſſe: I will not ſpare you. Behold ſaith Auguſtine, ſéeing manie were infected: Paul ſaith, that there remained nothing ouer and aboue vnto him, except weéping and mourning. And in that he added I will not ſpare, he referreth it to ane ſcourge & punishment whatſoeuer is to be laide vpon them. For the Apoſtle wold, that they alſo ſhould after ſome ſort be afflicted, to þ intent they ſhold be made more apt to repent. Manie times are wholeſome admonishments heard, when we be vexed with ſcourges and afflictions. Wherfore ſaith Cyprian: We ſpake thoſe thinges in the time of perſecution, and as we thinke not without fruite; the which things he firſt fore bare to ſpeake, becauſe he ſhould haue ſpoken them vnpꝛofitablie. So as the bleſſed Partꝛy cited the ſentence of Dauid: If they keepe not my precepts, and walke in my commaundements: If they profane my righteouſneſſe, I will viſite their wickednéſſe with the rod, but I will not take awaie my mercie from them: So that in that caſe, there remained onelie ſighing and mourning. For which cauſe he left men that were ſo corrupted, to the chaſtiſing of God: and whatſoeuer ſeparation from them thou ſhouldeſt attempt, it would be vaine and vnpꝛofitable.

Mat.13.29. The parable of the tares.

John.12.6. Mat.26.21. Iudas communicated with the Lord.

Verſe.4.

1.Cor.5.13

2.Co.12.21

Auguſtine.

13 But this feare of Auguſtine ſéemeth to be ouermuch, as though we ought to leaue the word of God, for the auoiding of ſchiſmes and tumults. Let vs follow that which God commandeth, and cōmit the euents vnto his prouidence. The parable of tares ſerueth not to this purpoſe. For God theweth by the ſame, why he himſelfe who is able, doeth not plucke vp the tares, nor yet deſtroieth euil men whom he with ſo great patience ſeemeth to ſuffer among the Saintes. And hée declareth that he ſuffereth this, for the commoditie of them that be perfect, to the intent that they ſhould want no exercíſe, and matter vnto vertues. But we are not bound in all things to follow and imitate God. Hée cauſeth his ſunne to riſe alike vpon the good and badde: but we muſt not beléeue benefites without making of differēce, but muſt doe it ſpecíallie to the houſhold of faith. God reuengeth ſinnes: neither behoueth it that euerie one of vs purſue his owne iniuries. When we haue a certaine and ſpeciall commandement, we are not to appeale from thence to the generall imitation of GOD. And as touching Iudas, his ſinne was not knowen and manifeſt, nor yet conuicted by anie iudgement. The verie which thing perhappes maie be ſaide of the euill Biſhoppes, whō Cyprian doth ſo deſcribe: Their crimes were not purſued in iudgement, or detected by Eccleſiaſticall accuſation: or elſe (which ſéemeth moze likelie vnto me) by reaſon of perſecutions, which dailie waxed moze grieuous, Councels and Synods could not aſſemblie be had, by which thoſe corrupt Biſhops might be excommunicate and depoſed. Further, admit that Cyprian bare with them, we muſt ſée whether he did it wel. No mans example muſt lead vs to be againſt the commandements of God. And that interpretation of Paul, to wit, that an euill man ſhould be taken from among vs, is not verie fit. For the Apoſtle expreſſelie maketh two kindes of euill men: the one is of brothers, and the other is of infidels. And as touching the vngodlie, I confeſſe that we haue néede to depart from their vices in minde and inward man, neither is it required of vs, that we ſhould be ſeparated from them. But from brothers that be infected and corrupted, the Apoſtle requireth that wee ſhoulde be diuided both in minde and in familiaritie. Neither are thoſe interpretations verie likelie to be true: If anie man being named a brother, &c. Becauſe in this place, Paul had reſpect neither to fewe nor manie. Onlie he would deſcribe who ſhould be puniſhed by excommunication. Alſo in the ſame place: I feare leaſt if I come vnto you the Lord will humble me, &c. Becauſe ſéeing he ſaith: I will not ſpare: it might aſwel haue reſpect to the iudgement of excommunication, as to the inflicting of the paines and punishments. Now muſt we thinke that þ Apoſtle diſagréeth from himſelfe, who elſe where forbiddeth that we ſhould not ſo much as take meate of them. I know that Auguſtine auníwereth, that euerie godlie man can doe this of himſelfe: namelie to withdꝛaw him ſelfe from euil men leaſt euil talke ſhould corꝛupt good manners. But if this be left vnto euerie mans owne wil, that he maie haue the power of departing and ſeparating himſelfe from whom he will, there will ariſe priuie hatreds, contentions, and diſcoꝛds farre moze grieuous, than if we ſhould vſe publike excommunication. It is better to haue leſſe Churches, than ſo great and populous, which neuertheleſſe are polluted and infected on euerie ſide.

Auguſtine. Learneth to vnderſtand the parable of the tares.

Mat.13.29.

1.Cor.5.13.

Two kindes of euill men.

1.Co.5.11.

John.6.16.

Auguſtine. Reaſon to proue that we muſt not be bound to imitate God in all things.

Mat.5.45.

No man of authoritie muſt ſeparate himſelfe from his euyll neighbour.

If a brother be to be taken from the Church, then muſt Chriſt be taken from among vs.

14 Wherefore ſome men ſéeme to bée ſomewhat afraid of turmoiles and troubles, that they pꝛouide for their owne quietneſſe & faine and dꝛeame vnto themſelues a certain tranquillitie and peace in the Church: the which it is vnpoſſible to haue, if they will rightlie fæde the flocke of Chriſt. For they cannot haue al things at reſt and quietneſſe, vnleſſe they will winke at faultes. The Synode of Nice aſſuredlie had no reſpect vnto theſe things, when it condemned Arrius and his fauourers, whereas yet a great part of the learneder and mightier ſoꝛt of the woꝛld fauoꝛed him: wherby afterward much troubles followed in the Church, in ſuch ſoꝛt as welnére the whole woꝛld was ſhaken. Neither did the Lord, when (manie were offeuded becauſe he ſpake hard things, and difficult to be vnderſtood) bidde therefore from preachers of the trueth, but turning to the twelue, ſaid: Will ye alſo goe awaie? They laie that we ſet forth things vnpoſſible, becauſe if the greater part of the Church bée coꝛrupted, who ſhall excommunicate? Mée auníwere, that that which our aduerſaries vnderſtand is vnpoſſible, to wit, that the whole Church or the greateſt part thereof ſhould be all infected with one and the ſame kinde of vice, ſo as there ſhould not manie times happen repentance and amendement in the meane while. Duer this why are not vices which grow reſiſted at the beginning? We muſt not expect till a diſeaſe inuade the whole bodie. Neither commeth it otherwiſe that in ſo populous a Church the multitude ſhould be coꝛrupted, but becauſe they intermitted this diſcipline. If the Elders and principals of the Church had not ceaſed, but continuallie had delinered vnto the people to be excommunicated thoſe whom they perceiued to be paſt amendement, the whole Church ſhould not ſo welnére wholie haue bēne defiled.

Ioh.6.16. The Church cannot be without troubles & diſquietneſs.

An example of the Synode of Nice.

We muſt not ſin vnto the ſlender benefit of God.

Cyprian.

Ibid.ver.67

Where of comes ſo great a coꝛrupting in the Church.

15 And when they demaund: What ſhall be done if it happen not that excommunication of the offenders is not obtained by the conſent of the people? I will auníwere, that this at the leaſt wiſe muſt be regarded, that the Paſtor diſtribute not the Sacraments vnto them that be condemned & conuicted of manifeſt crimes. Chryſoſtome ſaith that he would rather ſpende his owne bodie than impart the Sacraments vnto polluted men. And in the meane time he ceaſeth not to perſwade by all meanes that this cenſure ſhould be reſtoꝛed. And it will (as ſaith Auguſtine) be a moſt fit time to obtrude the ſame, when the Church is afflicted with calamities: for then the mindes of the people are moze readie to receiue ſounde doctrine. Wherefore although we haue this feare of theſe fathers in ſuſpect: yet doe we not diſcredite this father, as though he had not by firme and ſtrong reaſons contended againſt the Donatiſtes. For they ſaid that the vniuerſall ſtate of Chriſtiantie had no Church, becauſe betraiters of the holie bookes were admitted to the communion of the Church and polluted all things: Further who in compariſon of themſelues condemned all other Chriſtians: releaſed their owne from the ſeuerítie of the Cenſure, and in their congregations ſuffered moſt impure men: ſuch as were the Optatians, the Gildonians, and the Primians. In fine, they were not able to conuince thoſe whom they had accuſed of betraying the holie bookes as Cæcilianus

What is to be done if the people conſent not to excommunication.

Chryſoſt. That ſacramentes muſt not be miniſtred to polluted.

Auguſtine. The beſt time to excommunicate.

The hereſie of the Donatiſtes.

lianus and other of like sort: & in the Acts before Constantine the great they did nothing.

Unto what end excommunication is vsed.

16 Nowe must we intreate to what end excommunication must be vsed. First of all, least the Church should haue cuill repoze. Secondlie, that he being so cast out might be amended. Further, that other should not be corrupted: in like manner as by one scabbed sheepe, the rest also are infected. Fourthlie, that the seueritie of this iudgement might terrifie from sinning. Finallie, that the wzath and punishments which are sent by God, maie be auoided. Foz while man doth chasten, the hand of God withdzaweth punishments: but if that they cease, God pzosequeteth his iniuries. And excommunication was chiefelie inuented, foz the restoring of his pzincipall and inwards communion with God. And we ought alwaies to remember with our selues, that authozitie is giuen, not to destruction but to edification of the Church. They are enuious to these graue and lawfull causes, which onelie foz the paiment of a little coyne and monie doe bzing in excommunication, and oftentimes vse this diuine t'wozd against them, which are not able to paie, seeing such are rather to be accounted worthie of mercie than of punishment. Again, because in common weales there be ciuill tribunal seates of Magistrats, therefoze this punishment should seeme to be lesse in this kinde of crime than in others. Nay doe I speake this, as though I thought that the Censure of the Church hath no place against thole which deceiue, circumuent, and withhold other mens goods, especiallie when they will not be amended. But this onelie I lament, ỳ they persecute this kind of fault onelie, & leaue vnpunished, aduulterers, drunkards, backbiters, and other such like wicked persons. Besides foz th, because many being paide, they absolue from excommunication, whē as they haue had no triall of repentance oz chāge of life. The t'wozd must not be drawen out foz light causes. Therefoze Irenæus, got without a cause repzoued Victor ỳ bishop of Rome, foz that he would excommunicate manie Churches of Asia, foz no other cause but because they would not consent with the Romane Church foz ỳ celebzating of Easter. Which example must not so be taken, as though foz the feare of a schisme we should not vse excommunication, seeing it is therefoze recited by vs, foz that the causes of this censure must be great.

Against the which excommunicate foz monie.

2.Cor.10.8

Nowe must not excommunicate foz light causes. Irenæus reprooueth Victor.

17 But of what affection they ought to be which doe excommunicate, this we maie say: that doubtlesse, great pitie and mercie ought to be vsed, and that they ought so to be pzopared in minde as if they should plucke out their owne eye, and cut off their owne hand oz foote. Foz if we be members all of one bodie, how shall not we wonderfullie sozzow, when one member is to be pulled awaie from the rest of the bodie? When Tiberius should subscribe to the death of anie condemned person, he was wont to saie, I would I could write neuer a letter. Which thing if it were, men would be the more carefull, neither should there so manie vniust sentences in excommunication be suffered. Hereby appeareth how grieuously the Iewes sinned, who being pzouoked thzough anger and hatred, caused Christ and his disciples, and as manie as followed him, to bee cast foozth of the Synagogue. But excommunications of this kinde, seeing they be wicked and vnwise, are not pzeiudiciall vnto the godlie and innocent, but they doe exceedinglie hurt the Ministers, and executozs of them, who in doing peruerslie, doe harme vnto God, to Christ, to the Church, and to themselues: and at length so farre as in them lyeth, they murder the little flocke of Christ. Foz although God be pzesent with him that is vniustlie excommunicated, yet the authozs of this vnrighteousnesse foz their part vzine him out of the Church being oppzessed with slaunders, and cast him foozth to bee deuoured of wolues, foz whom Christ died. But against the cruelitie of these men, Christ comfozteth vs when he saith: Feare yee not them which kill the bodie, seeing they cannot kill the soule. Let these men excommunicate as much as they wil, they shall not separate vs from GOD, from Christ, and from the Church. A certaine solith Suffragan, disgraded as they speake a certaine Priest after a while to be bounde, because he preached the Gospell, and said that he did separate him from ỳ Church of Christ militant and triumphant. Unto whom that prudent, and constant Martyz answered: What thewest thou me of the triumphant and militant Church of Christ: No creature can plucke me from thence. And thou hauing the rome of a Bishop in vaine attemptest to cut me off from the bodie of Christ against the word of God.

Tiberius Cæsar.

John 9.22

Theodosius.

Mat.10.28

A Gaulopsite.

Rom.8.38

18 Lastlie it shall not bee hard, by these things which we haue spoken, to see how we ought to behaue our selues towards him, which is already excommunicate. The familiar conuersation which is done foz affection sake must be withdzawne from him, yet so, as children, wife, and subiects, be not exempted from their due obedience towardes the Magistrat, least al things be confounded.

What affection they ought to haue that excommunicate.

Howe we ought to behaue our selues towardes excommunicate.

But

But in the meane time let hēd be take least in this conuersatiō they giue assent vnto the same crime. But as to others let the excommunicates be auoided, let not meat be eaten with them, let it not be said vnto them, God spēde, but let them be accounted as Ethnicks and Publicans. Yet must we not cease from admonishing, teaching, and repzouing, neither from giuing meat and dzinke, if necessitie shall bzge. Because excommunication can no further be extended, than charitie and other holie commaundements of God will suffer. Wle nēde not to feare the hatred of him that is excommunicate. Foz if he will iustlie weigh what is done towards him, he shall perceiue that the faithfull are stirred vp against him, not thzough enuie, but thzough charitie. Theodosius being cozrected by Ambrose ceased not to loue him, to honour him, and to commend him. And againe, they which be excommunicate, ought not foz that cause to steppe backe from the Gospell, oz to desist from the faith thereof. Further, when they shall repent, be which was separated from the Church let him be reconciled, as Paul exhozteth in the seconde Epistle to the Corinthians: which thing should be done mildlie with great good will and charitie. These things I ment to saie as touching excommunication, being alwaies readie to heare better matter. Foz I perceiue that manie things herein be obscure which do oftentimes trouble the weake. And foz this am I very sozie that it seēmeth to me, I haue spoken of Utopia, and the common weale of Plato, the which although of manie they be praised as godlie things, yet are they no where to be found.

Excommunicates are to be auoided.

Theodosius excommunicate and yet no enemie to humanity.

2.Cor.2.8.

Of Comelinesse, and order in the Church.

1.Cor.14 authend.

19 But Paule in the first to the Corinthians the 14. Chapter, added a verie excellent conclusion; to wit, That all things be done decently and in order. But that particle, Decently, must be rightlie vnderstood, least we should thinke that this comelinesse consisteth in instruments of silke, in vessels of golde and siluer, in cuppes set with pzecious stones, in the ringing of Bels, in sweete perfumes, & in ỳ shining of lights. They which boast of these things as decent, fall into the false argument which Aristotle calleth *A secundum quid ad simpliciter*, that is, From that which is in some respect, to ỳ which is absolute. Comelie we graunt these things to be: howbeit vnto the eyes of the bodie, vnto the sense of the flesh, and to the iudgement of the wozld: which things we must rather denie than follow. The comelinesse which in these things is required, consisteth in mozitification, holines, modestie, contempt of the wozld, and especially in edification. Let it not be obiected vnto vs, that God in ỳ old Testament required of vs these outward ornaments: as golde, siluer, pzecious stones, &c. Foz these things were conuenient foz that time and age, when the people of God was vnskilfull, and were detained as infants vnder the rudiments of this wozld. Nowe hath Christ bzought a moze perfect state, therefoze in his Church we must retaine those things which of themselues be decent, not those which foz some certaine time were meete foz the people of God being newlie bzong vp. Also he willeth that all things should be done in ozder, that is, without confusion. Foz it is ozder where some things doe fitlie goe before and follow one another. Foz Augustine *De Ciuitate Dei* defined it: Ozder is a disposing of things that be like and vnlike, giuing to euerie one their pzoper places. In a Church let there be Doctozs, Disciples, People, a Pastoz, Elders. And in rites, let some things be set before, and other things follow after, so that in euery place nothing be done vnozderly oz confuselie.

What comelinesse is required in the seruice of God.

Exod.25.

The ornaments of gold & siluer &c. were conuenient for the olde law, & why?

Augustine.

Of Temples or Churches.

20 Dauid although he be commended to be an acceptable and godlie king, yet is he forbidden by God, that he should not builde a Temple vnto him, because he was exercised in warlike affaires, and had put his handes to the bloud and slaughter of manie men. Let vs further consider, that God shewed marueilous vengeance vpon the Philistians, in 1.Sam.5. vexing them with most foule diseases, foz that they toke awaie the Arcke of the couenant. Neither did it well happen vnto the Chaldeans at ỳ length, foz that they burned the Temple, and toke awaye the holie vessels into captiuitie: foz somuch as their Monarchie not long after was ouerthzowen. The Macedonians also, who most contemptuouslie violated the temple repaired, had an euill ende. And that we passe not ouer the holie houses of the Christians, Augustine giueth warning, who declareth in the first Booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, that when Alaricus the king of the Gothes had surpzised ỳ Citie of Rome, so manie as fled vnto the great Church of Peter thzough a wonderfull wozke of God were pzeserued by the Barbarians. Which

In a false supposition.

In 1.Cor. verse.16.

Augustine.

The history of king Alaricus.

thing the Romans in olde time did not thewe vnto Idolatrie, whereunto they had bondlaued themselues. For their Emperours when they conquered the world by warre, spared not the temples of the gods, that they would anie whit the lesse either lead awaie captiues, or slaie those which fled for succour vnto them. The verie which thing Augustine perfectlie reciteth out of the second Booke of the Æneads of Virgil, and out of the historie of Salust: whereupon that which happened in the time of Alaricus, he altogether ascribeth to diuine myracle and to the power of Christ.

The Temples of the Christians must not be abolished as the Iewish Temples.

21 But the temples of the Christians, albeit they ought not with so manie outward ornaments nor yet so curiouslie be trimmed, as God commanded in the old Testament to be garnished, yet are they no lesse dedicated to the seruice of God than they were, so as it anie such house amongst vs be erected, it is méete that we should giue thanks vnto God, who hath giuen a place vnto his people, wherein they maie méete together for the exercise of holie things. And prayers ought to be made, whereby a right and perfect vse of that place may be obtained. But now to the consecration of Churches they haue brought in sensing, painted crosses, wax candels, burning oyle, salt, and holie water, and they write in the dust the Alphabet both in Greek and Hebrew: and vse welnére innumerable signes, and yet are not able to yelde a sound reason for them: Howe superstitious these things be, euerie one as I thinke doeth by this time perceiue, therefore they should be abandoned at the last if we would imbrace pure religion. The works which become our temples, as in number they be fewe, so in worthinesse they excell all the rest: First, the praises of God: Secondlie, the confession of sinnes, the administratiō of holie doctrine, prayers, receiuing of the Sacraments, exercise of Ecclesiasticall discipline, and offerings for the poore. Wherefore an argument *a minori* [that is, frō the lesse] maie thus be made: Séeing there appeareth so great a dignitie of the outward temple, be it of our times or of the Iewes, what then should be saide of the true, liuelie, and entire Temple of God, the which we are?

What is to be noted at the dedication of a Church.

The superstitious consecrating of Popish Churches.

What manie be come our Temples.

Of the Ornaments of Churches.

In 1.kin.7.

22 If a man will demand what should be the meaning of so much gold in the temple of God; I answere, that manie reasons may be giuen thereof. One of them I shewed before: namelie, that God had then to deale with men both rude and prone vnto Idolatrie: therefore seeing they had those externe ornaments in more admiration than was méete, God would call them awaie from idolatrie, and retaine them in his seruice: for if they were delighted with the garnishing of Temples, there was no cause why they should run about vnto idols, for God found meanes, that they had a Temple and Tabernacle so artificiallie trimmed, that in those dayes there were none in the world so goodlie and excellent. And verilie, while men of that time sawe so much Golde in the house of God, they should haue remembred, that God himselfe whom they worshipped, is both the author and giuer not onelie of spirituall things, but also of goods and of gold, who distributed those things at his owne pleasure, so ỹ we must séeke this kinde of good things, not elsewhere but from God onelie. Neither must we vse riches and golde, but according to the will of God: séeing it is his true and lawfull possession. But at this daie the Papists, of a certaine blind zeale, are carefull to furnish their temples with precious stones, with gold also, & with siluer, that all things may glitter on euerie side: which neither is necessarie, neither is at this day méete for the faithfull: neither are the things which are commodious for one age profitable for another. Besides, we must consider that these golden and siluer ornaments which are now rehearsed, had in the olde Testament their iust vse. For if there were in the temple the Candlesticke of golde, with the brightnesse thereof it made the place beautifull: If the table of shew bread, loaues were set thereon: If the Censures, both the appointed and certaine incense were made therein. The Goblets and Boules and vialls, serued to receiue the bloud of the sacrifice, and to sprinkle and offer. And other instruments serued for mending and cleansing of the fire. And because God decréed that they should haue such ceremonies, therefore it behoued that such instruments should also be readie at their handes. But when after the comming of Christ, such kinde of ceremonies were abolished, what néede haue our Churches of so manie kindes of golden ornaments? Beatus Rhenanus vpon Tertullian in the booke *De Corona militu*, repoꝛteth, that among the riches and treasures of the Church of Mense, there were two siluer Cranes, in the belly of which was put fire, whereupon were swéete perfumes powred, the which being kindled, gaue out a swéete sauour by the open beake. And also that there was certaine siluer pypes by the which

Whether precious ornaments be necessary in our Temples.

Beatus Rhenanus.

Silver Cranes appertaining to the Church of Mense.

which, prophane men who they call the latetie sucked out of the Chalice in the holy supper: as though (forsooth) out of the Chalice it selfe the faithfull might not drinke, or that there was néede of cranes for making a perfume not necessarie. Wherefore we cannot otherwise determine, but that the sacrificers deuised to themselues certaine ornaments of Temples altogether superfluous.

23 I knowe also, that in the time of the fathers there were certaine golden Ornaments in the temple, but before the age of Constantine the Great, I suppose they were verie rare. Further they had those things, to the intent they might sometime be bestowed vpon the vse of poore wretches: which our men doe not at this daie. Ambrose in his treatise *De officijs*, teacheth that the gold of the Church is iustlie molten for the redemption of captiues. And Decius the Emperour when he would wyeld awaie the treasures of the Church from Laurence, vnderstode that they were already distributed vnto the poore. Let them shew, if they can, that the Lorde or the Apostles commāded anie of these things. Doubtlesse no other thing did they commend than the sound preaching of the word of God, than the vse of the Sacraments, and innocencie of life. And of such ornaments haue some of the good Fathers made no account, whereupon (as Ierom sheweth) Exuperius Bishop of Tholosa ministred the holie Supper with a cup of glasse, and with a wicker basket. And in the Tribunien Councell, they began to dispute whether golden or wodden vessels should be had for the vse of the Sacraments. There Boniface the Party being demaunded of his opinion, said: When they were golden Priests they had wodden cups, now being wodden Priests they will haue golden Challices. And after this manner he derided the question put forth. Pea and Persius an Ethnick Poet taunted this vanitie of men, writing: Tell mee ye Bishops, what doeth gold in your sacrifice? Which verse Bernarde something changed, when as already die in his age the Bishops had golde in the furniture of their horses, and said, Well mée ye Bishops what doeth gold in your bridle? But the aduersaries saie, that by these riche mettals and precious stones, their ministerie is beautified. Let them be holie of life and maners, let them teache, reprowue, and feede the people committed vnto them. If is verie diligentlie taught by Paule in the Epistles vnto Timothie and Titus, with what ornamentes the holie ministerie should be decked.

When the golden bels began at Complins.

Ambrose.

Laurence.

Exuperius

Boniface forsooke golden chalices and wodden cups into contrarie vse.

Persius.

Bernard findeth fault with the foolishe of Pertking.

1.Tim.3.1 Tim.1.6.

A plaine & Beatus Rhenanus

Silver Cranes appertaining to the Church of Mense.

24 But they still saie: it cannot be denied, but that such things were vsed in the olde Testament; why is not the same lawfull for vs? But if they haue determined to reuoke all things which were done in the old Testament, why doe they not also renue the sacrifices of Moses? Let them confesse that they haue the spirit of children, not of men; and of bondage, not of frédome. They that be delighted with this kinde of worshipping, had néede to deuise to themselues another Christ: For true Christ neuer required such things. We graunt that in the old Testament, God would haue the Iewes to haue these things, but of the Christians he hath not required them. So as they which at this day giue vnto him without asking, doe ill. We liue now in that age, wherein God must bee worshipped, not in this place, nor vpon that mountaine, but in spirit and trueth: as we reade in the 4. Chapter of Iohn. Wherefore the charges which are lauished vpō these things, should much rather be bestowed for ỹ maintenance of the poore, and aduauncement of learning, and especiallie diuine learning. Further that the ornaments of Salomon in that time also were not so necessarie, but that GOD might be worshipped without them, it is thereby declared, that by the will of God they were taken awaie by the Chaldeans. Moreouer if we calculate the times, we shall easilie perceiue, that this golde of Salomon was not long kept in ỹ temple, because Rehabam his sonne toke awaie the greatest part thereof, to deliuer it vnto Sesack the King of Egypt, whose prisoner he became. And againe Abias gaue no small part of that gold vnto the King that besieged him. Ezechias also did the like. But let vs returne to our owne. Constantinus the first Emperour of that name, opened the window vnto this so great a charge, who (as Eusebius writeth in the third booke of his life) dedicated a temple at Ierusalem, which he magnificentlie garnished with offerings, with golde, siluer, and precious stones. Furthermore I knowe that Optatus the Bishop of Millaine, in the first booke against Parmenianus, made mention of such Ornaments, and so also did other of the Fathers. But whatsoeuer they eyther affirme or decrée, if it should be receiued by vs, it ought to be allowed by the testimonie of God.

An obiection why that should not be lawfull in the newe Testament that was lawfull in the old.

The true worship-pingof God Iohn.4.24.

Those ornaments of Salomon were of no necessitie to them of that time.

Those ornaments were not long kept in the Temple 1.kings.14.25.

2.kin.18.15

The beginning of superfluous expences in our Temples.

The sixth Chapter.

Of Schisme, and whether the Gospellers bee Schismatikes becausse they haue alienated themselues from the Papists.

Looke after in the 20. Place.

In 1.kin.12 at the end.

I Will diuide this defence into three principall pointes. First I will shew þ there happened most iuste causes of our separation. Secondly, I will proue that this separation was necessarie for vs. Thirdlie, I will make it plaine, that we haue not departed from the Church, but haue rather returned to þ same. But before I enter to the explaining of these things, I minde to speake somewhat of Schisme. The word is a Greeke word deriued in Greeke ἀπὸ τῆς σχίζειν, which is, to diuide, to cut & helue in sunder. But betweene Schismes and Heresies, Augustine against Cresconius Grammaticus so distinguisheth, as a Schisme is called a late separatiõ of the congregation, by reason of some diuersitie of opinions, the which when it hath waxed old, is called an heresie. Howbeit it semes not verie likelie to be true, that these should differ one from another by the difference of newnesse and oldnesse. This doth rather agree, that mẽ maie be infected with schisme, who neuerthelesse retaine the selfe same faith as it hath oftentimes happened in the papacie. And the propertie of heresie is, that it taketh some opinion to be defended seuerallie from others, the which is repugnant alwell to the word of God, as to the common faith. Yet doth Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians seeme to confounde these two. For he accuseth them both of Heresie and Schisme.

The Etymologie of Schisme.

The difference betweene Schisme & Heresie. Aothe In 1.Cor. 1.10.

1.Cor.11. 18.

The effect and cause of Schisme.

2 It must not be passed ouer that Augustine affirmeth hatred against the neighbour to be þ cause of Schisme. And of this hatred there maie bee shewed foure chiefe partes:

1. namelie, that men among themselues, as touching the principall points doe not consent: and therefore Paul wished that the Corinthians were agreed and ioyned together in one minde. Secondlie, they oftentimes iarre in those things, which are deriued and concluded of principles: and therefore the Apostle added: That they maie bee knit together in one and the same opinion. It also happeneth sometime, that although they agree in minde and opinion, yet are some so in loue with their owne phrases and forme of speech, and so obstinatelie maintaine the same, as rather than they will forsake them they will be separated frõ their brethren: therfore Paul wished that they might speake al one thing. Lastlie they therefore hate their brethren,

2.Cor.13. 11.

1.Cor.1.13

4. because some made one their guide and some another, as it happened among the Corinthians: of whom some saide: I hold of Cephas, I of Paule, and I of Apollo, and euerie one hated another which helde not with that guide with whom he held: and as it appeared in the Church of Rome whẽ two or three Popes lined at one time. These things being marked, it maie eaſilie be gathered, what is Schisme, that is to wit, it is a separatiõ of a cõgregation through the hatred of brethẽ, because of the diuersitie eyther of minde, or opinion, or speeches, or electiõ of gouernours, which things doe both breede and increase that hatred.

The definition of Schisme

3 Howbeit we must vnderstand, that all Schisme is not good or euill. For there is, which thou maiest not condemne, and which thou maiest iustly allowe. It is no separation except it be of the partes from the whole, which whole when it shall become euill, if certaine parts diuide themselues from it, because they will not be corrupted and infected, the departing shall be commendable. So is Abraham commended, because he departed from the Chaldeans & from his owne countrie. A good separation also there was of the Proselits, who sauing themselues from idolatrie, went into the people of God. Also the departing of Christ and of the Apostles from the Iewes is altogether commendable, especiallie seeing Christ himselfe saide, that hee came not to send peace but a sword, and to seuer men from their owne houshold. It also happeneth sometimes that all the partes of some whole be euill. And it profiteth the godlie that thole be drawne one from another, to the intent they maie languish and be enfeebled. And to that purpose, Paule when he was come into great daunger, set the Pharisees and Sadduces at debate one against another. It was profitable also, for preaching of the Gospell, when þ Iewes disagreed among themselues as concerning Christ. A part said of him: He is good, seeing he doeth so manie signes: but others affirmed that he was euill, and that he coulde not be of God, seeing he brake the Sabaoth daie. But if the whole it selfe be god, and some partes being putrified & defiled are departed awaie, such a schisme must be detected, and we affirme it to be euill. Wherefore it is a pernitious thing, because the nature neither of the parts, nor yet

A diuision of this question.

A definition of Schisme

It is no separation, but of parts from the whole.

A good departure or separation: Hebr.11

of the whole is preserued. Which that we maie vnderstand, a certaine distinction of the whole must be considered as it is taught of the naturall Philosophers. One is called ὁμοιομερὴς and it consisteth of like parts: as is water, blood, earth and such like. If a diuision be made, doubtlesse the powers of the whole doe after a sort perish, for by that plucking in sunder it is weakened, but in the partes the nature of the whole is preserued. For euery part of water is water, and euerie part of blood is blood. Another whole there is foriide which they call ἑτερογενὲς, which consisteth of the diuersitie of partes: Such be liuing creatures made of diuers members: yea and plants consist of diuers parts. These things if a man diuide, neither the whole nor the partes will stand. A man being drawen asunder into partes ceaseth to be a man, and his parts be no more the members of a man. And the Church seeing it is a bodie of diuers parts when it is diuided, both it selfe after a sort is ruined, and the partes thereof being distracted doe perish, seeing they fall frõ eternall life. So as they that separate themselues in an euil Schisme, both destroy themselues, and almuch as in them lyeth destroy the Church, vnleſſe that Christ be present to reſtore and preserue the same. Wherefore this vice must be shunned as a pernitious thing.

When mention of the parting away of the Iewes from the faith is made.

4 Now must we see whether our separation be euill or god. I affirme that it is god. First because it hath most iuste and very good causes, the which I will in this order relate.

The first cause is: In the Church, there can bee no coniunction betweene them which retaine not the faith. Our aduersaries haue falne awaie, and retaine not the faith, so as there can no knitting together happen betweene them and vs. That they haue departed from the faith, hereby it appeareth, in that they haue cleaued to traditions, neglecting the word of God. But faith is by hearing, and hearing by the worde of God, as Paule

The Papists are fallen from the faith.

Mat.10.34.

Ro.10.17.

2. testifieth. Further there can be no fellowship with them, which by a mighty, and welneere tyrannicall violence, obtrude vnto vs beaſie & intollerable burthens, a great deale more than false prophets would lay vpon the Gentils being conuerted vnto Christ. What may we here do? In times past þ Lacedemonians said vnto the Athenians: If ye shal command things that be more hard than death, we will rather die than doe them. Thirdlie, our aduersaries blurpe more vnto themselues than Paul thought did appertaine vnto himselfe. He wrote in the 2. Epistle to the Corinthians the first Chapter, Not as though wee haue dominion ouer your faith. By which words he testifieth, that faith is subiect vnto none but vnto the word of God, so as the ministers of the Church haue no dominion ouer it: but (as Peter saieth in the first Epistle the fifth Chapter,) They ought by admonishing and teaching to be helpers of the ioy of the faithfull, that is, of their eternall felicitie. And he had said before: Not as though ye bare rule ouer the Clergie: by the Clergie he vnderstandeth the people of God. The Church if it be generallie considered, is one certaine body of Christ: but it hath manie partes, to wit, particular Churches, all which be called the lots and inheritances of God. Wherefore Peter would not that Ministers and Pastors, should behaue themselues towardes them like Lordes. Fourthly, Papists suffer vs not to worship God purelie and sincerelie, if we be conuersant with them. Because they neither suffer that the Gospell should be preached by vs: neither graunt they the pure administration of the Sacraments, as they be instituted of Christ. Fiftlie, they curse vs and pronounce most horrible execrations against vs, especially vpon Thursday in the great weeke. Seeing then they haue so excommunicated vs, and euerie yere renue their excommunication, what should we deale with them when as they haue so cruelie abandoned vs? Sixtly, if we should ioine our selues vnto them, we should be pulled away from the greater part of the world. In so much as they accoũt for Schismaticks, the Churches of Africa, Egypt, Syria, the Eaſt-Church, the Churches of Asia, and the Greeke Churches, in respect (forsoth) that they will not be subiect to the seate or rather the Tyrannie of Rome. Seuenthlie, they being not content with excommunications and execrations by which they curse vs being faithfull men and professors of the Gospell, doe most cruellie persecute & destroie vs with swoorde, violence, prisons, banishments, confiscation of goods, and finallie with flames and fires. Eightlie, it is meete that godlie men should be conuersant together with sinners, so long as there is anie hope of them remaining, and while they abide to heare those which warne them. But these mẽ haue stopped their eares like Adders, neither can they abide any word of men admonishing them. They haue bin cried vpon of long time, and they compelled of force, confeſſe that many great errours are creept in into the Church, yet doe they not either shewe it, or amend anie. Certaine Councels haue bin held, namelie of Constance, Basill, Florence and Trent. welneere within our age, or the age of our Fathers, yet is there not

Ver.2.& 24

The Papists abroad no liberty of the Gospel among them.

The Papists cursers accurse vpon Thursdaie.

The Papists are separated from þ greatest part of the inhabited world.

The Papists persecutors exceede.

The Papists admit no reformation.

not corrected in the Church so much as one trifling thing, or error, or abuse. So as they seeme now past hope of saluation. And experience teacheth that in living with them the trueth is rather hidden and weakened than that they are become the better: wherefore it is no marueil if we depart from them. For the Apostles for the verie same cause departed from the Iewes, seeing they cast awaie the word of God. Ninthlie, manie haue hoped, and yet hold opinion, that the onelie remedie which remaineth for the reliefe of the miserable state of things, is a generall Councell which should be frælie held, where the cause on both parts might be discussed. But they neuer abide themselues to be brought thereunto. With griefe, they heare mention made of a Councel. Moreouer least they should seeme ouer wicked, they permit a Councell after a sort, but such a Councell as confirmeth of them that conspire against the worde of God: and seeing the ground and state of all depended wholie vpon the Pope, they will abide none there but such as be sworne vnto him.

Act.13.46.

9. The papists malitiate of a Christian Councel.

10. What and how manie kindes of things are in the Church

5 Tenthlie, in the Church, there be three kinds of things: For some be necessarie, others be frée, and othersome be wicked. Among things necessarie are appointed doctrine and administration of Sacraments, as also holie and honest life, namelie, that men should behaue themselues godlie, modestlie, and iustlie, towards God, themselues and their neighbours, all which in verie deed belongeth vnto discipline. This being so, let vs consider how these men behaue themselues in all these things. Doctrine out of all doubt they haue corrupted. For they teach that we are not iustified by faith onelie, (as the scriptures do appoint) but that we be also iustified by workes. They preach worshipping of Images and the adoring of creatures: They defend inuocation of the dead and such like things, which be mere corruptions of heauenlie doctrine. And as touching the administration of Sacraments, they haue so defaced by adding to and mangling of the Sacraments, as they are now scarcely knowen. Further as to maners and life, they haue so exceedinglie losed the raines of discipline, as they call good, euill: and euill, good. And all things are taken hand ouer heade: and so great a confusion there is of things as there be no difference perceiued of iustice: And thinges that be frée nowe they suffer not to bee frée. They haue ordeined a choice of meates, when as in meate and drinke (as testifieth the Apostle) none ought to iudge vs. They obserue daies with great superstition. Also they suffer not fastings to be frée, but they will haue appointed times, as the yeare goeth about. They haue decréed to fast vpon fridaie and saturdaie in the time of Lent, in the Vigils, and Imber daies. Matrimonie, which among other thinges is most frée, they haue forbidden to all the clergie. Also there bee garments prescribed by them to be so necessarie, as without them Masse cannot bee had. They will not that leauened bréade should be consecrated, but swéete or vnleauened. Ceremonies and rites they will haue to be so common, that all men maie vse them. Briefelie they haue made things that be frée to be of necessitie. Things þ be naught and corrupt they will not cut off, they retain them obstinatlie, and he that will admonish them thereof, they grieuouslie pursue him.

Rom.1.16. & 3.21. & 4.1. Gal.2.19.

Esa.5.20.

Col.2.16.

Schisme.

6 Furthermore, they will haue none to be of their fellowshippe, that professe not the Romane Church to bee the Catholike Church, and they indeuour to make the vniuersall Church to be particular: For the Romane Church is one certaine Church, as is the Church of Alexandria, Millain and Ephesus. But the Catholike is vniuersall: for it is there found, wheresoeuer the beléuers and true members of Christ line well: It is not bound to places & chaires. They straight way reuolted from þ Catholike church when the Popes kingdome was erected by them. For they which would not go vnder the yoke were by the Romanistes expulsed from the Church. They sought not that the name of Christ might be largelie spread, but that they might beare rule farre and wide. Paul vnto the Romans wrote, that we be one bodie in Christ & mébers euery one of an other. But and if he said that we be one in Christ, it ought to be enough to professe Christ, not the Romane Church. The Donatistes are reproued by manie of the Fathers, and especiallie by Augustine, because they had straitened the Catholike Church, into a small corner of Aphrica, affirming that the Church was no where else to be founde. But doe not the Papistes the verie same, when as they acknowledge none for the Churches of Christ, which followe not the Romane Church as their head and Prince: Let them prowe if they can that the Gospell sprang vp at Rome. It cannot be saide. For it came from Ierusalem aswell vnto the Greekes as Latines. Whereby it commeth to passe, that the Romane Church is not by the right of antiquitie the first of all. Further it is gathered, that the Catholike Church was before the same. And if it could then be without it, what let is there but that nowe also it maie be without it? But if so bée (to speake after the maner of the Logicians) the Romane Church first of all and by it selfe had bœne the Catholike Church, all Churches by it should be named, and should bée called and become Catholike through her. Which how false it is, I haue already shewed, in that the Churches of Ierusalem, Antioch, and diuerse others, were catholike before the Romane Church was planted. Besides forthy let vs consider that the Catholike church was in old time called the Church of Christ, not the Romane Church. From whence came this addition? What mortall man hath made this article of the faith: We saie and professe in the Créede that We beleeue one holie Catholike and Apostolike Church. These words haue they translated into the Romane Church. But by what licence and power they haue done this, vnlesse they confesse their owne ambition, they are not able to shewe. And as to mens arguments, if this title should be giuen vnto anie, it had bœne conuenient for the citie of Ierusalem, séeing Christ did their teach and was faskened to the crosse, from thence ascended into heauen, and from thence sent his Apostles to preach. But there were manie causes, for the which that Church was not appointed the first of all. The Apostolike men, which at the first time flourished therein were godlie and modest, and therefore sought not after such primacie. Againe there happened a certaine emulation, I will not saie hatred, betweene the Iewes and Ethnickes which were conuerted vnto Christ. And as the Iewes were most sure holders of the ceremonies of their forefathers, so attempted they to obtrude them vpon the Gentiles: which indeuour being perceiued, the estimation of that Church was obscured. Besides these things, that place, after the destruction brought in by Titus and Vespatian was not famous nor noble, for so much as no kings and Monarches had anie abiding there. And it is manifest enough, that the primates of Churches followed the ciuil magnificence. To this, the Patriarches of Ierusalem in processe of time were not constant in the true faith, but did pollute the selues with heresies. Wherefore they were the lesse famous. And therewithall penurie and powertie was adioyned which was a great hinderance vnto the primacie. That Church was not so plentifullie inriched, as were the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople. But to returne whence I came: If antiquitie, if the conuersation of Christ and his Apostles, and the original of the Gospel, wrought not that the Church of Ierusalem should bee or be called Catholike, how can they imagine that the Romane church had it? Perhappes they will saie: Of Peter. But of this I will speake hereafter. And to þ matter now in hand, let vs affirme that all churches, as touching the thing it selfe, so they retaine faith and the word of God with iust syncerítie, be Catholike and also equall. But if we shall beholde not the thing, but the accidents, to the iudgement of ignorant men that excelleth others which excéedeth in riches, and great estate of princes. And as for godlie men, that Church is more excellent than the rest which is more honourable in the giftes of God and graces of the spirit.

11. Whether the rites of the Catholike Churche be agreable with the Church of Rome. Look before cap. 3. fin.

Why the Church of Ierusalem was not preferred as first.

7 Further our aduersaries are most manifestly founde to be plunged in those crimes of which the Apostle hath pronounced, that they which doe such things, haue no part in the kingdome of God. What place therefore shall we giue them in the Church? Undoubtedlie they be Simonites, Sorcerers, bloud suckers, raisers of warres, men giuen to lust, they abound in more than Persian or Sybariticall riotousnesse: They haue no leasure for the word of God, they preach not, they fede not the flocke, naie rather they fill all things full of offences. And in the meane they did nothing but iangle of Peters and Pauls, from whom they are more distant than heauen is frō earth. Lastly they will not suffer vs to deale with thē, vnles we communicate with them in the masse, wherein doe hang so manie faults, as in this place cannot be declared. But it maketh no matter. The faults and corruptions thereof, in these our daies are so manifest, as they haue no more nede of one to set them forth. One thing onelie I will alleadge, that they propound bread and wine there to bee adored, which if a man shall refuse to worshippe, he is vtterlie vndone both in life and goods. Wherefore séeing there be so iust and so manie causes of our departing from the Papacie, our separation séemeth verie much worthie to be praised, not to be disallowed. But least we should dissemble anie thing, nowe let vs bring those things, which they are wont to obiect against such causes.

12. 1.Cor.6.10 The iust & true causes of the departing of the Churches from God.

13. They suffer none to deale with them except they will communicate with them in the Masse.

8 First they saie, that it is neither right nor orderlie done by vs, who measure the Church by the word of God, when as we should deale otherwise: namelie that the word of God should be established by the authoritie of the Church. Wherefore they would that the vertue and power of the Church should

The first obiection. Whether the authoritie of the worde of God depend of the Churches iudgement.

should be preferred aboue the woꝛde of God. To confirme this, Hosius, the bucklar of the Papistes in our time, alleageth that which was spoken by Christ, If they will not heare thee, tell the Church. Now thou seest (saieth he) that there was a Church of the new Testament, when there was no written woꝛde thereof. Some men answer, that Christ ment this of the Church that was to come, and should be gathered by the preaching of the Apostles, but not of that which was extant at that time. This answere I allow not, seeing the Church was euen then: neither did it want the woꝛd written as this man fayneth: that is to wit, the bokes of the olde Testament. Out of those doubtlesse did Christ and the Apostles confirme their doctrines. Wherefoꝛe Paul in the Epistle to the Romanes speaking of the olde Testament, saieth, Whatsoeuer things are written before time are written for our learning, that wee through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might haue hope. Vnto Timothie he saieth: The whole Scripture giuen by the inspiration of God, is profitable to teache and conuince, to correct and instruct, that the man of God may be perfect, &c. Vnto the same man also he writeth: Attend thou vnto reading, &c. Of the Thessalonians it is saide in the Actes of the Apostles, that they hauing heard Paul, searched out of the Scriptures whether ꝓ things were so as he had taught. But our aduersaries fetch their Argument further, and affirme, that the Church of God was befoꝛe Moses which neuertheleſſe had no Scriptures: foꝛ they account the bokes of Moses to be most auncient of all. Which I would easily yeeld vnto, if they would speake of those that be now extant. But howe doe they knowe whether that olde Church had anie diuine bokes oꝛ no? Moses vndoubtedlie expreſſeth the Booke of the Iust, & the Booke of the warres of the Lord. And it may be that Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, wrote those things which belonged to their times, so as Moses afterward by the inſpiration of Gods spirit did gather and digeſt those things. Certaintie Iude in his Epistle did inſert certaine things out of the Booke of Enoch. Noꝛ doeth it make anie matter, if thou saie that the Booke is *Apocryphus, because that Booke perhaps was Apocryphus which was caried about after the Apostles time. But those things with Iudas brought, were both firme and certaine. But let vs imagine that there was no woꝛdes of God befoꝛe Moses, except such onelie as were giuen foꝛth by mouth, and deliuered by handes. What serueth this to ꝓ ꝓsent matter? Foꝛ the verie same woꝛdes when they were afterward put in writing, ought to be kept and retained, so as nothing in them shoulde be changed by men. Seeing the Church is gathered together by the woꝛd of God, the same of necessitie muſt be latter than it, neither can the Church by her owne authoꝛitie be against the woꝛdes of God, because the spirit of God doeth not striue with it self. But that it is in woꝛd oꝛ in writing, it maketh no matter, foꝛ these bee accidents, and not the ꝓper and true nature thereof. And therefoꝛe the woꝛd of God, whether it be deliuered by woꝛde oꝛ by writing, it is inuiolable, neither can it speake things contrarie.

Hosius.
Mat. 18. 17
In the time of Christ ꝓ Church had the written woꝛd.
Rom. 15. 4
2. Tim. 3. verse. 1 3.
Act. 17. 11.
Whether ꝓ woꝛd were written before Moses time.
Num. 21. 14
Iosu 10. 13
2. Sam. 1. 18
Iude. 14.
The booke of Enoch.
Of an vncertaine authoꝛ.
The Church is later than the woꝛd.

9 Ouer this, Hosius is against vs, and saieth, that the holie Ghoſt speaketh with faithfull men, aſwell by the Church, as by handwriters who woꝛte the holy scriptures, and thereby concludeth (as he thinketh) that the Church should equinalentlie be heard as the holie Scriptures. But we saie that the spirit of God speaketh vnto vs both wayes: yet (as we are warned befoꝛe) things in no wise repugnant one to another. Wherefoꝛe when as the same spirit deliuereth any thing by the Church, that is not repugnant with the written Dracles. Furthermoꝛe of the handwriters we be certaine: foꝛ our foꝛefathers which then liued, did manifeſtlie knowe that the holie bokes were set foꝛth by them. So as there is no cause to feare ꝓ they are counterfeit. Againe, the spirit of God is ꝓsent with the faithfull, whereby they perceiue the writings of them to be diuine and not counterfeit by men. But as touching the Church we stande oftentimes in doubt. Foꝛ the Bishops which repreſent the same, doe not alwaies come together in the name of the Lord. And although they be godlie and holie, yet are they men, and haue much of the flesh, whereby their mindes and affections are oftentimes troubled. I doubt not but that Cyprian with his Bishops met together with a good and godlie minde, yet neuertheleſſe he erred as concerning the rebaptising of heretickes which shoulde returne to the Church. Beſides this in Councels, the voyces be not weighed but numbred: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that oftentimes ꝓ greater part ꝓuaileth aboue the leſſe, and the woꝛſe aboue the better. So as we cannot determine that the Church is without erroꝛ as the ſcripture is. Verilie in the Synode of Nice, although it was rightly decreed concerning one substaunce of the Father and the sonne, yet was there much seede of impietie inſerted as touching satisfactions and times of repentance. But how those fathers were

Whether the Church is diuided from the woꝛd of God are to be heard alike.
The Synode of Chalcedon.
The Synode of Constantinople.
The Byshops and Councels not euer. Lock before cap. 4. art. 10 Cyprianus enim.
Mat. 24. 24
Dan. 8. 9. & 11. 36 & 45.
How the Fathers of the Synode of Nice iudged of sacrifice.

moued and driuen by affections, thereby it is sufficiently declared, in that like furies and mad men they raged one against another, and with their infamous Libels and slaunders stirred ꝓ and inflamed the god Emperour against their fellowes, that it is a wonder he could abide their intemperace. They were called together to deale about a principall point of religion; and setting this aside, they gaue ouer themselues onely vnto choler and stomacke. In the second Synode of Epheſus, they not onelie erred shamefullie in doctrine, but they also came to blowes: so as Flauianus the Bishop of Constantinople was there spurned to death. I knowe that some saie, that that assemblie was not a lawfull Councell. Yotweit this moueth me but litle. Foꝛ I demand what might be wanting thereunto that is required vnto due and true Councels? The Bishops were called together ꝓ authoꝛitie of ꝓ Emperour, no leſſe than vnto the Synode of Nice. The legates of the Bishop of Rome were ꝓsent, and the Bishop of Alexandria, sate as chiefe by his owne right. The Councell of Chalcedone although it inſtlie condemned Eutiches, yet is it repꝛoued by Leo the Bishop of Rome, that esteeming leſſe the Seate of Alexandria, it gaue the second place to the Seate of Constantinople, and abolished that which was decreed in the Councell of Nice: which could not be done without note of inconstancie.

10 But they saie, that this belongeth not to the doctrine oꝛ Articles of the faith. Against whom we replie by the latter Synode of Epheſus, which allowed the errour of Eutiches, and abſolued him whom afterwarde the Councel of Chalcedone condemned: and further, that the Synode of Constantinople, the which was helde vnder Leo the Emperour toke awaie images. Againe that the seuenth Councell which was gathered together vnder Irene allowed aſwell of Images as of the woꝛshipping of them. Seeing these Councels varie and be contrarie in the chiefe points of faith, who shall giue iudgement of them? Certainly none but the woꝛd of God: according whereunto it behoueth that ꝓ answers of the Church oꝛ Councels be examined. The church otherwhile doeth erre, if we speake of that Church which is visible, and sitteth in Councels. The Lord saieth, that the false Christes and false Apostles shall ꝓuaile, as the verie elect, if it were possible, should be deceaued. Daniel also testifieth, that Antichriſt should sit in the verie Temple of God: that is among them which are named the Church. Let vs consider the meetings of the olde Church, and we shall perceiue that they went so farre astray that amongst them Ieremie the Prophet was ouerthꝛowen, and Micheas, who was beaten when the 400. Prophetes were come together before the kings Achab and Iosaphat, Hanaile Christ and his Apoſtles were condemned by the Councell of the Iewes: yea, and Nazianzene (to returne to our owne Councels) in a certaine Epistle of his, saith, that he neuer saw good end of Bishops Councels. To conclude, this controuerſie is betweene vs and our aduersaries: namelie, whether ꝓ Church can erre: We ioyne thereunto the woꝛde of God: by which if it deale and define, we will graunt that the same doeth not erre. But the Papists iudge that it is so greatly ruled by the holie Ghoſt, that although it decree anie thing beſides oꝛ against the woꝛde of God, it doeth not erre: and therefoꝛe they will, that the same should rather be beleeued than the Scriptures of God. But while they stand to that opinion, they dissent the whole woꝛld ouer from the fathers, who alwayes in their Councels confirmed their decrees by diuine Dracles.

The manner and erroꝛ of the 2d Ephesine Synode.
Ierem. 26.
1. Kings. 22. 2. 4.
Iohn. 9. 22
Nazianzene saith he neuer saw good end of Bishops Councels.
Whether the Church can erre.

11 Our aduersaries procéde and craftily assault the trueth with a certaine saying of Augustin *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*. Where the man of God writ: I shoulde not beleeue the Gospel vnleſſe the authoꝛitie of ꝓ Church moued me withall. Vnto these woꝛdes they adde a rule of Logicke, wherein it is saide that foꝛ the which euerie thing is like, that thing it selfe is moꝛe like. But they ought to haue knowen, that if we shoulde deale by Logick, that rule is true onelie in small causes. Foꝛ if a man foꝛ healthes sake vse a medicine, health is rather desired of him, than the medicine. But in efficient causes nothing is this waie concluded, vnleſſe the whole and full cause shall be brought. Foꝛ if one will saie that a man is made dꝛunken with wine, he cannot thereby pꝛoue that the wine is moꝛe dꝛunke, because the whole cause of dꝛunkennesse is not in the wine. Foꝛ it is required that it should be digeſted in the stomacke, and that vapours bee stirred ꝓ to trouble the bꝛaine. Further if one shoulde learne of his maister the eloquence of an Dꝛator, it shoulde not therefoꝛe be concluded that his maister is better than he in making of Dꝛations, because the maister is not the whole cause of his learning. There is beſides required a wit, and also a studie and diligence. But the Church, of which we nowe speake, is not the whole cause of our faith: it onelie publisheth, preacheth and teacheth. Also there is neede of the holie Ghoſt, to lighten the mindes of the heaꝛers, and to bend

The saying of Augustin I should not beleeue the Gospell, except etc. is pounded. Lock part. 1. pl. 6. Art. 7. & part. 4. pl. 12.

their willes to imbrace those things which bee spoken, Therefore Augustine wisely wrote: Vnlesse the authoritie of the Church had mooued mee withall: and did not put simplie, mooued.

What ought to be affirmed of that, that the Church hath giuen iudgement of holie writ.

12 They are wont also to prattle vnto vs that the Church hath giuen iudgement of holie writ, allowing some part and reiecting other some. For it disallowed the Gospell of Nicodemus, the Acts of Peter, diuers Reuelations of the Apostles, the Booke of the Shepheard, and such like. And on the other side it imbraced the foure Euangelists which we now haue, & the writings of the Apostles which are at this daie read in the Churches. By which iudgement they decree that the authoritie of the Church excelleth the holie scriptures. Howbeit this kinde of reasoning deriued from iudgement is weake, because there be men of sharpe wit found, which can discerne betweene the right verses of Virgill and the wrong, and betweene the naturall workes of Aristotle and the counterfeit: who neuertheless are a great deale lesse learned than Virgill or Aristotle. We are also commanded, To trie the spirites, and to put a difference betweene God and the diuell, and yet we be not equall or greater than God. Howe then doeth the Church of God behaue it selfe towardes the words of God put in writing: If it preserueth and faithfullie kéepeth them, it publisheth, defendeth & maintaineth them: it is like a Notarie which faithfullie retaineth testaments with him, whereas he is able to doe nothing beyond the last will of the Testator: for if he should chaunge or inuert the same, he should not be counted a faithfull Notarie, but a falsifier and counterfeiter of testaments. The Church in no other wise hath and preserueth with it the holie Scriptures, when as neuertheless it maie not either change or inuert or amplifie them. But séeing they contend with an obstinate minde, that the authoritie of the Scriptures dependeth of the Church; why doe they not produce some Canon or decree of some Council, by which the holie Scriptures be ratified? The primatiue Church of the Christians found the writings of the olde Testament to be firme, and by them allowed and established the articles of our faith. After this succéeded the Bookes of the Apostles written by the inspiration of God, the which Bookes no decree of men hath fortified. For the wordes of God are not subiect to the will of men: but on the other side, whatsoeuer thing the Councels of the Church haue decreed, they alwaies were careful to confirme them by the wordes of God, euen as it may be proued by all the Synodes which were of best note. I am not ignorant that certaine Councels made rehearsall of the Bookes of God, which also some of the olde Fathers did: howbeit the faith of the diuine Scriptures was of force among the Christians long before the recital which they made. Moreouer in their Catalogue are founde certaine bookes either past or abolished: the which our enemies affirme to be most Canonical. For out of the holie Scriptures they séeke to proue their Purgatorie, when as neuertheless it is easie shewed out of the writings of the old Fathers that that booke is not in the holie Canon.

The holie scriptures haue not hetherto ratified by any decree of Councels.

1. Ioh. 4. 1

The Bookes of the Machabees.

13 Some being ouercome by the force and power of the trueth, preferre the worde of God aboue the Church, but they will ouerrule tyrantlike, and retyre themselues to interpretations: which they will haue to belong onelie vnto the Church: namelie the Romane Church: so that in verie deede they are not subiect to the word of God, but doe account it to bée subiect vnto their decrees. But howe faithfull interpretours they be, and holy vnto all expositions they make, euerie one maie perceiue by these things which I will here adde. Anacletus saide, that Peter was called Cæphas of the Greeke worde κεφαλή, because he was head of the Church. But how straunge a thing it is that the Hebrew or Syrian worde should take his derivation of the Greeke tongue, all men perceiue. Christ reaching out the cup in his supper, Drinke ye all of this (saieth he.) The Romanists in their interpretation saie, Drinke not ye all of this: Let the laie men or vnlearned be content with the bread: let onelie the Priests receiue both kindes. In the Epistle to the Hebrewes Patrimonie is called honorable amongst all men. And vnto the Corinthians it is written, They that doe not containe, let them marrie: And it is better to marrie than to burne. But they by their decrees and expositions exclude a great part of the worlde from marriages: namelie all the holy Ministerie. The Law of God commandeth ye we should not make vnto our selues images to worship them: these men commaund that images should be had and worshipped. Paul saieth: Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke. Whele in their interpretations haue peruerted this libertie, and haue brought in a moll seuere, or rather ridiculous and superstitious choise of meates. The holy scripture hath decreed That we by faith are iustified without workes: They by their exposition affirme, that wee are also iustified by workes. Therefore their glosses be verie

Whether the expositions of the Scriptures belong to the Church

Interpretations of Scriptures

Matt. 15. 4. &c. Christ reiected false interpretations.

Matt. 533.

Matt. 5. 20.

Mat. 26. 27.

Heb. 13. 4.

1. Cor. 7. 9.

Ibid.

Exod. 20. 4.

Col. 2. 16.

Rom. 3. 28.

much against the text. Neither are their interpretations anie thing else than corruptions: Where the word of God commaundeth that we should set our mindes on high, their interpretations draw vs downeward. This power of expounding the scriptures haue the Popes thereto drawen onelie vnto themselues, or vnto the Councels, to the intent that they might after their owne pleasures bring in straunge opinions into the Church, and contend against the worde of God howsoeuer they thought good. Neither did the Iewish high Priests, Scribes and Pharisees otherwise behaue themselues: But Christ vercieued not their peruerse interpretations. God commanded in the Lawe that children should obey their parents: But the Priests being driuen by couetousnesse take away the strength of this commaundement, in absoluing of children from the burthen of maintaining their parents, perswading them to offer excellent and riche giftes, the which should proffit their parents much more than sustenance. The Lord hath cryed out also against this craftie interpretation: he testified that the commandement of God is made voide. Also by their exposition they haue lessened the strength of others, and haue taught that some are of strength and some feble. Here also the Lord hath gainesaide, & hath confuted their Sophisticall interpretations. They also taught, that men satisfie the Law, if onelie they conforme themselues vnto the same: Christ reiecting these peruerse glosses, hath declared, that the law requireth not onelie outward works, but also good motions of the minde. Wherefore there is no cause why the aduersaries should compell vs without iudgement to repose our selues in their expositions. Augustine wrote bookes of Christian doctrine, where he teacheth manie wayes to interprete the Scriptures: but among the rest there is not one where in he sendeth vs vnto the Pope, or vnto the church. In obscure things he willeth vs to vse the stilfulnesse of tongues; to conferre those things which goe before, and which followe: to expound a doubtfull place by another place which is more easie and manifest: and such like things. Whom canst no where finde in the Fathers that the Scriptures are in such sort that this or that Councell hath interpreted the same after this or that maner.

Matt. 18. 17

Verie that saying of Christ is to be vnderstood.

14 But hereat they crie out that it is sufficient that Christ hath saide: If he will not heare the Church, let him be vnto thee as an Ethnick and Publicane. Vnto this I answer, that it may séeme that Christ spake not there as touching the exposition of the scriptures, but of brotherlie correction. But setting this answere aside, I laie that the Church must be heard so farre forth as it answereth or speaketh out of the word of God, but if it bring forth onelie the deuises and traditions of men, we must with deafe eares pretermit the same, and specially then, when it setteth forth things that be against the wordes of God. To conclude, we include the true Church in the word of God, the which as a rule and certaine rule is fixed vnto it. But as concerning power aboue the Scriptures, which their men challenge to themselues, the olde Fathers neither acknowledged, nor sought. In the Councell of Nice, as the Historie of Theodoretus sheweth, Constantine commanded the Fathers that were assembled together, to define the controuersie (as touching one substance of the Father and the Sonne) by the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles: there none withstode him, in saying that the Church of her own authoritie ought to iudge the controuersie, because the same should not be subiect to the Scriptures, but should rather haue them in her power. Neither did they complaine, that the Emperour plucked any thing from the Church, séeing it subiected the same to the rule of the Scriptures.

Church must be heard so as it be vnderstoode

The olde Fathers acknowledged not any power of the Church to which the word of God should be subiect.

15 But they crie out that the Church is the pillar and ground of the trueth, as it is written in the first Epistle vnto Timothie. Here I saie, that the wordes of the Apostle must not so bee vnderstoode as though the Church doeth vrge, confirme, and compare her authoritie with the word of God. The case doeth not so stande. The word of God is of it selfe most firme, it indureth for euer: neither hath it anie néede to be propped vp by men: naie rather it sustaineth all things: Heauen and earth passeth, the wordes of God doe not passe. But the Church is the pillar and ground of the trueth, so farre forth as it hath the word of god with it, as it preacheth, retaineth, and kéepeth it within it selfe, as it defendeth and maintaineth it: neither is the word heard without it: but not as though that ground did yéelde strength or authoritie vnto the word wauering or like to fall. So farre forth then as it speaketh out of it, it erreth not, nor cannot erre: but speaking or dealing without it, not onelie it can erre, but it doeth erre. But our men (on Gods name) doe also attribute this vnto Popes, that in the matter of faith, as they call it, they cannot erre. When as neuertheless it most certainelie appeareth that Iohn the xxi. most shamefullie fell, séeing he affirmed that the soules of men perish together with the body,

How that it is to be vnderstoode which Paul saith, The Church is the ground of trueth. 1. Tim. 3. 15

Matt. 5. 18.

Whether the Pope may erre in the matter of faith.

The heresie of Pope Iohn the xxi.

oz (as some moze modestlie say) doe slape, and shall finallie be raised vp when as our bodies also shall rise againe from the dead at the latter daie. Neither did the Bishops noz Cardinals, whom they saie doe represent the Church, resist the Pope that erred so foulie and shamefullie. The schole of Paris resisted him, and so informed the French king of his errour, as he forbad all his the Communion of the Pope, vnlesse he would repent: and so he draue the Pope to recant. I speake not of Peter, who (as testifieth the Epistle to the Galathians) was inflicte and of due seuere reproued, because he together with certaine others went not vp right waie vnto the Gospell. If thou wilt ashe these men wherefoze they thinke that Popes cannot erre as touching the faith: they will answere, that Christ said: I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith doe not faile. If they would transferre this vnto the Church, it might after a sozt be borne with, seeing the faith of the Church, which Peter did representt, should indure euen vnto the ende. But when as they applie that saying vnto ỹ Popes, they deale to impudentlie. Why doe they not also applie vnto their Popes all things which are found to be said of Peter in the Scriptures? Undoubtedlie Christ said vnto him, when he perswaded him to be fauourable vnto himselfe: Get thee behinde mee Sathan, thou art an offence vnto mee, because thou vnderstandest not the things that be of God, but the things that are of the flesh. He also called him whē he should haue bin drowned in the water, A man of little faith. And in the transfiguration the Euangelist testifieth, that he knewe not what he said. Also the Lord commanded him that he shoulde put vp his sword into the sheath. Which if the Popes would obserue, the world perhaps should be quiet from warres. Paule also vnto the Galathians in expresse words testifieth of Peter and certaine others that they went not the right waie vnto the Gospell. All these things should most manifestly be applied vnto the Popes, seeing they doe notablie agree vnto them. But these followes gather flowers vnto themselues, and onelie vnto that purpose deriue those things which after a sozt seeme to make vnto the establishment of power, honour, and tyrannie: and thus they indeuour to leade awaie the faithfull from the word of God, that they should not beleeue it, but the Popes & Councels. Thus did not Augustine deale with Maximinus an Arrian Bishop, vnto whom he said when he disputed with him: Neither obiect thou vnto me the Councell of Ariminum, nor I vnto thee ỹ Councel of Nice, seeing neither I am bound vnto this, nor thou vnto that: but let vs deale by the common testimonies of the Scriptures: let matter contend with matter, cause with cause, and reason with reason.

Gal.2.14.

Luk.23.33.

Mat.16.23

Mat.14.31. Mark.9.36

Mat.26.52

Gal.2.14.

Augustine.

16 But of this part shall be saide enough when I shall haue added this, to wit, that the three markes of the Church which are wont to be shewed by men of our side: namely doctrine, the right administration of the Sacraments, and the care of discipline (which these men cry out to be fained by vs and cannot be confirmed by the word of God) are verie manifestlie found in the Epistle to the Ephesians: whereof in the 5. Chapter it is written that Christ loued the Church, and gaue himselfe for it, that he might sanctifie it, being cleansed by the washing of water through the worde, that he might make it vnto himselfe a glorious Church not hauing spot or wrinkle. Hereof is gathered, that besides an inwarde cleansing, which consisteth of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and of the sauing power of the holie Ghost, there is required an outward word and Sacraments, which the Apostle expresseth, saying: By the washing of water through the word. And the exercises of holie life he noted when he added: That he might make it vnto himselfe a glorious Church without spot or wrinkle. For by liuing godly the faithfull doe dailie laie awaie the affections and filthinesse of the flesh.

Which be the true markes of the Church.

Verse.25.

17 Hosius when he perceiued that by these notes our Churches might easilie bee approued, hee maketh small account of them. Because (saith he) it is brought to passe by Heretikes, that they can not bee the markes of true Churches. For he saith that among vs the pure word of God is exercised, the sacraments according to the institution of Christ administred, and discipline not altogether neglected. So as leauing those markes, he bringeth in others, all which he cannot finde in the Scriptures of God. He saith moreouer, that we vnlustlie complaine of councels, in that he will haue them to be assembled of Bishoppes onelie, and therein they will admit no place, for lay men. It hath alwaies (saith he) bene done after this sort: Whereuppon of the fathers, the Councels are oftentimes called Episcopalia, [that is, Bishops Councels.] Indeed so are they oftentimes called, because the greater part of them that meete together are Bishops: And if they be compared with others, they haue the preheminence, seeing they be esteemed as better learned in ỹ scriptures, and more skilfull of Ecclesiasticall matters. Yet are they not alwaies called after

Panormitan.

Whether we iustly complaine that the Councels be ruled by the Emperours.

ter this manner. For oftentimes they be called Councels of the Church, Christian Synodes &c. Neither is it foundlie proued, that by reason of the name oz ioyning together, onelie Bishops were in the councels, and laie men excluded. Oftentimes the Emperours were present, and not onelie were present, but also subscribed together with Bishops vnto things that were concluded. Constantine in ỹ 6. Synode, & Basil in the 8. who said, he subscribed that he might imitate the godly princes Constantine the great, Theodosius and Martianus, all which (as he saith) subscribed vnto the councels. Theodorius in his history recordeth that Constantine the great commanded the Fathers that they should discusse the controuersie then in hand, by the Scriptures of the Apostles and Prophets. Who seeth not that it is a farre greater matter to prescribe vnto iudges the forme of dealing, than to subscribe vnto things that be iudged? There is also extant a certaine Epistle of Eusebius Pamphili in the volume of the councell of Nice, which he wrote vnto the men of Cæsaria. He saith, that the Emperour was present at the councell, and commaunded the Bishops that they should subscribe: and he saith, that he diligentlie examined the matter, and declared that the sonne is begotten by the father being of one substance with him, not by natural reason oz by partition. To do these things is not to be present in the councel like a stock oz loker on, but he did his part among the Bishops. Did not Panormitā also write, that we must rather beleeue a laie man that speaketh out of the Scriptures, than the Pope if he deale without the word of God. But against vs they obiect the act of Augusta Pulcheria, which was silker vnto Theodosius the yonger: also the wife of Martianus being a wise woman and well commended. She in her Epistle vnto Strategus in the Pzohems of the councell of Chalcedon, commanded that out of Nice, a citie of Bithinia (where she would haue had the councell, which afterward was translated to Chalcedon) should be expelled al the cleargy men and Monkes, to the intent that they might leaue the place voide and free vnto the Bishoppes, and that the matters might not be molested by them. The Argument is of an Act oz example, which is not of force. In verie deed that woman was in other things godlie and wise, but in this act shee cannot be allowed: Neither is it thus done by our aduersaries at this daie. In the councell of Trent and in manie other, together with Bishoppes, there sate Abbots & general Maisters of the Franciscans, of the Carmelites, & of other orders which were not bishops.

The Emperours were present and subscribed to the decrees of ỹ Councils.

Constantine in the Councel of Nice commanded the Fathers to subscribe.

The iudgement of Fricius Polonia.

18 Fricius also a Polonian, an excellent learned man, iudgeth, that the Legates of the kingdomes and Prouinces of Christianitie should be admitted vnto these kindes of Actions of the church. But setting aside the reasons of men, I thinke we must haue a regarde vnto the first councell, which is in the 15. chapter of the Actes of the Apostles. This for so much as it was holie and Apostolicall ought to be accounted for a law and rule to all councels. There the Apostles establishing the decrees of Christ, saide: So it seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church, Afterward they being minded to write thereof to the Antiochians, wrote letters after this manner: The Apostles, Elders, and brethren, &c. These things do plainelie testifie, that not only the bishops but ỹ other mēbers of the Church haue place in councels. And as to ỹ which we cōplaine of the Church of Rome, they alleadge that the same hath alwaies had singular authoritie among the Christians. Unto this we answere, that whatsoeuer power the church hath, the same ought to be vnto edifying. Let nowe the Romanistes themselues take heede that they edifie the bodie of Christ. They haue raised by infinite contentions for the maintainance of their pzimacie, and for that cause they stirre vp most bitter contentions troubles, to the intent they maie obtaine and keepe the same. They diminish the Church of Christ, they shozten it, and contriue it in a narrow rome: For all those which will not acknowledge their pzimacie, they excommunicate and call out from the communion of the faithfull. Furthermoze they lay vpon men an intollerable burthen of mens traditions. Besides the Canons of the Councels they haue adiected innumerable decrees and decretals, their Sext, their Clementines & their Extrauagant constitutions. Thus the Church is charged by them with moste greeuous burthens, so farre is it from being eased. Augustine in his time complained that the Church of Christ was moze charged than in old time the Church of the Hebzewes was. I beseech you what would that father now saie, if he should behold our times, which is now so greeuously pressed with superstitious rites, and manifold traditions, as it is altogether oppressed: Of the Romane Church, it maie fitlie bee said, In vaine doe they worship me, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. But let vs consider to what end they so extoll the power of the Romane Church. Certainelie for no

Ephes.5.

The power of ỹ Romane Church ecclesiasticall hath brought great losse vnto the Church.

Augustine complaineth for the burthens of Ceremonies in his time.

Esa.29.14.

Why they so greatly extoll the name of the Romane Church.

other cause but that they may easilie obtrude their traditions and euerie fained thing: so as with hearing the name of a decree, letter, or tradition of the church of Rome, we should straightwaie giue a blind consent.

From whence they claime the Romane power. Before pl.3.Art.1.

19 When we demaunde of them how so great a power happened vnto the Church of Rome, they saie, and especiallie Cardinall Caietanus, that it came by Peter. For Christ (as they saie,) when he knewe that he should goe from hence into heauen, left that Apostle to be his vicar vppon the earth. But we demaund why had not other Churches the Popedom from Peter: Because (saie they) they were not properlie or peculiarlie appointed or ioyned vnto Peter. They faine that before Peter was anie where Bishop, the Popedome was a wandring and flitting thing, namely that there it should be where soeuer Peter abode. At the last as they trifle, he setled himselfe in the Church of Rome. But seeing they iudge also, that Peter before he went to Rome, was also Bishop of Antioch, why doe they not attribute the Popedome vnto that seate, especiallie seeing they celebrate euerie yeare the feast of Peters chaire, whereby they declare that they renewe the memorie of his being bishop in Antioch? Yet must we not beleeue that the Church of Antioch was planted by Peter. For it was before that Peter went thither. He no doubt was at Ierusalem with the rest of the Apostles, as it is in the 15. of the Actes, when that great contention sprang vp among the beleeuers of Antioch as concerning the Legall ceremonies of Moses, whether they should be obserued or refused. All which cause was referred to the Apostles at Ierusalem.

Acts.15.4. & 7.

Whether Peter leauing his bysshoprike of Antioche went to Rome.

20 But they faine that Peter went afterward vnto Rome, and forsaking the bishoprike of Antioche, toke vpon him the bishoprike of Rome. But how knowe they that Peter going to Rome, kept not to himselfe the bysshoprike of Antioche? As though we see not dailie that the Bysshop of Paris, London, Artois, and Augusta doe goe to Rome, & yet do not renounce their bysshoprick. But let vs graunt them that they desire, let them at the least wise shew why they gaue not the second place vnto the Church of Antioche next vnto Rome. Truelie they made the Patriarche of Alexandria to be chiefe, seeing that Church was founded and planted by Marke an Euangelist, not an Apostle. Further in the Councel of Chalcedone they depriue the Patriarche of Alexandria from his place, giuing vnto the Bysshop of Constantinople the second place next vnto the Romane Bysshop, whenas neuertheless it appeareth that the Church of Constantinople was founded by none of the Apostles: whereby is gathered that Churches haue not gotten their honour or degree of the founders: otherwise ỳ Churches of Ephesus, Ierusalem, Corinthe, and Thessalonica, and such like, which had the Apostles their master builders, should be preferred aboue Alexandria, Constantinople, & many other famous Churches, than ỳ which they by the decree of the Canons haue beene lesse esteemed. And as touching Peter it is verie vncertaine to the most learned men whether he came to Rome. But so as much as the Fathers and the greatest part of the Ecclesiasticall historiographers affirme it, I will not denie it. But this I will boldlie affirme, that he liued not 25. yeares bishop of Rome as they woulde: and that this is altogether against the course of times and against the holie Scriptures.

Whether Peter were at Rome, & how long.

21 But that is of verie small weight and ridiculous which they feigne: namely that the Popedome of the Church of Rome ought to be preferred aboue the Church of Antioch and other Churches where Peter liued, because he died at Rome and no where else. Therefore say they al those which are created Bishops of Rome, do not onely succeed Peter in the bishoprickе, but also in the Popedome. What of this, shall there be more attributed vnto the death and Crosse of Peter than of Christ? If Peter were slaine at Rome, Christ was fastened to the crosse at Ierusalem. I woulde moreouer heare of these men, how it comes to passe that the bishops of Rome succeede Peter in the Popedome, and that the bishops of Ierusalem succeede not Iames in the Apostleship, and become not Apostles in like maner as the Romane bishoppes be Popes. Heere they feine a difference out of mans reason, but not out of the holy Scriptures: that the Apostleship was a dignitie of persons, which together with the persons them selues was extinguished, but that the Popedome is a function so necessary in the church, as the same ought to be continued and indure perpetually. When we afterwarde demaund of them whether they thinke that by the will of God, or by the will of Peter the Church of Rome hath the Popedome: and we say that that seemeth to be done by him, because if he woulde haue gone away from Rome and haue gone to another Church, and there haue died, doubtlesse the Popedome should haue beene there appointed and not at Rome: Heere they chase while they will that the Popedome should by the lawe of God be tied to the seate of Rome. But setting aside the

Whether the Apostles were Bysshops any more.

Diuersis why they of Ierusalē succeede not the Apostles ship from Iames as the Romain Bysshops doe the Popedome of Peter.

holy Scriptures, out of which they haue nothing to make on their side: they flie vnto fable traditions, I will not say vnto fables, & they say that Peter when he was at Rome, and the Christians there were most cruellie tormented vnder Nero: at the last was perswaded by the brethren to goe from thence. Who being come vnto the gate of the Citie, saw Christ come to meete him. When he had seene him, he said: Lord, whither goest thou? And he made answere vnto him: I come to Rome, that I may be there crucified againe. By which answere, they say that Peter knew he should die at Rome. Hereof therefore these pleasant followes gather, that the Popedome was confirmed to the seate of Rome, and not to any other Church. And they alledge an example of Marcellus Bishop of Rome, in verie deede not true but counterfait, wherein he writing vnto the men of Antioch saieth, that the seate of Peter was sometime with them, the which was afterward by the will of God translated vnto Rome. These things are brought by them which they vtter being destitute of better arguments. They haue not one out the holy Scriptures, but they onely deuise wilie subtilties to confirme false doctrine. They did feine that God chose Rome, as the most mightie and most noble Citie of al the worlde, wherein he might place the Popedome. Neither doe they see that it was his old maner and propertie to chose things base and abiect, as Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the holy Scriptures in manie places testifie.

A fable touching Christ and Peter.

I suppose example of Marcellus

1.Cor.1.26

Whether ỳ Apostles were Bysshops any more.

Orders of a bysshop.

Ephe.4.11.

Whether these two Iames were bishops of Ierusalē.

22 But as to this matter, it seemeth much more likely, that the Apostles were neuer Bishops, for their charge was to trauell throughout the world, to preach Christ, and to raise him vp Churches in cities & townes. But the office of bishops is to reside in their Churches, and continually to feede the sheepe committed to their charge. The Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians put a difference betweene Pastors and Apostles, but they of Apostles make Bishops. I am not ignorant that it is declared by certaine of the most anncient writers, that Iames the Apostle the brother of our Lorde, was Bishop of Ierusalem. This indeed they saie, but the holie scriptures teach no such thing. I suppose he was a great while at Ierusalem, and from thence with his Councel, studie and paines taking did helpe the Churches nere about, I meane the Churches of Syria and Palestine, but that he liued bishop in that Church I am not perswaded. For the verie which cause I thinke that John remained a good while at Ephesus, to ỳ intent he might both confirme and instruct the Churches of Asia, which vndoubtedlie were verie manie. And to speake that of Iames (which commeth to minde by the waie,) Clement the Bishop of Rome, and as they will haue it, the successor of Peter, calleth and saluteth him by the name of Bishop or Pastor of all the Churches of Christ. But as touching this matter I will not contend ouermuch. But if I shall graunt that the Apostles were Bishops, I will aske our aduersaries where was the Bishops seate of Paul. It cannot be denied but that they also ascribe the same vnto the citie of Rome. How saie you: Was Paul also made Bishop of that citie when as Peter liued Bishop there? It is not meete that two should be Bishops at one time of one and the selfe same citie. Cardinall Pole writing against Henrie the 8. King of England feineth that the bishops See or seat Apostolike of Paul was set as a graft in ỳ Bishops See or Apostolike seat of Peter, so as both together grue vp into one function. All men see these things to be lies, and therefore feined because our aduersaries wanted other iust defenses of their lies. If the thing might bee done after this sort, wherefore did the Synode of Nice afterward charge, that no Bishop in any Church should bee ordained while the former Bishop were yet liuing? And it greeued Augustine verie much he hauing no knowledge of that Canon, while Valerius the bishops of Hippo was yet liuing that he was appointed bishop of that Church. But to returne to Paul: We which from the Gentiles are conuerted vnto Christ ought rather to haue respect vnto Paul than vnto Peter: seeing (as it is in ỳ Epistle to the Galathians) the Apostleship of Peter had respect vnto the circumcised, and the Apostleship of Paul vnto the vncircumcised. Such verily was the societie betweene these Apostles.

Whether Peter could be Bysshop both at one time at Rome.

Cardinal Pole.

Decree of the Synode of Nice.

Augustine

Gal.2.7.

23 But setting these reasons aside, I perceiue plainlie that this power which they say is giuen onely to the Bishop of Rome by the succession of Peter, is ouerthrowen by the Canons of the Fathers: for so much as in the Synode of Nice some certain limits were prescribed vnto the Patriarches of Rome, of Alexandria, and to the rest: which might not haue beene done if the Roman Patriarch had at that time beene head of all Churches. How rightlie they did, which appointed foure Patriarches to be the principall of all Bishops throughout the Church of Christ, I will not at this present declare. But this onelie I affirme, that they in the Church which is * *Aristocratia* or a kind of common weale, did institute a * *Quadrumuirat*, whose fellowship neuertheless in processe of time they ob-

The primacie of the bishop of Rome is taken away by the old Canons.

* Gonernance of many gouernmen

The dominion of the foure Patriarches was like ỳ quadrumuirate in Rome.

Leo the Pope mistrusted that he my Bysshop should be called vniuersall.

ferued with small fidelitie. For Leo the first of that name complayned, that the Patriarch of Alexandria, would make himselfe the vniuersall Bysshop of the Church of Christ. The very same edtention had Gregory with John Bysshop of Constantinople. And Socrates in the 7. boke and 10. Chapter wytteth, that the Bysshops of Rome and Alexandria went beyond the limits of their iurisdiction, especially in that they turned themselues to an outward dominion: which is a most sure token that the Bysshop of Rome had not in times past, as they will haue it an infinit power.

24. But to returne to Peter himselfe, by whose labour they boast that they haue obtayned so great and so excellent an authozitie of their Popedome, as it may be iudged by none vppon the earth whosoeuer he be. But good Peter as it is in the Acts of the Apostles when he was accused because he went in to the Ethnikes, declared the cause, purged himselfe, neither did he flye from iudgement, vnder that pretence that he was Pope, and that he would be iudged by none vppon the earth as they would haue it, He was sent together with John by the Church of Ierusalem into Samaria, whereby it commeth to passe, that he is of lesse authozitie than the same. For it is euident that he which is sent is inferiour vnto him whose messenger he is made. Moreouer Paul ozdayned Bysshoppes, and that by Titus, neither did he in that thing alike counsell of Peter, oz thought it requisite to vse his authozitie therein. The same Paul (as we haue to the Galathians) reproued him, & that openly before the Church of Antiochia, vndoubtedlie not as an inferiour vnto him, but as one equall and of lyke dignitie. Cyprian and others of the most auncient fathers, and also Councels, especiallie those which were celebrated in Africa, when they wrote letters vnto the Bysshop of Rome, profession not y subiection towards him, which they imagin should be giuen him: they called him brother, oz else honozable, oz worshipfull fellowe in office, oz such lyke. In the 4 Chapter to the Ephesians are reckoned the ecclesiasticall degrees: and God is declared to haue put in the Church, some Apostles, some Prophets, some Pastors and teachers &c. But of so great a matter, namely of the Popedome we haue no mention there made. There is also a remembrance of one bodie, one spirit, one hope of vocation, one faith, one baptisme, but this ministeriall head of the Church is vtterly silenced.

Acts.11.2. Peter had none of that common matopitie.

Acts.8.14.

Tit.1.5.

Gal.2.14.

The most ancient Fathers were not subiect to the Romain Bysshop

Eph.4.11. The Ecclesiasticall degrees.

No mention of the Popedome in the holie Scriptures.

25 But they make great outcryes, that they haue a perpetual succession of theyr high Bysshops, and that the same is greatly accounted of by Tertullian, Augustine and other fathers: as though the Churches of Ierusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria cannot euen vnto this day shewe their successions. As though perhappes also we would defraude of those successions the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, and very many other Apostolicall seates. And what? Did not also the high priestes of the Iewes, in the time of Christ and the Apostles, braggе of their successions euen from Aaron? But yet that might be no impediment but that it should be lawfull for the Apostles to depart from them, when they sawe them reiect the Gospell of the sonne of God. Steuen also sayd vnto them, (although they sate in very honozable place, and might make vaunt of their successions) and that verily with great boulnesse: You haue alwayes resisted the holy Ghost. So that succession no whit availeth them which depart from godlynesse and from the wozde of God. And that it is sometime lawfull for iust causes to depart from a continuall succession, the example of Charles the great declareth. The Emperours of Greece had a continual succession: but when as now through succession of time, they were become slothfull and of small courage, the Romane Empire reuolted from them, and they ozdayned Charles the sonne of Pipin to be Emperour. Moreouer Augustine teacheth vs for what cause the fathers sometimes alledge those successions. In his 165. Epistle vnto Generosus dealing against the Donatistes as touching this matter, he writeth many excellent things, & among the rest he rehearseth the Roman Bysshops euen vnto Anastasius which in his time sat at Rome, and at length saith: Pe will not be so bouldе to say that any one of these was a Donatist, so as it appeareth that ye enterpsite newe matters in the Church, and bring in newe opinions vtterly vnknowen to the auncient time, seeing vnto your doctrine you are not able to shewe any succession oz continuance with the auncient fathers. Wherefoze the argument of this father was very euident and plaine against the Donatistes: neither will we therefoze despise the same, but being instructed thereby, will contend against the Papists. Let vs make a reckoning of y Roman bysshops in their ozder & course vntil we come to Boniface the 3. which first erected the Popedome. Certainly we may perceiue that amongest them there were many excellent and holy men, and valiant confessors of Christ: yet let our aduersaries say if they can

What we haue to answer to the commendation of the Romane Bysshops.

Boniface the first y erected the Popedome

The doctrine of the antiquitie of Rome is moreouer for whence it sprang.

can of any one of them: This was a Papist. Let them take heede then to which of those men they will apply their doctrine, so as they may say that he receiued it by this or that succession. Unpoubtedly this doctrine of theirs is new, in no wise taught by those godly fathers, but by the diuell, and by Boniface the third, & brought into the Church by the Emperour Phocas the author of their Popedome. But on the other side, we beholding those better sozt of Roman Bysshops may easilie say of them, that they were godlye fellers. And we may shew that our doctrine dooth very well agree with their faith and meaning. And seeing there is no newe thing ozdained by vs, but that we haue recourse to the wellsprings and principall pointes of sincere and Apostolick doctrine, we haue and doe holde fast a succession, communion, and fellowship with all those godly fathers and true faithfull Bysshops.

What they meane by their true succession, & whether they think that thereunto it be enough and enough againe that one, I know not who, (whosoeuer finally he shall be) should be placed in the seate of Rome wherein very manie godly men in times past haue sitten. Allthough the place and chayre doth not sanctifie men, noz yet maketh them lyke vnto their predecessors. If carnall generation worke not this, much lesse shall it be done by the local mutation of the seate. Abraham begate of himselfe such posteritie, as Christ called them not the children of Abraham, but children of the diuell: euen because they did the wozkes of the diuell: so as the succession is of no fozce to warrant the power of his Popedome. No man doubteth but that out of the Church of Ierusalem, which otherwise was most holy, there went false Apostles, who by their legall obseruations, troubled euery where the Churches of the Gentiles. Paule foretold the Elders and Bysshops of Ephesus, that from among themselues Woolues should goe out, who would not spare the flock. Wherefoze, if it be lawfull to flye from Woolues, vndoubtedly it was lawful to withdrawe themselues from the wicked succesozs of the Ephesian Pastozs. In deede we deny not but that the Bysshops of Rome in olde time were good and holy, but we say that a generation of vipers did afterward succeede them. So as it seemeth true which is spoken in the prouerbe: Daungerous is the issue of nobilitie. Let them prowe themselues to be the true succesozs of the godly fathers whom the faithfull doe iustly honour, but they are

Augustine

Iohn.8.44.

Act.15.1.

Act.20.30.

Matt.7.7.

not able, seeing they haue nothing common with them: neither lyfe, noz labours, noz preaching, noz doctrine. In olde time there was in the Roman Church plentie of light, simplicitie, and knowledge: Now in the place of these thinges reigne darknesse, deceite, and ignozance. That Church was highly commended by the fathers, who if they might now see it as it is, they would exceedingly detest the same. They gaue vnto it as that time a certaine preheminence: I graunt, but it was a preheminence of ozder and not of power. It is meete when men meete together, that in sitting and declaring of opinions a beginning should be made by some one man. I will not deny that that was sometime graunted to the Bysshops, but I cannot therefoze graunt that the Roman Bysshop had preheminence ouer all Bysshops of Christendome. It is not vnknowen that at Rome there was some one man among the number of the Senatozs, which was called president of the Senate, because he sate in the first place and first of all declared his minde, whenas neuerthelesse he had no power at all ouer the rest of the Senatours. And among the electozs of the Empire some one is reckoned chief, yet are not y rest of the electozs subiect vnto him. Athanasius of good right was chiefe of the Synode of Nice, seeing he was Patriarch of Alexandria, which had the second place next vnto Rome. The Patriarch of Rome was not there, although he sent his Legates. And although Athanasius was there the chief, yet had he not power ouer the Bysshops which were present. The same thing is apparant in the Trynitie, where the person of the father as touching ozder is the first, yet dooth it not thereof follow, that the sonne and the holy ghost be lesse than he oz subiect vnto him, as though they haue not altogether as much diuinitie, when as they haue one essence and equall substance with him. So then we may graunt a primacie of ozder without a primacie of power, which these men so greatly affect. Doubtlesse great is the impudencie of them, which tye Christ and the holy ghost vnto the chayre of Rome and to their Popes, whenas neuerthelesse they themselues will be tyed within no woundes and limites, but vsurpe vnto themselues an infinit libertie. But we include the Church in the wozd of God, so as the power thereof may be bound and comprehended in it as within certaine limits.

A preheminence of ozder, not of power, was attributed to the sea of Rome.

27 Howbeit to ygze them somewhat further, seeing they say that the Church of Rome had the Popedome of Peter, & that Peter receiued the same of the Lozde, I will demaund

Whether this primacie were giuen vnto Peter.

maund of them by what place or Oracle of the scripture they can shewe that the Popedome was giuen to Peter. I know that they thunder without measure and without end

Mat.16.18. The words of Christ, Thou art Peter &c. declared.

that Christ sayd: Thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke will I build my Church. But why doe they not marke in that place, that Christ demaunded the question of all his Apostles and not of Peter alone by himselfe, and that Peter aunswered not onely for himselfe, but for all his fellowes? And therefore the words of Christ not onely belong vnto him, but also vnto all the Apostles. Wherefore Origen an ancient writer saith, that the aunswere of Christ not onely belongeth vnto Peter, and vnto the rest of the Apostles, but also vnto al them which follow the faith and confession of Peter. But what doe I speake of Origen? Christ himselfe elsewhere gaue vnto all the Apostles that which bee semeth in that place which they alledge to haue graunted onely vnto Peter. He saide (as we haue it

Joh.20.21. in John:) Euen as my father sent me, I sende you. He breathed vpon them and saide: Receiue ye the holy ghost. And whose sinnes ye shall forgiue, they bee forgiuen: and whose sinnes yee shall retaine, they be retained: In these words may be noted that Christ saide: I send you: you I say, not thee only or any other. And that he gaue the kaies not to one or an other, but vnto all. What then hath Peter aboue the rest? They aunswere: This aboue the others he hath: that he not onely receiued the power and kaies in generall, and in common together with others; but also particularly and seuerally. They that thus say seeme not to haue read verie attentiuelie those

What order hath ben taken about the text.

things which the Fathers haue written of this matter, who affirme that these words belong to the Ministers, which were spoken particularly vnto Peter: and they yeelde a certaine and plaine reason, why they were seuerally spoken vnto Peter. Cyprian *de simplicitate Prælatorum* saith, that Christ in the person of one man gaue the kaies vnto all, that he might haue a respect vnto vnitie: and that all Churches dispersed throughout the worlde, although they be reckened many, yet may be accounted for one: and he affirmed that all the rest of the Apostles were the very same that Peter was: indued, stay in the fellowship of equall honour and power. Augustin in his 50. Homely vpon Iohn testifieth that these things were spoken by Christ vnto Peter, because in him was the mysterie and figure of the Church. For if (saieth he) the kaies were giuen vnto Peter, the Church hath them not. But these things were spoken vnto Peter, because the Church was noted in him. But I returne to Cyprian, who in the same place *de Simplicitate Prælatorum* which I alleaged a little before, writeth that there is one Bishoppicke of Christ, whereof euerie one of the Bishops wholy holdeth a part in grosse. Hieroni also vnto Nepotianus saith: All bishops, all principall Elders and Archdeacons, and euerie Ecclesiasticall order dependeth vpon their gouernours. Neither did he write, it dependeth vpon one ministeriall head, or vpon the Roman bishop. The same Father writing vnto Euagrius doubteth not but that the bishop of Eugubium and certaine others, I wote not who, were equal vnto the bishop of Rome both in power and merits.

28 Ouer this it is to be considered, that Christ in his speech put no particle exclusiue. He said, I will giue vnto thee: but he said not to thee onelie and alone. Howbeit although he had spoken after this manner, olde men might not therby haue had what they would, because the particle exclusiue should haue beene vnderstood to put a difference betweene the Apostolicall and Iudaicall or heathenish ministers: but to auoide all ambiguitie, he should abstaine from the exclusiue particle. Thou art Peter (saith he.) He did not then first cal him *Cæphas, but when he called him at the beginning he would to name him, for thewing by that name that hee through the grace of God should be prepared to a sound and strong faith: And the sense of the words is: Thou by an excellent confession hast honored me, in calling me Christ the sonne of the liuing God. I on the other side giue this testimonie vnto thee, that thou art a rocke and a firme and stedfast stone. But to auoide all ambiguitie, the Lord said not, Vpon this Peter: Which in verie deede he might haue said, seeing the names of Peter & a rocke in Greeke doe signifie all one thing: but he said, Vppon this rocke, whereby he would giue vs to vnderstand, that before Peter there is some other foundation to be sought after vppon which the Church should be builded. But what foundation that is, al the Fathers doe not establish after one sort. Augustine in the hundreth & twentith treatise vpon Iohn iudgeth that Rocke which is the foundation of the Church, to be Christ, vnto whō Paul agreeth when he writeth vnto the Corinthians: None can laie anie other foundation besides that, which is alreadie laid, that is Christ Iesus. He saith also in the same Epistle: And the rocke was Christ. And Esay saide that Christ is a sounde and precious stone in Sion, that is, in the Church founded by God. Whereunto also Peter had respect in his first Epistle and second Chapter.

ter. So Paul saith vnto the Ephesians, We

Ephes.2.19. are no Aliants and straungers, but are builded vppon the foundation of the prophets & Apostles. And Christ affirmeth that he is not onelie the foundation of the church, but also the head corner stone, whereby the walls of that building are ioyned together. In the

Heb.10.1. &c. Epistle to the Hebrewes, the Christian Priesthood is after this maner distinguished from the Priesthood of Aaron: that Aarons Priesthood might not indure for euer, but therein the latter succeeded the former one after an other: But the Priesthood of the new Testament abideth in Christ onelie, without interruption for euer more. By this doctrine we maie knowe, that in the newe Testament wee must not stablish such a Popedome or Priesthood, as a foundation of the Church, because it is renewed and hath alwaies neede of new successors, otherwise it should not be a Christian Priesthood, but a priesthood of Aaron. And herevnto, is in the 1. Epistle to the Corinthians, they beblamed

1.Cor.3.13. which wold be of Paul of Apollo or of Cephas For it is not meete that Christians should be built vpon men. Hitherto of Augustines opinio.

29 There is an other opinion which holdeth the rocke being the foundation of the Church, to bee the faith or confession wherewith Peter confessed Christ to be the sonne of the liuing God. This exposition doeth Hilarie follow plainelie & in manie wordes in his seuenth booke *de Trinitate*. Cyrill also in his Dialogues *de Trinitate* the fourth booke is of the same minde. Chrysostome is of sundrie mindes, and although in his Commentarie vppon Matthew, he referreth the words of Christ vnto Peter, yet in the Homelie *de Pentecostæ siue de adorando Spiritu Sancto*, intreating of those words, inferreth them not vnto Peter, but vnto his faith or profession. No otherwise doeth Theophilact. Bea and Erasmus in his annotations is of the same minde: and saith, that he wondereth that the same speach should be wrested vnto the Romane bishoppe. But least perhappes he should be counted an heretike, he graunteth that it agreeth with him speciallie, yet not with him alone, but withall them that be faithfull, euen as Origen hath excellentlie well expressed. Here I gladlie conioin with our aduersaries, and request them, that they will not hold vs for heretikes if we refer not those words of Christ either vnto Peter or vnto the Pope. We follow the interpretation of the Fathers which we haue alleaged, by which they must condemne as heretical before they condēne vs as heretikes. Vndoubtedly so longas they beare with them, they cannot iustlie ba-

Mat.16.18.

Otherwise Peter is called Iohan.1.

The rocke which Christ spake of, was the confession of Peter. Hilarius. Cyril. Chrysost.

Theophilact. Erasmus. Origen.

nish vs. But of this will I admonish the Reader, that he thinke not the former opinion and the latter to be diuers, but to be all one. For Christ is the foundation of the Church, not simplie and absolutelie, but so farre forth as the beleeuers by faith apprehend him and confesse him. But what shal we say vnto Cyprian, Ierom, Ambrose, and Augustine, which sometime applie those words of the Lord vnto Peter, as though the Church were builded vppon him? Augustine in his first booke of Retractations, maketh mention particularlie of both expositions, namelie as touching Christ and Peter, and leaueth the opinion free vnto the reader, although he incline more willinglie vnto the former interpretation touching Christ. Erasmus, and that (as it seemeth to me) not vnlearnedlie, excuseth them after this manner: namelie, that they accepted not of Peter otherwise than as he was the figure of the Church, and also of his owne faith and confession.

How Christ is the foundation of the Church.

Augustine.

30 Reginald Pole a Cardinall of England enquireth to confute the latter exposition which hath respect to the faith and confession of Peter, because it appointeth accidents without a subiect, and vppon those would haue the Church to be founded. But these things belong rather vnto shifting sleightes, than vnto sound arguments. We know indeed that the nine predicaments differ from the predicament of substance, but we are not ignorant that those also haue their proper natures and essences, so as of them are sometimes spoken those things which cannot be affirmed of substance. Knowledge vndoubtedlie being an accident, cannot be founde anie where but in the minde of man: which neuerthelelle is certaine & infallible. Whereas man notwithstanding is a thing inconstant, feble, & deceiuable. Cogitation in like manner is in man, who in the like sort cannot be in all places at once. What let is there then but that the truethe, faith, and confession which was in Peter, maie be called the foundation of the Church: and that Peter himselfe (being otherwise a fraile and mortall man) should be denied to be this foundation? Alreadie Peter did sometimes doubt and wauer, whereas neuerthelesse that faith and truethe which he professed remaineth firme and vnshaken. Ierom expounding this place saith, that Christ doeth liberallie communicate his properties with his Apostles and members. He said on a time, that he is the light of the world: but the very same he pronounced of his Apostles: And whereas in euery one he himselfe is the stone, he also calleth them stones. Whereby it com-

Cardinall Poles exposition confuted.

Ierom. Christ communicateth his things with them that he his.

John.8.12. Mat.5.14. 1.Pet.2.6.

commeth to passe, that seeing he himselfe is trueli̇e and properlie the foundation of the Church, it is not absurde, that he will also haue his Apostles after that manner to be the foundations of the Church: namelie, be-
1.Cor.3.11. cause they be liuelie and great stones, who haue cleaued vnto him in the first place in ỹ building of the Church. Peter himselfe also
1.Pet.2.5. in his first Epistle, willeth vs to be such liuelie stones who should be builded in Christ. So manie as are the more excellent in faith, and doe the more constantlie professe Christ, doe the more neerelie cleaue vnto that foundation of the Church. In the Apocalips, the heauenlie citie is stilie and magnificallie described: whose wall is saide to stand vppon
Apo.21.14. twelue foundations, and there the names of
A place of the Apocalipse touching the trueline foundation of the Church. the xii. Apostles are written: not that they are trueli̇e and properlie the foundation of the Church, but because by their doctrine, word and preaching, they shew the same vnto all the faithfull. I my selfe was sometimes of the opinion that whereas it is saide, ἐπὶ τούτῳ πέτρᾳ, that the Greeke prepositiō ἐπὶ is a note of the cause, I meane not of the principal, but of the instrumentall cause: ỹ it might be signified ỹ Christ determined to build the Church by Peter, by the Apostles and such like: who should professe the true faith and confession which Peter made. Neither is it dissonant from the Hebrewe, that the particle or prepositiō Aal, which they haue translated, Vpon, is nothing elle, than By, that it might signifie a meanes and instrument. But this interpretation I dare not so seriouslie affirme, because I verie little fauour mine owne deuises: I note besides that that prepositiō ἐπὶ being ioyned to a datiue case, is seldome vsed by the Greekians in this signification, wherefore I will not depart from the other interpretations of ỹ fathers. Neither doe I thinke it meete to be suffered, that the Church should be said to be builded vpon the Popes. Yet is their impu-
dencie so great, as they not onelie call them selues heades of the Church, but they will be called the spouses thereof: whereas Paul
2.Cor.11.2. saide vnto the Corinthians, I haue betrothed you to one man to present you a chast spouse
Iohn.3.29. vnto Christ. And Iohn Baptist testified, that he in deede was not the bridegroome, but the bridegromes friend.

What strength the preposition ἐπὶ hath.

What strength the preposition Aal is of.

31 But passing ouer this place, now let vs turne to another, which they oftentimes obiect lewdlie against vs. We haue in Iohn
Ioh.21.15. ỹ Christ asked Peter, & that thrise, whether he loued him: and that when he had affirmed it, the Lord thrise commaunded him to feede his sheepe: as though it should bee all one

Christes words, Peter loueth me, &c. expounded.

thing to feede the sheepe of Christ, & to beare rule ouer all the Churches in the world. Why doe they not consider, that there be also other Apostles sent to feede the flocke of the Lord? Vndoubtedlie Christ said vnto them all: As
Iohn.20.21. my father sent me, so I send you. He breathed Ibid.verse.22. vpon them all. He gaue the holie Ghost vnto them all. And finallie he opened all their Luke.24.45. minds, that they might vnderstand the scriptures, which as a spirituall foode they should offer vnto all mortall men. Also he gaue com-
Mat.28.19. maundement vnto them all, that they should goe into all the world, and preach the Gospel vnto euerie creature. Yea and Peter himself Verse.1. in his first Epistle and 2. Chapter saieth: I doe exhort the Elders who am also a fellowe Elder (to be speaketh: neither doeth he name himselfe a Prince or head, but equall to them) that they feede the flocke which is among you. While our aduersaries abuse this place, we should replie vpon them by a rule verie much vsed of the Lawiers and Canonists: A benefite is giuen for doing a due-
A rule of Lawyers expounded. tie. Which proposition if wee turne on the contrarie part, we maie verie well proue, that a benefite is not bestowed vppon them that doe not their duetie. Let them therefore cease to boast that they be Patriarks, Bishops and Popes, seeing they nothing at all fede the Lordes flocke. At this daie their Popedome or Bishoprick standeth onely in leade, Waxe, Bulls, Writs, Oracles of liuelie voyce, proper motions, the cheefe of the best, Indulgences, Dispensations, and such like gawdes.

32 They boast also of that saying of Christ:
Luke.22.32. I prayed for thee Peter that thy faith shoulde not faile. As though the Lord prayed not for others also. Assuredlie he prayed as it is in
The trust of Christs prayer graunted for Peter, &c. is common. Iohn for others also, not onelie for the Apostles, but also for all men that should beleeue. But I returne to the place. Of feeding the sheepe, and I answere them which demand why these woordes were seuerallie spoken by the Lord vnto Peter, and I saie, that Christ would take away the infamie of Peters thrise denial. And as Augustine saieth: It was
Why it was said vnto Peter, feede my sheepe. prouided that the tongue of Peter should be no lesse serue to the loue, that to the fearing of the saiour: to the intent that death being at hand, he should speake no other wise than in the life present he did. And the same in a manner hath Cyrill. So as the Lord dealing after this maner with Peter caught as it is commonlie said, two hares at one leape. First he
1. indeuoured that all ỹ Apostles should know, that Peter was receiued into fauour, and reclozed to his former place. Secondlie, that
2. they might vnderstand, that there is no neede of

of singular loue to the feeding of the flocke of Christ. For he that from the heart and sincerelie loueth the Lord of the flocke, cannot but feede it with exceeding faithfulnelle. But leaste that vnto anie man it maie seeme somewhat hard, which we affirme, either that Peter spake for the rest of his fellowes, or else that those things which were spoken vnto him, pertaine also vnto others, this will be easilie proued by the vsuall speeches in the scriptures. Certainlie Zuinglius laboured ve-
Zuinglius argument. rie well in that Argument. He in his Treatise *De vera Religione*, in the Chapter where he intreateth of the keyes of the Church, gathered manie places which make well for the present purpose. In the 6. Chapter of Iohn
Verse.67. when ỹ seuenty Disciples were gone, Christ turning vnto the 12. said vnto them, Will ye also goe awaie? Where Peter in the stead of all answered: Lord, vnto whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. We know and beleeue that thou art Christ the sonne of God. Seeing he speaketh in the plurall number, he manifestlie sheweth, that he answered in the name of his fellow Disciples, neither did the confession which he vttered differ from that which a little before both wee
Mat.16.16. brought & vttered out of the 16. Chapter of Matthew. But somtime it commeth to passe, that one man doeth not answer for all men, but all men for themselues: as when the
Verse.35. Lord demanded in the 22. of Luke whether they wanted anie thing while they lined together with him: they answered nothing.
Luk.9.13. Againe in the same Euangelist he said vnto the Apostles, Giue them to eate. Vnto whom they answered: We haue no more but fiue loaues and two fishes. There this answere is
Iohn.6.9. ascribed vnto all: whereas neuerthelelle in Iohn it is assigned onelie vnto Andrew the brother of Simon Peter. Moreouer vnto Pe-
Mat.4.10. ter and Andrew, is saide that which belonged vnto all the Apostles: to wit, I wil make you fishers of men. But to come more neere vnto that place in the 16. Chapter of Matthew, of which I spake before: it is easilie gathered by the other Euangelists, that Peter answered vnder the name and person of all. For
Mark.8.30 Luke.9.21. we haue it in the 8. of Marke, and in the 9. Chapter of Luke: The Lorde rebuked them and threatened them, that they shoulde not tell it vnto others. Our aduersaries doe not weigh these things. They are onelie verie desirous to speake, but what they doe speake they consider not. They are exceeding care-
Mat.20.26. full for the defence of their dominion and
Ber the Popes to be great Lord. primacie: whereas the Lord forbad the same to his Apostles, and commaunded that they which would be the greater, should behaue

Of Lordes called by himselfe the seruant of seruants.

themselues as the leaser: and he warned that such Ambition was proper vnto the Kings and Princes of the Ethnicks, and that it did not appertaine vnto his Disciples.

33 Because we haue said that they deale verie wickedlie and shamefullie, here also they set themselues against vs and saie, that the foule and reprochfull life of minillers is no cause of separation and departing from the Church: because Christ said vnto his Apostles of the Scribes and Pharises, which sate vpō the chaire of Moses, that they should doe those things which were spoken by them, but not those things which they did. We also confesse that we ought not to depart from the Church for the filthie maners and vitious life of Clergie men: although it behoueth all goblie men and members of Christ to indeuour that either they may be amended, or else if they shall be obstinate in their sinnes, to be removed from their place. But while this cannot be done, let vs heare them when they shall speake out of the bokes of Moses: I meane out of the lawe of God, out of the Prophets, and out of the writings of the new Testament. But if vnder the pretence of the holie Ministerie, they will obtrude the traditions of men, and especiallie such as be repugnant to the woorde of God, we maie not heare them, neither shall we violate the commandement of Christ, by withstanding them. They are wont also to obiect that which is in the 17. Chapter of
Verse.12. Deuteronomie, where God commaundeth that the high Priest should be heard by the
A place in Deuteronomie answered. people of God. But why do they not mark in like maner that it is commanded the Priest, &c. that he should answere according to the law? Whereby it is gathered that he must in the meane time be obeyed, while he declareth his opinion, not out of his owne head, but out of the law of God. To this they alleage against vs the examples of the blessed Virgin of Iohn Baptist, of Elizabeth, Ioseph and Simeon, who being not ignorant that the Priests and Leuites of their times were corrupted, yet did not withdrawe themselues from the Church. Vnto this we answere: First that the precepts of the lawe vsed them to sacrifice for the time of that age, & that for sundrie causes. Against they were enforced that they should not sacrifice, wheresoeuer they thought good, but in some certaine place which God had chosen. But we by the benefite of Christ are not bound to those preceptes. Further, the Priests and Leuites although they were corrupt and infected, yet did they not compell anie man vnto wicked rites and ceremonies. For as yet by the ordinances of Moses they

An example of Simeon and others which in Christes time forsooke not the compasse of the Scribes.

Deut.12.5

retaine the sacrifices and Ceremonies: and no man was constrained to giue assent vnto their false opinions. But we are forced by the Popes and Bishops to professe wicked doctrines: neither can we by reason of them receiue the Sacraments according to the institution of Christ, & sincerelie call vpon the name of the Lord. Wherefore the consideration of both partes is not alike: neither can the example which they haue brought be applied vnto the present cause. They accuse vs also that we haue broken charitie with them: neither doe they remember that charitie dependeth of faith. And so seeing they retaine not the same, but haue renounced it, we cannot (as touching Ecclesiasticall communion) exercise brotherlie charitie with them: neuertheless we withdraw not Christian loue from them: we continuallie wishe and praie for their bettering: namelie that they maie conuert to the Gospell of the sonne of God, and that they will at length correct and reforme those things which they haue marde & corrupted in the Church. Further they disquiet vs, for that we are departed, not by publike but by priuate authoritie. Neither consider they that God commaunded euerie man to haue a care of his owne saluation. What if others will not assent vnto ẏ truth, and auoide the corruptions of Religion, shall he that is bound to the studie of Gods commandements & glory of Christ, neglect to doe what he can, and that which belongeth vnto him? Moreouer all men maie see, that our Churches are not without publike authoritie, seeing in them dwell both Magistrates and Princes. Neither doeth that subtilitie which they often vse, hinder vs, in saying that it is not the part of this or that common weale, or of this or that Prince thus to doe, but that we must expect the consent of all Christendome. Here doe they exceedinglie erre, seeing God hath commanded both euerie Magistrate & euerie Prince, that they should with singular diligence and watchfull studie be carefull for the saluation of them which be committed to their charge. Moer and besides, Constance and Constantine when they had imbraced Christ, they did not expect a consent in Christian Religion of Diocletian, Maximianus, Licinius, and of their Emperours or Cæsars, which were their fellowe Magistrates, and had then the rule in their hands. And ill came to Tiberius, for that he expected the consent of the Senate in appointing of Christ to be among the number of the Goddes.

The crime of breach of Charitie.

They obiect that we haue departed of our owne priuate authoritie.

34 Hitherto I haue taught, howe iuste causes they be for the which we haue departed from the communion of the Papists: and as I thinke haue sufficientlie to the nature of this place answered their argumentes wherewith they rent and teare vs. So then remaineth that I should defend to the other point of the treatise, whereby I maie declare that this was altogether necessarie: Which shall three waies appeare. First shall be shewed that the commandement of God which is the strongest weapon vnto godlie mindes did vrge vs. Further that it behoued vs to flie, least our mindes and consciences shoulde be polluted by the vnpurenesse of doctrine and idolatrie of our aduersaries. And finally least we shoulde be in daunger of the wrath and punishments of God which they bee in daunger of. As to the first: there be verie manie and sundrie precepts of God extant in the holie scriptures, which commaund this separation. Yet all those I will not recite, because it would be ouer long, but I will onlie repeate some. Christ saide, Beware ye of false Prophets: for although they be in sheepes cloathing, they be rauening woules. Wherefore euen as we should flie from Woules, so should they be auoided which destroy soules by peruerse doctrine and religion. He in like manner (as we reade in Iohn) saith: My sheepe heare my voyce, and follow not the voyce of strangers. Therefore seeing the aduersaries haue alienated thẽselues frõ Christ, we cannot cleaue vnto them vnlesse we will cease to be the sheepe of Christ. The same Lord saide, If the blind followe the blinde, both of them shall fall into the ditch: so as we haue renounced the conuoi of the Papists, least we should fall headlong together with them. It is also written in Iohn that manie of the Princes beleeued in Christ, who neuertheless because of the Pharisees confessed not Christ, least they should be estranged from the Synagogues, because they rather sought the glorie of men than of God. Wherefore if we had tarried with our aduersaries, it had bin also needefull for vs to haue feared, least we should haue more hunted for glorie and honour at their handes, than to haue entierlie loued the sincere truth of the Gospell. We haue heard also that Christ said: I came not to send peace but a sword, and to separate euerie faithfull man from his owne household which would hinder them from the doctrine of the Gospell. Then seeing our enemies, studie & earnestlie indeuour nothing more than to turne vs awaie from the trueth reciued, we haue vpon iuste cause departed frõ them. But in the Epistle to the Galathians the first Chapter, there appeareth a most plaine testimonie of this matter: for there

Commaundement of God by which we are bidden to depart from the companie of the vnfaithfull.

1. Mat. 7.15.

2. Ioh. 10.12.

3. Mat. 15.14

Ioh. 12.42.

4.

5. Mat. 10.34

Gal. 1.8. 6.

the Apostle commandeth, that whosoeuer shall bring another Gospel than that which he had preached vnto them, he shoulde be accursed vnto vs: & he goeth so farre, as he tellifieth the verie same thing of himselfe, and he accendeth from himselfe euen to the Angels. For doeth ἀνάθεμα in that place signifie anie other thing than a malediction or curse. And who seeth not that it behoueth euerie Christian man specialliie to beware that he runne not into the curse of God? And if so be that Paul once wished to be accursed for the brethren, he sawe that it redounded to the glorie of God. But in this cause by adioyning our selues to the Papistes, we should become accursed together with them: doubtlesse not vnto their saluation, but through our consenting they would be more and more hardened in their errors. Wherefore would procede not the glorie of God, but rather the dishonor of his name. Augustine expounding this place in the Epistle to ẏ Galathians, brought in an excellent exposition of the Apostles meaning: namelie, that the trueth for it self is worthie to be desired, but not for their sakes which set forth and publish the same. For if it should be admitted for feare of thẽ, it might easilie be, that we woulde also receiue lyes for dread of them. And we are not to thinke that the Apostle in that place rashlie vsed a repetition, because the matter was both weightie, and doubtfull: for euen the aduersaries themselues will seeme to preach the Gospell of Christ. But it is our part to inquire, whether their Gospell agree with that, which the Apostle preached. If we shall compare these one with another, we shall easilie finde that the Papisticall Gospel differeth verie much from the Apostolicall. For the Apostle taught that forgiuenesse of sinnes is freelie giuen by God for Christ his sake vnto the beleeuers, and that man is iustified by faith onelie without workes. But the Papists threaspe vppon the worlde such things as doe vtterlie disagree from these. Wherefore they ought not to be heard, but to be auoided as mẽ accursed, vnles that we also together with thẽ will be made accursed.

Rom. 9. 1. 7.

Whether the Gospell of Papistrie agree with that of the Apostle.

35 The same Apostle wrote in the last Chapter to the Romanes: Marke them diligentlie, which cause diuisions and offences contrarie to the doctrine which ye haue learned, and auoide ye them. But none haue giuen cause of greater diuisions in ẏ Church than the Romanistes haue: partlie for their decrees and traditions, partlie for the vsurping and defending of their primacie. Offences also haue procéded from them without measure and end, while they late most grie-

Verse. 17.

uous burthens vppon the people, and liue in corrupt manners: whereby men are exceedinglie turned awaie from the religion of Christ: so farre are they off from turning to imbrace the same. Paul yet more manifestlie discouering them addeth, Those which by faire speech & flatterie seduce the harts of ẏ simple. There is none but seeth how much the Pope flattereth the Princes of Christendome, and howe fairelie he speaketh them: whenas he calleth the Emperour his first begotten sonne, and the French king his seconde borne child. One, the moste Christian, an other, the Catholike, and an other, the defendour of the faith. And thus he setteth forth his smoke to be sould to the vnlearned and simple. But of such like men there is a perpetuall marke giuen. They that be of this sort (saith the Apostle) serue not the Lord Iesus Christ, but their owne bellie. And certainelie whosoeuer shall somewhat narrowlie looke vppon the crafte, fraudes, and guiles of the Papistes, they all tende to this end, that they maie serue to their gaine and bellie. There is nothing sought that maie soundlie make to the glorie of Christ. It is also written in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: If anie named a brother among you shall be a couetous person, an extortioner, a whoremonger, an euill speaker, a drunkard, with such eate not meat. But whether they be infected with such faults, all ẏ world knoweth. In the same Epistle we read: Shall I take the member of Christ and make it the member of an harlot? Hereby we are admonished to beware, that seeing we be the members of Christ, we ioyne not our selues to an Harlot. And we must not be ignorant that the whoredome of the minde, (which is Idolatrie) is a farre more grieuous sinne thã bodilie fornication. Wherefore the Church of the Hebrewes is reproued by the Prophets, not in one place but euerie where because it maketh her selfe common to sundrie Idols. And seeing in the Popedome Images are worshipped: and that also bread and wine and deade men are called vppon, their congregations are iustly conuinced of whoredome. Wherefore we maie not by anie right cleaue vnto them, for otherwise we should make the members of Christ to be the members of an harlot. And in the latter Epistle to the Corinthians, commaundement is giuen to the faithful that they should not draw the yoke with the vnbeleeuers, because there is no participation of righteousnelle with iniquitie, neither communion of light with darkenesse, nor felowshippe of Christ with Beliall, nor of ẏ temple of God

1. Cor. 5. 11

1. Cor. 6. 15 8.

Ier. 2. 20. Ose. 2. &c.

2. Cor. 6. 14 9.

10. with Idols. Afterward it is added, Go ye out from among thē & separate your selues. Further pertaining to appertaine those things which are written of shunning things offered vnto Idols. But shall we (saith he) prouoke God: Be we stronger than he? Moreouer ỳ whole matter is concluded in this plaine commandement: Flie you from Idolatrie. And vnto
Ephe.5.11. the Ephesians: I would not haue you communicate with the vnfaithfull workes of darkenesse, but rather reproue them. In the first Epistle to Timothie, there is mention of men corrupt of minde, from whom the truth is taken awaie, and who thinke that luker
13. is godlinesse. And Timothie is commaunded
1.Tim.6.5 that he should separate himselfe from that
Esa.52.11. flocke. In Esaie the 52. Chapter it is written:
14. Goe you out, separate your selues, touch no vncleane things ye that beare the vessels of the Lord. The Prophet spake vnto ỳ priests, but ỳ which he speaketh vnto them belongeth also vnto vs, because we beare ỳ vessels of ỳ Lord, & we ourselues be ỳ vessels of the Lord which we ought to keep pure frō all vncleane.
15. Ieremie in ỳ 50. Cap. saith, Flie you from out
Verse.8. of the middest of Babylon & euerie man saue his owne soule. And the selfe same thing in a maner is in the same Prophet in the 51. cap.
16. Further in ỳ Apoc. cap. 18. we read: Flie you
Ier.51.6. Apo.18.4. from ỳ midst of Babylon, least ye be polluted
17. with the sins therof, & receiue of her plagues.
Psal.26.5. Yea ỳ Dauid in ỳ Psa. pronounced of himselfe ỳ he hated the congregations of ỳ malignant, & entred not into ỳ councell of the wicked.
18. 36 Further we are to consider that this separation is a kinde of confessing of the Euangelicall trueth. And it behoueth that euerie faithfull man not onelie in words but also in deeds professe that which he beleeueth. And as Gellius saith: When the citie is troubled with sedition, it is no point of a good citizen to saie that he is of neither part, but he must ioyne himselfe vnto that which he thinketh to be the more iust. It serueth also vn-
19. to this purpose that the controuersies of our times be of so great importance, as they ought not to be dissembled: neither will God suffer them anie longer to lie in darknesse.
20. Neither must we omitte the commaundement of Christ wherein he said: If thine eye
Matt.5.29. offend thee pluck it out and cast it from thee. The like he commaundeth of the head and foote. By which figuratiue speech he willeth that we should cast away al things although they be profitable, pleasaunt, and new vnto vs, rather than suffer our selues to be caled awaie, or hindered from the profession
21. of the Gospel. He also cōmanded his Apostles ỳ if they should not be heard of anie cōgregation or Citie, they shaking off ỳ dust should de- Mat.10.13
part frō thence. The people of Rome in times
22. past departed frō the Senators, because they afflicted thē with most grieuous iniuries, & would not returne vnlesse there should be pronises made for the power of the Tribunes. The displeasure which the common people suffered by the Nobilitie were temporall, and belonged to the maintenaunce and safetie of the bodie: but those things which the Papistes bring in vppon vs, haue respect vnto eternall saluation. But letting passe ỳ example of Ethnickes, another thing commeth to minde, which is mencioned in the Ecclesiasticall Hystorie. Paphnutius a 23.
Bishoppe of Egypt, and a verie noble con- The extreme
fessour of the Lord (whose right eye the Em- punishment
perour Maximianus put out and hocked his against
left lam, whereby he might liue halfe blind & Confessors.
lame) when he was in the Synode of Tyrus where also sate Maximus a worthie Bishop of Ierusalem, and he himselfe a confessour of Christ: and perceiued that nothing else was sought by his fellow Bishoppes but that Athanasius might be oppressed by deceites, ill reports, and naughtie practises: rose vp, and taking Maximus by the hand which sat in the middest of the rest, said: It is not lawfull for thee to sit among these men. And hauing spoken these words, he led him awaie with him. Also Christ admonished, that we should Mat.16.6.
beware of the Leauen of the Pharisees. And 24.
Paul saide: A little leauen marreth the whole 25.
lumpe. Yea and experience it selfe teacheth 1.Cor.5.6.
26.
that they which hauing knowledge of the truth are withheld through an affection to their friends or kinne, loue of their countrie, couetousnes of riches and goods, they become colder euerie daie more than other as touching godlinesse, and are so frosen together at the length, as the sparke of religion is extinguished in them, and sometime of friendes and brethren, they become most cruell enemies. And it is founde to be most true which the wise man said: He that toucheth pitch shall 27. Eccle.13.
be defiled therewith. Neither can it other- 28.
wise be, but (as the Apostle said out of Me- 1.Cor.15.33
nander) ỳ ill speech will corrupt good maners.

37 Let vs see what happened vnto the Israelites in ỳ time of Ieroboam when Idolatrie was erected. Verilie, they which had 2.Chron.11
but a crum of godlines, leauing the confines 13.
of ỳ kingdome of Israel, ioyned themselues to ỳ 29.
house of Iuda, to the intent they might not sacrifice vnto the Idols which were erected, but that they might worshippe the true God, according to the prescript of the Lawe, in the place which he had chosen vnto himselfe. Which whole did not, they not onelie con-

taminated themselues with Idolatrie, but together with the which they were afflicted with manifolde and grieuous punishments.
30. There was euen at ỳ beginning of the world a separation made betweene the posteritie of
Gen.4.17. & 5.1. Seth and Caine (for these had departed from the true worshippe of God) wherein they soundlie continued. And assurelie the punishment of the flood was so long differred as that holie posteritie continued free from Idolatrie: but whenas afterward the sons of God, being allured with the beawtie of women, had ioyned themselues with the vngodlie, all things went to confusion and horrible shame: wherefore God destroyed the world by a flood of water. In which de-
Gen.6. struction neither Noah himselfe with his family had beene saued vnlesse by going into the Arke he had seuered himselfe from the vngodlie. Lot likewise escaped the fire, because
Gen.19. he was led forth from the fellowship of wicked men. The Lord also commanded as we
Num.16.21 haue it in the booke of Numerie, that the Israelites should separate themselues from Dathan and Abiram, vnlesse they were more willing to perish together with them. He al-
33. so called forth the Israelites which were re-
Esa.52. ier.51. maining in Babylon after the libertie giuen vnto them by Cyrus and Darius, for that grieuous punishments were at hande vnto the Babylonians by reason of their Idolatrie and shamefull wickednesse. In fine if the
34. first Adam, by the instinct of Gods spirite,
Gen.2.23. truelie saide of his wife: For this cause, shal man leaue his father and mother and shall cleaue vnto his wife; why also were not all things to be left of vs for retaining the truth of Christ, seing that euen the wife her selfe & the children must be left for religion sake?
35. But if we seme not to our aduersaries to haue done well, let them declare the cause, why they haue separated themselues from al other Churches, being the greater part of the
36. world. They are not able in verie deede to shewe such iust and euident causes as ours be, which we haue before alleaged. Let not their slaunders terrifie vs, especiallie those, which they haue alwaies in their mouth, saying that we are disturbers. These bee no newe things: They haue beene oftentimes vpbraided to the seruaunts of God. Was not
1.King.17. 18. Achab the king of Samaria rebuke Elias the man of God, and said: Art thou Elias which troubleste Israell? But the Prophet constantlie returned the rebuke vpon him: I trouble not Israell, thou rather doest altogether with thy wife Iezabell. The Iewes also accused
Luke.23.5. Christ before Pilate, that he troubled all Iurie, beginning at Galile. Of the Apostles al-

so (as it is in the Actes) it is saide, that they troubled men. Yea and Tertullus the Ora- Acts.17.6.
tor thus spake vnto Portius Festus, that he Acts.24.5.
should punish Paul, because that they might by his conduct and gouernment, inioy excellent peace and tranquillitie, if onelie Paul were not a let, who troubled all things by peruerse and new doctrine. But now I cease to vrge anie more the seconde point: namely that we might not otherwise doe but depart from the Popedome. For three kyndes of ne- This theefe-
cessitie vrged vs: namelie of obaying the all causes of
commaundements of GOD, of shunning departing
sinnes, and flying Idolatrie, and also for the from the
escaping of paines and punishments which Popedome.
remaine for the wicked. Neither must it seeme anie maruell, that these necessities are laide vppon vs, seeing that in the ciuill lawes, the companies and assemblie, which vnlawfullie assemble together are condemned to grieuous punishments, as it is in the Title de Collegijs & corporibus illicitis: the which are not onelie forbidden by the Commonweale or Emperour, but they which frequent the same, are accounted of euen as if they had occupied the publike place or temple with armed men. For they are thought to abuse such corporations and fellowships, for the worshing of their naughtines. Wherefore God doeth rightlie and iustlie order, when by his commaundements he reconcileth vs from such assemblies.

38 But now I come to the third mem- That they
ber of this treatise wherein I will shew that which haue
we departed not from the Church but are left ỳ Popes
rather come vnto it. Which that it may evi- bane not the
dently appeare, we must consider that our parte, from
aduersaries are verie much deceiued, for so- the Church
much as they thinke that things are conti- but rather re-
nually preserued, after one order, as though turned to ỳ
they may in no wise be changed, where ne- same.
uertheless it may be, and daylie commeth to passe, that those things which in olde time were good, doe vtterly degenerate. The Church of the Hebrues in the olde time was 1.King.9.2
verie acceptable vnto God, so long as right Mat.21.13.
religion flourished therein: but when that Ier.7.11.
was afterward polluted, that which was the temple of God was turned into a denne of theeues, which they not considering, trusted vnto it more than was meet, always crying on this wise: The Temple of the Lorde, &c. Verse.4.
as though their common wealth houlde not perish so long as the Temple remained. Euen so our aduersaries thinke, so that the name of the bishops church and the outward pompe and shewe of the ministerie bee at Rome, there the Church is, when as they haue subuerted all things which make to the

nature of the Church of Chriſt. It is a grieuous crime to depart from the Church: but when that is called the Church which is not, who will diſallow ẏ departing from thence? The Hebrues in the time of the Apoſtles, boſted that they had the Church, but ſeing they refuſed the Goſpell of the ſonne of God, the Apoſtles vpon that cauſe departed from the.

Verſe.18. And this did Ezechiel before hand declare in ẏ tenth Chapter, when he ſaw the maieſtie of God lifting it ſelfe vp into heauen and forſaking the Temple of Ieruſalem. Beſides this, Ioſephus teſtifieth, that when the Roman warre was at hand, there were voices heard from the ſecret places of the Oracle, who oftentimes repeted: Let vs depart from hence. And the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie bewraieth that the Chriſtian Church which was at Ieruſalem was tranſlated to Pella when the warre was at hand. Againe into Chaldea the Church of the Iewes remoued vnder Nabuchad-nazar. So as ther is no cauſe why theſe men ſhould aſſure themſelues ẏ the continuance of the Roman Church is vnchangeable.

39 But ſome of them ſay that among the people of Iſrael changes were eaſily made: but after the comming of Chriſt, and that the ſeate of Peter was ſetled in the Citie of Rome, it is not to be thought that theſe alterations would at any time happen. But let them tell vs what aſſurance they haue aboue other Churches. If they goe about openly to perſwade, that the Churches of Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch are ſubuerted, wherfore be they crompted from the like mutations? Aſſuredly Paul did not ſo thinke.

Whether the Roman Church ſhall neuer change his place.

Ro.11.21. For vnto the Romanes (ſpeaking vnto the nations conuerted vnto God) he ſaith, that they ſhoulde diligently take hede to themſelues, becauſe God who ſpared not the naturall braunches, would in like maner not ſpare them. Wherefore they erre as farre as heauen is wide, if they affirme that Chriſt and the holy ghoſt are to bounde to the ſeate of Rome, as they will neuer go from thence. So long they tarried there, as that Church did leane vnto the true foundation. But when it began to be founded vpon the lande of mans traditions, it was ſubuerted. Neither can it be ſaide that it is of God, ſeing Chriſt preſcribed a rule: that they be of God which

Rom.8.14. heare the worde of God. And after warde of them which boaſted themſelues to be the Church he boldly pronounced: yee heare not thoſe things becauſe ye be not of God. And what congregation can there be of ẏ Church if it be not of God? And the cauſe why the Romaniſts admit not the woorde of God, is, for that they perceiue it to be wonderfully againſt them. Furthermoze what Church I pray you can that be which iudgeth not it ſelfe to ſtande ſafely, vnleſſe that Chriſt and his woord be driuen away? He that beleueth not thoſe things, let him more narrowly behold their dealings. They haue tranſformed the Church into a court or place of iudgment (for ſo they ſpeake among themſelues, and theſe woords they vſe euerie where) and moreouer, a farre greater labour is vſed in the ſtile of Chaunceries, which conſiſteth altogether of fraudes and guiles, than in any ſtudies of diuine things. Gregorie in the regiſter the 9. booke in the epiſtle 25. and 55. writing of the holy miniſterie, ſaith, that ſeeing it is fallen with him, it cannot long ſtand without. This did he iudge 800. yeares paſt. And ſhall we thinke that that Church hath truely ſtode hitherto? Malachie in the ſecond Chapter ſaith: Becauſe ye haue gone Verſe.8. out of the way and haue cauſed manie to fall, therefore haue I made you to be deſpiſed. Wherefore in going from the Romaniſts we haue not forſaken the Church, but haue ſtedde from an intolerable yoke: and from the conſpiracie againſt the Euangelicall doctrine. It is a wonder that theſe men would perſwade Chriſtians that it ſhoulde be permitted them by God without any limit, yea continually, to waſt the vineyard of the Lord, to yeelde no fruite for it, but to murder the ſeruants of the Lorde which are ſent vnto them to demaund any fruite. Vndoubtedly they be much more ſelfith than the Iewes, which anſwered Chriſt when he had put forth the parable of ẏ vineyard: He will cruelly deſtroy thoſe wicked men, and will let Mat.21.41 out his vineyard vnto other husbandmen. Why doe not theſe men remember that it was laid of the verie cruelty it ſelfe vnto the Iewes: The kingdome of God ſhalbe taken Mat.21.43 from you: ſeeing then they be in the ſame ſanfies, ſeeing the cauſe is all one, ſeeing he is the ſonne of God: I ſee no cauſe why we ſhould doubte, but that the power, ſtrength, and true nature of the Church is taken away from them. But to diſpoyle this our hopeleſſe cure, they bring a place out of the epiſtle of Iude, which blameth the wicked becauſe they haue ſeparated themſelues. But the anſwere is readie, becauſe it ought not to be Epiſtle of Iude. v. 19. ſpoken vnto vs, that wee haue departed from the Pope: God hath ſeuered vs from him, as it hath beene ſhewed by his Oracles and preceptes: neither could we forget the ſaying of the Apoſtle, that we muſt rather obey God, than men. Euen as when there is a Act.4.19. true mariage ẏ is vnlawfull, man diuideth not Mat.19.6. them whom God coupled together, but God him-

himſelfe by his woꝛd and law ſeuereth man and wife in that caſe.

Whether all that beleeue not to be vnder the Pope do therfore ſeuer themſelues from the Church.

40 Alſo they inforce againſt vs (as they thinke) a verie ſtrong reaſon, in demanding whether all men that were before vs, and haue lined vnder the obedience of Rome, are perished: yee (ſay they) are none men and lately ſpring vp, ſeing yee were ſcarſly to be ſeene 30. yeares paſt oꝛ thereabouts. But there be aboue 900. yeares paſt ſince Boniface ẏ 3. whom ye make author of the Popedome. It were moſt abſurde to be ſaid that all Chriſtendom during all that time were damned. Wherevnto we ſay, that there neuer wanted men in all that ſpace which reproued the lies and deceits of Poperie, and that they of the Eaſt parts of the Greekes reſiſted that tyrannie: Neither as yet doe they acknowledge the dominion of the Church of Rome: So then, not all Chriſtendome as theſe men faine haue perished for that cauſe. Yea and in our Weſt regions the libertie of the Church ſtod after a ſoꝛte vntill the time of Pipin & Charles the Great. We will adde moreouer, that as touching the predeſtinate, none of them haue perished in any age. The theefe at his laſt houre imbraced Chriſt: And it is not vnlikely but that which happened vnto him, happened vnto very many others. The ſpirit of Chriſt wanteth not wayes by the which he can reduce the wandering ſheepe vnto the fould. Great, yea moſt large is ẏ imbracing of Gods mercie, wherby he draweth vnto him euen thoſe that be at the point of death. Neither is it therefoꝛe brought to paſſe that men ſhould not now follow the truethe being layd open. But why doe they ſo often wearie vs with telling of the ſaluation oꝛ perdition of our fooꝛfathers? It had bin lawfull for the Hebrues to haue obiected the very ſame vnto the Apoſtles. So the ſelly woman of Samaria ſaid vnto Chriſt: the fathers worſhipped God vpon ẏ mountaine oꝛ place. So might ẏ Chriſtes like the preachers of the Goſpel of ẏ ſonne of God, whether all their foꝛefathers which had not heard ſuch doctrine did periſh euerlaſtingly. It is none of our part, when as the reuelling of Gods will is brought, to make inquirie vpon his iudgementes. Let vs our ſelues doe our diuetie vnto him, leauing to the iudgement of God to giue ſentence of our foꝛefathers and of all men by the decrees of his iuſtice. If that all things haue not bin reuelled vnto our fathers in ſuch ſoꝛt as they haue bin vnto vs, and not in general, yet ſhall they partly be excuſed foꝛ their ignoſance: But our cauſe ſhall be much the woꝛſe, if we knowing the thinges that haue bin ſhewed in our times, doe not imbrace them, ſo farre is it off that the erroꝛ of the fathers ſhall be defended by vs. But becauſe the ſoꝛce of this argument is common to both partes, we may fitly returne the ſame againe vpon our aduerſaries. Let theſin ſay, Before Boniface the third, when as in Chriſtendome the Popedome was vnknowen, (which they would ſhould appertaine to the articles of the faith,) whether all men periſhed which imbraced not the ſame by faith, nay obaied the ſeate of Rome? And whether be they alſo condemned and iudged to the paines of hell, ſo many as were ignozant of the tranſlubſtantiation of the breed and wine of the Euchariſte before Innocentius ẏ third? Be they alſo damned all which in the time of Epiphanius and Ieroꝛm iudged that Images ſhould be taken out of the Temples? They haue not what to aunſwere: and ſo let them ceaſe to obiect that vnto vs, which no leſſe pzelleth them than it doth vs.

In what places the Church of Chriſt was before the Church of Rome was eſtabliſhed by vs.

41 They demaund moreouer where the Church of Chriſt hath bin ſo long: you (ſay they) as yet were not: And as you affirme, the Church was not among vs, therefoꝛe it was no where. Which thing is moſt abſurd, and muſt not in any wiſe be admitted. But if we will ſay, That where two or three Mat.18.20 were gathered together in ẏ name of Chriſt, they were the Church: and that it neuer happened but that ſuch haue bin in the world, they againe contend againſt this in ſaying that the Church ought to be viſible which the faithfull may haue acceſſe vnto, becauſe Chriſt ſayd, Tell the Church. Mat. But we anſwere hereunto, we thinke god and that in theſe woꝛdes and groſſe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the Church. The Church is the bodie of Chriſt. And leaſt that any ſhould deride this naming of it, we will ſearch how many kindes of bodies are found. Pomponius a notable Lawier in the Digeſtes *De vſu Capi one L. Rerum mixtura*, made three bodies. The firſt is that which is contayned in one ſpirit: as man, wod, ſtone, and that naturally groweth in it ſelfe. An other is that which conſiſteth of a certaine knitting together, wherein the partes doe one touch an other: as a houſe, a ſhip, a ſchoole, and this is called ἑνωμένον. Finally the third is that which hath partes diſtant one from another whilſt neuertheleſſe are ioyned together in one name and communion of oꝛder, as a people, a compante, a legion etc. In the third kinde is comprehended the Church, which is a fellowſhip of thē that be diſtant in place one from an other. For whether any faithfull man be at home, oꝛ in the ſtreete, oꝛ in ẏ

Mat.16.9 Ioh.4.20.

Ephe.4.5.

Of the Church.

Ioh.v.17.

Three kindes of bodies.

1.

2.

3.

What kinde of bodie a Church is.

countrie, yet hee is reckoned to be in the Church. But there is a difference in defining of this bodie. For it is not defined by the Papistes and by vs after one manner. For they thinke that al they which profelle Christ be of the Church, so that they be not excommunicate, wherein they exceedingly erre: because the Church, seeing it is the body of Christ, is liuely, neither hath it any dead members. And it is said by Iohn; They went out from vs, because they were not of vs: for if they had bin of vs, they had surely taryed. We graunt in deed, that in the Church (which consisteth onlie of the elect of God which be iustified by faith, and indeuour to expresse the worde of God so farre as they be able in godlynesse of mauners) there dwell very many wicked and vngodly men: and that sometime it commeth to passe that therin they hold the chiefe places. Christ sayd, that the kingdome of heauen, which is the Church, hath fishes Mat.13.47 god and bad, virgins wise and foolish, Cockle and Wheate: although neuertheleste it be not the Church in very deede. Assuredly they be conuersant and be in it no other wise saith Augustine than are corrupt and naughtie humors in mans bodie. For euen as those & similitude trouble and corrupt the health, so these vere and disquiet the Church. Therefore when it is demaunded by the aduersaries, whether their congregation aduaunced by the Pope dome were the Church: I aunswere that it was then exceedingly fallen to decay, and dayly more and more ruinated, so as now amongest vs, there is no more left but certaine rubbish, and peces of walles, together with some beames or small ioystes, so as it is not properly the house of God: howbeit as yet it retaineth certaine steppes, although they be slender. Wherefore we acknowledge the baptisme that is there giuen, neither doe we rebaptise those which come from them to our Churches: and we reuerence and reade the selfe same holy bookes which they vse. And by this reason we vnderstand Antichrist to sit in the temple of Antichrist in the temple of God. 2.Thes.2.4 God, because vndoubtedly such a one he was in times past, and so by many he is esteemed and called: & because he stil retaineth (as I haue sayd) some steppes of the Church.

42 When they bige vs as touching a visible Church, we answere, that sufficyed How the Church is visible. men which truely beleeue in Christ be bodily and visible, albeit that those differences, namely Faith and Hypocrisie, by which the true members of the Church differ from the wicked, cannot be discerned with eye. Wherefore if it comes to passe, that the partes of the Church can not in sense be discerned from hypocrites. But as to that precept, Tell it Mat.18.17. the Church, we say that the same is in the order of affirmatiues. Which kinde (as the Schoolemen say) doeth in deede binde men perpetually, but not so, as it requireth an execution in euery place, moment, and case, but then onely it ought to be when it is possible and profitable. They that are corrupted must be shewed to the Church, where and when there is a Church, which may be come vnto: Euen as we iudge of Baptisme. For if it must be prouided that euery faithfull man if it be possible may be baptised: but when he cannot haue a minister he is excused. When in the time of Constantius, welneare all the Churches in y East were gouerned by Arrians, vnto what Church should it haue bin lefull? If thou aunswere vnto the West Church: I reply y all men could not goe thither: neither would y Tyrant haue permitted it. I will adde moreouer, that godly men, so long as they were constrayned to be in the Popedome, and could not haue their assemblies else where (if they had thought that they should haue profited any thing in correcting of maners and in procuring any way the glory of God or saluation of others, they should haue shewed that which was requisite vnto the Bythops and Pastors for that time giuen, if they might not doe it among their owne. But now whenas it hath seemed good vnto God to rayse vp famous men, such as were Luther and Zuinglius, who haue planted innumerable Churches, it was meete that godly men, setting aside the reliques and remnantes, and slender steppes of the Church, should repayre thither where they might both deale and line according to the worde of God: & by that meanes they should continue in themselues through succession, the faith & Apostolical life, conioyning themselues with their forefathers, which lined rightlie & sincerely in the primatiue Church.

43 For would I haue them ignorant that the further they haue gone, the more alwayes are their dealinges become: which we may gather, not onely by the former similitude of the decayed building, but also by an other, namely of wine, the which at the first being of it selfe mightie and strong is praysed of all men: vnto which if there be any water mingled afterward, the wine in deede remaineth stil, although more vnperfect: and y more that it is stil delayed, the lesse it retaineth of the pureneste of the wine. And it might be brought to such a passe, that in the end the wine would be ouercome by the water, so as of the wine onely the colour after a sorte might be perceiued, and some token, as

although but small, of the first taste. Thus vndoubtedly is it come to passe in the Church with the puritie of the worde of God and administration of the sacramentes, since the traditions of men were begunne to be blended, which as they haue dayly more and more increased, so haue they made feeble the pureneste of doctrine and mysteries. And at the last it is come to passe, that those thinges which most of al doe establish a Church, haue after a sort banished away. So as, whether the Church of Rome haue ceased to be the Church, or else be so infected & corrupted, as nothing in a maner remaineth sound therin, we being separated frō thence, are not worthie of blame but rather of prayse: especially when we goe vnto the Catholike and Apostolike Church, because the Church from which we separate our selues wanteth both. For it is no more Catholick, because it hath transformed the vniuersall Church into the Roman Church: And Apostolick it is not, seeing it differeth most far from the doctrine and ordinances of the Apostles. We haue departed from them which will be built vpon Peter and his successours: & be come to that Church which leaneth only vnto Christ the sureste foundation. We haue departed frō thē, which build chaffe, haye & stubble, & that vpon a strange foundatiō: & we are come thither, wheras siluer, gold & precious stones are for y most part builded vpon Christ himselfe.

The obiection touching y continuable running to the Pope confuted. 44 They prelle vs much with multitude, and boast that Fraunce, Spaine, and Italie make on their side: but herein they are double deceaued, and deceaue others. First of all the greater part of Christendome haue departed from them, or take not part with them. Secondly the multitude is no certain note of the Church. In the most populous countrie of the Israelites, God saith vnto 1.King.19. 18. Elias, that he had kept onely seuen thowsand vnto himselfe, which bowed not their knee vnto Baal. And of the same that was cast Mat.13.8. vpon the ground, onely the fourth part fell vpon the good ground. And it was said by Luk.12.32. Christ: Feare not thou flocke because thou art but little. This Nazianzene vnderstanding *in Sermone de seipso aduersus Arrianos*, saith: Where are they now which defended the Church by multitude, and despised the small flocke? We therefore spake these thinges, because the Arrians by fauour of the Monarches had possessed y greatest part of Christendome, & mocked the right beleeuers as being most few. For must the Church be measured by nobilitie or worldlie honor? For Luk.14.21. Christ warned vs y it would come to passe, that the blinde, the lame, and the poore, should be called out of the strēetes, and should be compelled to enter, when as others which were bidden had denyed to come. Paul also 1.Cor.1.26. in the first Epistle to the Corinthians testified, that not many mightie men, noble men, and wise men are called, Yea & Ierom in his prohemne to the Galathians the 3 booke, writeth that the Church is gathered out of the poore people.

45 And we must take heede that we suffer not our selues to be deceaued by y glorious tytles which our aduersaries abuse. For they call themselues Apostolick, Catholick, & the auncient Church. These thinges must be examined, and it must be diligently considered whether the thinges be answerable to the names: otherwise the diuel himself transformeth himselfe into an angel of light. How be they Apostolick when as they corrupt the Apostolicall doctrine? Nor can they be called Catholike, seeing they haue separated themselues from the greater parte of the Churches. And how they haue stedde from the olde opinions, rites, and customes of the auncient Church; we neede not declare, seeing the thing it selfe speaketh of it selfe. They would be counted pastors, when as they neuertheleste seldome or neuer visit the flock of the Lord, which they brag to be committed to their charge: much leste doe they feede the same. They think that y Churches which either by violence or by tyrannie they obtaine, are nothing else but landes and farmes, whereby yearely reuenewe may come vnto them, by which they themselues may be feede and the flocke of Christ be deuoured. The Pope boasteth himselfe to be the pastor of all the sheep of the whole worlde, vnto which he cannot haue accesse & though he would, neither doth he labour to doe it. He dwelleth at Rome, and continually giueth himselfe vnto his delightes. We are taught by mistresse experience and by common sense, that it is not possible for the whole worlde, to be feede and gouerned by some one man. In deede Christ said vnto Peter, Feede my sheepe: but he said not All: Ioh.21.15. nay rather he would that the rest of the Apostles should be fellowes with him in the exercising of that function. But this is the more to be lamented, that the Pope with his members doe disquiet the sheepe of Christ and in miserable wise slay them, so farre is he from feeding and fostering them. Euen in like manner as did the Pharisees in olde time: who while they boasted themselues to be the Church, oppressed Messias, and most grieuously persecuted the Apostles, and had Herode to doe as they would haue him: For when

Titles of the Papists

Euen as the Church in old time was oppressed by the Iewes is now the Church of Christ by the Popes.

when he had killed Iames, and did perceiue that it was acceptable vnto the Iewes, he layd holde vppon Peter and cast him in prison, that he might destroy him. After the same manner, Kinges, Emperours and princes at this day, because they may obey the Pope, doe most cruelly afflict godly men. And it is no maruell that the Romanistes, which succeede the reuerent and holy fathers did on this wise withstand the Gospell: seeing the Hebrewes, (as Paule testifyeth to the Romans) were Israelites: and the adoption, Rom.9.4. and the glorie: yea and the testamentes and lawegiuing seemed to appertaine vnto them. They had the worshipping and the promises, and of them were the fathers, of whom Christ as touching the flesche was borne: yet neuertheleelle they refused the Gospel, & were made altogether strangers from saluation.

46 But to come neare to the shewing of The markes of the true pulicall Church. that which was promised: namely that we departed not from the Church, that congregation frō the which we are separated must be described by the markes of the same: that all men may vnderstand it to be nothing lesse 1. than the Church: forsomuch as it is bent to the slaying of the godly, it is infected with hatred of the heathen, it gathereth not, but rather scattereth Christ his members, it maketh more account of mens traditions than of the word of God, it will haue it selfe to be heard, not the scriptures, which with incredible boldnesse it would haue to be subiect vnto the authoritie of it. Now of traditions (which they adde and pluckе away at their pleasure, seeing nothing of them abideth more than lyketh themselues) they haue after a sorte made an Alcorom, lyke vnto that of Mahomet, and the same they endeuour to defend by the sword, & by force, not by diuine Oracles. And it is come to this passe that our Church is much more vnhappie than the Church of the Iewes. For vnto that Church, the scriptures of God were sufficient vnto saluation: but vnto ours they are not sufficient vnlesse the traditions of the Pope be added. But let them say what they will, they shall neuer proue but that the beleeuers and lyuers according to the prescript 2. of the worde of God, be happie. The congregation from which we haue seuered our selues, layeth grieuous and intollerable burMatt.23.4. thens vpon men, which neuertheleelle, y authors of them wil not so much as touch with 3. their finger. Further the kingdome, which ought to be spiritual and heauenly, is transformed into temporall and worldly. Christ Ioh.18.36. said, My kingdome is not of this world. They on the other side say that their kingdomes be of this world. And they dare usurpe and stampe in their coyne: The nation and kingdome that will not serue me, shall be rooted out. They seeke nothing else but that the Pre- 4. rogatiues of Emperours, kings, princes, and magistrates may be cast downe at the Popes feete, and that they may be obtained and gouerned at the wil of the seat of Rome. We haue departed from that societie which 5. hath polluted the Sacramentes, either by bringing in of others which were not instituted by Christ, or else by renting in sunder, & with many and sundry abuses defiling those which were giue and deuised by him. Ouer this, it foreth vpon vs iuolatrie towardes 6. bread and wine, and in like maner towards Images, and that which they commonly call reliekes of saintes, it dilateth their phylacteries, and enlargeth y fringes of their garmentes, while it ascribeth great power of diuine religion vnto garmentes, thauinges, annoyntinges, & outward ornamentes. We haue left the which build the sepulchres of y Prophets, in saying: Our fathers and aunce- Matt.23 sters haue slayne them, but we in this behalfe follow not them, but doe adorne, honour and worship the Prophets slayne by them, when as they themselues neuertheleelse doe as great, yea they commit more grieuous crimes. For 7. it is incredible to be heard, how much innocēt bloud is shed by thē, whenas notwithstāding they maruelously adorne and decke the monuments and bones of the auncient Partyrs. They indeuour to lay away the institutions of Christ, & to abolish the decres of the Apostles, whereas all that be Christians ought to endeuour all their life long, that they may be most soundly preserued.

47 Wee haue departed from her that 8. would be accounted the mother of the faithfull, whereas in verie deede she is their stepdame. She is not content with Christ to be head, but appointeth her selfe an other head vpon the earth, which also she dare affirme to be necessarie vnto saluatiō. But I would whether & faine heare of these men what manner of mi- vnder ministeriall head as they terme it the Popehath the Pope vpon the earth: for euen he would be reckō- hath. ned among the members of Christ. And this is certaine that none is head of his owne selfe: neither will they besides one Pope admit an other. What head therefore shall he haue? They will say: Christ. But we will replie vnto them, that if Christ be sufficient for a head vnto the Pope, how happeneth it 9. that he maie not suffice others also? We haue departed from them, which challenge vnto them selues an other power and habilitie of forgiuing sinne than by preaching of the

the Gospell: and thus I knowe not what counterfeit kaies, whereby they bind and lose, they haue made vnto themselues. They 10 say, of Christ: Beholde he is here, beholde Mat.24.23 he is there, behold he is in the secret places, while they offer vnto vs a small Wafercake to be worshipped in the Masse, in the Pix, and also in Pompe wherein they carry the same about. We haue seperated our selues from 11. them, which preach the merites of men, and bragge of the workes which they call workes of Supererogation. And seeing they haue revolted from Christ, let them ceasle to wonder that we are departed from them. The fellowship of thē is now the pillar of lying, not the ground of trueth. It is ruled and gouerned for y most part by Moūkes couered with sheepe skinnes. Neither is there among them the house of God, but the receptacle of Images. It is the propertie of the Church, (as saith Ambrose vppon Luke the 2. booke and 3. Chapter) to be the mother of the liuing: but those men be the councell or consent of the dead. We haue departed from 12. that Church which consisteth in walles, painted colours, and vizardes, whereas the true seate thereof ought to be in the heart, as Lactantius in his 4 booke *de vera sapientia* and 13 Chapter hath written. There the corrupt and vitious man is worshipped, and Christ the Author of saluation is neglected. We forsake the adulterous Church, which 13. besides Christ the lawfull spouse, acknowledgeth the Pope for her husband. We haue 14. also departed from the old growen schisme, wherein that multitude of Romanists haue seuered themselues from others, by turning away her eares from the word of God, and conuerting altogether vnto fables: And because it hath forsaken the loue of the trueth, it is giuen ouer to a strong illusion of error. 15. We are fallen away frō thē that goe astray, and we goe forward vnto the way of truth, and vnto the kings high way. We would not be with them which following the spirit of error, haue their conscience marked with an hotte iron, and forbid meates and marriages.

48 Now it appeareth by these markes, what maner of congregation it is from whō we haue reuolted: and it is sufficiently perceiued, that it is not the Church, vnlesse perhaps thou wilt saie, it is the Church of the malignant. Other markes also might be annexed, but I ceasle to reckon vp anie more, because wholsoeuer is but meanelie acquainted with the holie scriptures maie see them. And The markes of there Church. it is not needefull that I should now describe that Church vnto the which wee haue repaired, seeing it hath properties contrarie vnto those which we haue now alleaged. This one thing will I saie, that it is the same which in the booke of the Apocalips is described to be Apoc.12. like a woman, which brought forth a man childe, and fled into the desert least it should be destroyed by the Dragon which persecuteth her. Our men are after a sort constrained to be in the desert, seeing the chiefe Prelates most cruellie rage against them: who neuertheleelle in the meane time doe most earnestlie complaine that we leaue them no forme of a Church. Howbeit they ought not to ascribe this vnto vs, but vnto themselues. For they haue deceiued godlie men of that liberty, seeing that the true Church should be heard and reuerenced and the faithfull sort ought to obey it. But these men require such things as we ought in no wise to obey.

49 But they saie, that the Church of It is obiected that Corinth was verie much infected and cor- Paul departed not from the rupted: which neuertheleelle Paul acknow- Church of ledgeth and saluteth. The Corinthians were Corinth, though it were verie much diuided among themselues. One corrupt. would be of Paul, another of Cæphas, another of Apollo: and so they attributed as much vnto their spiritlers as vnto Christ. They 1.Cor.1.1. brought their contentions and strifes to the 1.Cor.1.12. iudgement seates of the Ethnicks: they suf- 1.Cor.6.1. fered an incestuous man who had the wife of 1.Cor.5.1. his father to be conuersant among them: they thought not whoredome to be sinne: 1.Cor.6.13 they did euery where eate with the Ethnicks 1.Cor.8.10 things dedicated vnto Idols: they celebra- 1.Co.11.21 ted the supper of the Lord with vnquietnesse of minde: they abused the gift of tongues: 1.Cor.14.1 neither did they iudge truelie and godlie of 1.Co.15.33. the resurrection. These things no doubt be grieuous crimes, yet did they not therefore bring to passe but that among the Corinthians there was a Church. But we answere this doubt after the verie same maner that we did before ae touching the Church of the Iewes: that although it were distained and corrupted, yet did it not constraine any to wicked opinions and rites: and it exercised the ceremonies according to the prescript of the law of Moses: wherefore seeing in manie things they were god men, it was acknowledged as y Church of God. So lykwise in the Church of Corinth, the word of God was openly published, and the Sacraments were soundlie administred. And thus although manie were infected with sinnes and grieuous corruptions, yet did they not all straie from faith & holinesse: wherefore the Church ceased not to be at Corinth. Where the two things which we haue made mention of be soundlie kept: (the word of God I meane and the

the Sacramentes,) they are neuer without some fruite, but as it is elsewhere said, they be assured tokens and pledges of the true Church.

They obiect the breathing of the vnitie of the Church

50 They also crie out against vs, that we haue broken the vnitie of the church. But what vnion I beseech you doe they tell vs of? No other veritie but the vnitie of the Pope, of the seate of Rome, to which they are in miserable bondage; the vnitie of Idolatrie and of the Masse, the vnitie of the marke of the beast which all they receiue: and also the vnitie of the outward ceremonies: wherein all they in a maner communicate one with another. But this is not the vnion of the Church, which the holie Scriptures neither acknowledge nor testifie. Paul vnto the Ephesians writeth: Be ye carefull to keepe the vnitie of the spirite, through the bond of peace. Againe: One bodie, one spirit, euen as ye be called in one hope of your vocation. And againe, One Lorde, one faith, one Baptisme, one God the Father of all, which is aboue all, through all, and in all. Ye saieth also that wee be one bodie of the flesh and of the bonnes of Christ, that we be most nerelie conioyned vnto him, and the giftes which we haue are deriued vnto vs by God through the flesh of Christ giuen for our sake vppon the Crosse, and so by the flesh of Christ we be coupled and vnited vnto God. And in the 17. Chapter of Iohn Christ prayeth the Father for the Apostles, and all that doe beleeue and shall beleeue: Cause thou that they maie be one, euen as I am in thee and thou art in mee. Wherefore he would that they should be one by communicating, I meane of one and the same spirit. The vnitie of the Church therefore by the places alleaged consisteth in the spirit, in the worde of God, in the Sacraments, and in a most nere bond with Christ, who is the head of all the members of the Church. Such a vnitie haue not we broken, but we wish euerie manner of waie that it maie be maintained safe and sound. Much more might be brought for the deciding of this controuersie, but those things which are alreadie spoken I thinke are sufficient vnto godly mindes, to confirme and comfort themselues against the cauillations of the Papistes.

Eph.4.3.

1.Cor.5.30

Ioh.17.20.

What is to be done of the which haue departed from the Papists

51 Lastlie this remaineth, that seeing we haue departed from that congregation, which persecuteth true godlines, let vs shew that we haue done the same in god earnest, least we should seeme onelie to be absent from them in bodie. Therefore let vs with our whole heart and with all our indeuour, imbrace sound and true godlinesse, and shewe forth plentifull and manifest fruites of our faith. In this vocation of ours, let vs auoide the offences by which the course of the Gospell maie be hindred, and they called backe from the going forwarde in Christ who as yet be some what tender therein. Let vs rather labour to edifie the brethren, and driue them so farre as we are able to the purer religion. And let vs remember that it is not sufficient to haue put our hand to the plough: we must persenere vnto the ende. And since we stand in the right waie, we must take heede diligent heede of the furie and sleightes of the Diuell. Let vs not suffer our selues, by peruerte opinions and erronious sectes, to be led awaie from that trueth which we perceiue by faith. This if we shall doe, we shall purge our selues both to the godlie and to the wicked: but if we behaue our selues otherwise, we shall be verie much hated of both, not for the cause sake, but through our owne fault.

Luke.9.62.

The seuenth Chapter.

Of Sacramentes, and namelie of Circumcision.

THe worde which signifieth a Sacrament in Hebrew is Sod and Razi. The first of these woordes is common vnto all secretes and hidden things, & is more plaine vnto vs. And the other Esaie vsed in the xviij. Chapter when he said: Razi-li Razi-li, that is, a secret vnto me, a secret vnto me. Daniel also in his second Chapter, setting downe the interpretation of a mysterie vseth the selfesame word. Such is the nature and condition of Sacramentes, that they containe things hid, knowne yet vnto some, but not vnto all. And from this Etimologie the Greeke worde μυστήριον differeth not much, which is deriued ἀπὸ τοῦ μύειν ἐστὸν: that is, because we ought to keepe things close inwardlie. After such a sort were the mysteries of Ceres Eleusina in the Countrie of Athens, which were openned vnto none but those who had bin first instructed. And they are called μυσταὶ, to whose secresie these things are committed. Chrysostome when he interpreteth the 15. Chapter of the Epistle of Paule to the Romans, where Paul saieth, that he writeth a mysterie of the Israelits, partlie blinded and partly to be restored

In Rom.4. ver.11. Luke 1. In Gen.17. Leo epist. 18 to the brethren of Ravenna. Verse.16.

1.Cor.2.7.

Vnto the vnmeruthy and mind-nothing bee aspired.

The Sacraments of the same weight that be the holie Scriptures.

The falsifiers and the vnfaithfull are not all fruite both alike in one manner to vse the Sacraments

Chrysost. Roman.15

Illustration.

stored, saith, that a mysterie signifieth a thing vnknowen, and vnspeakable, & which hath in it much admiration, and which is aboue our opinion. The same father when interpreteth the second Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where it is sayd: We speake wisedome in a mysterie, thus writeth: It should be no diuine or perfect mysterie, if thou shouldest abide anie thing of thy selfe. By which woordes it is manifest, howe much they are to be blamed which at their owne pleasure and iudgement ordaine Sacraments, and from that which Christ himselfe hath ordained, plucke awaie what they will. Those woordes of Chrysostome doe manifestlie reprooue them. Neither let them thinke themselues to be anie thing relieued, by saying that he speaketh of that mysterie which is found in the holie scriptures, wherunto he saieth nothing must be added nor taken awaie: For somuch as the Sacraments whereof we intreate are of no lesse weight than the holie Scripture. For they (as Augustine verie aptlie saieth) are the visible woordes of God. Furthermore Chrysostome expounding the place before alleaged saieth, that we in the Sacraments see one thing, beleeue another thing, beholde with our sense one thing, & vnderstand in our mind another thing. Whereof it followeth, that all are not after one and the selfe same maner affected towardes these mysteries. For an Infidell when he heareth that Jesus Christ was crucified, thinketh it to be a thing soliih and of no value. But the faithfull man acknowledgeth in that mysterie, the most high power and wisedome of God. If an Ethnick beare that Christ was raised from the dead, he will thinke it to be a fable. But a Christian not onelie beleeueth that the same was done, but also will not doubt but that he himselfe as a member of Christ shall one daie be raised vp from the dead. Afterward Chrysostome commeth to the visible Sacrament, and saith: If an Infidel see Baptisme, he will iudge that there is but water onely: but the faithfull beholdeth the washing of the soule by the bloud of Christ. And in the Eucharist by the senses is knowen onelie the bread and wine: but the beleeuers referre their minde to the bodie of Christ. Hereunto he appleyeth a similitude of a Booke. For if an vnlearned and rude man that cannot reade a woorde, should light vpon a Booke, he onelie may behold and wonder at the pictures, figures and colours, but the sense and vnderstanding of them, he cannot finde out: but he which is learned, diligentlie from thence either Historyes, or else other things pleasant and worthie to be knowen. Now that we haue declared the interpretation of the Greeke and Hebrew woorde, there resteth that we speake somewhat of the Latine woorde. Among the auncient writers *Sacramentum*, that is, a Sacrament, signifieth a bond which passed betweene men by an othe. Wherefore we are accustomed to saie, *Sacramento cum aliquo contendere*, that is, to contend with a man by an othe, and *Sacramentum militare*, that is, an othe which a man taketh when he goeth to warfare. And perhaps these our mysteries, are therefore called Sacraments, because in them God bindeth himselfe with couenants and promises, being after a sort sealed: and we on the other side binde our selues vnto him. Now then we treate not of a mysterie or Sacrament generally, whereby (as Chrysostome saieth) is signified anie thing that is vnknowen and vnspeakable, which hath in it much admiration, and is beyond our expectation: for after that maner, there are a huge number of Sacraments. For so the Natiuitie of Christ, his Resurrection, the Gospell, the blinding of the Jewes, the calling of the Gentils, and manie other things may be called Sacraments. But we speake of Sacraments after that maner that Paule speaketh of Circumcision.

What signe is.

The diuision of a Sacrament.

The diuision of a signe.

Hebr. 9.4. Things signified are distinguished by their sundrie times.

Gen.9.20.

Iud.6.36.

Esa.38.8.

Exod.28.

2 Now because we haue sufficientlie spoken of the woorde, we will adde the definition of a Sacrament, and this definition is most received. A Sacrament is a visible signe, or visible signe of an inuisible grace. And that is called a signe, which besides the forme which it offereth vnto the senses, bringeth some other thing into our knowledge. And a signe (as Augustine writeth) and the matter of the sentences affirmeth) is diuided into a naturall signe and a signe giuen. Smoke is a naturall signe of fire, and cloudes a naturall signe of raine. But a signe giuen and deuised at our owne will, is diuerse, as Letters, Woordes, Gestures, Beckes, and manie such like. And these signes may pertaine to diuers and sundry sences. But consider that the things which are signified, are either past, present, or to come. The tables of the law, Manna, & the rod of Aaron which were kept, signified things past: for God would haue them to remaine as certaine monuments of things past. Other signes betoken things to come, as the raine bowe in the Clouds, which was giuen in the time of Noe, the fleece of Gedeon, and the shadow of the sunne, which in the time of Ezechias the king, went backward. Sometimes things present are signified, as in the garments of the Priestes, in the apparell of the Leuites, in the ornaments

of Pagistrates, & in the myracles of Christ. For all these signified the present power of God. Our sacraments are visible signes, not in deede of their owne nature, but giuen vnto vs by the will of God: and they pertaine to manie senses. For the wordes which are set forth in the Sacraments, are receiued with the eares, but the notes and outwarde signes are perceiued either by sight or feeling, or smelling, or tasting, bowbeit the matters theselues do make demonstration of things present, and things past, and things to come. For the death of Christ which is now past is represented in them: and so is the promise and gift of God, which in the minde and by faith is presentlie imbraced, and so is the pureries of life, and mortification, and duties of charitie, which are afterward to be performed of vs. By these it is manifest, what maner of signes we account Sacraments to be. But it maie seeme to be better to take the definition out of Paul: namelie to saie, that sacraments are σφραγίδες, that is, sealings vp of the righteousnesse of faith. For they seale the promises, by which (so that faith be advoided vnto them) we are iustified. If a man demaund, what it is that God promiseth vnto vs: to answere briefelie, it is, that he will be our GOD: the which when it comes to passe, saueth vs, and maketh vs blessed and happie. This is the promise, which is by diuerse outward signes sealed in the Sacramentes. And this wee haue in the Booke of Genesis the 17. Chapter, where circumcision is giuen, whereby was confirmed the couenant made betweene God and Abraham. The summe of that promise was (as we haue saide) that God woulde be his God, and the God of his seede. The verie which thing Ieremie also testified as touching the new couenat of the Gospell, where he saith, that the lawes should not onelie be written in the bowels and hearts of the beleuers, but also that GOD would be vnto them their God: and they againe on the other side, should be vnto him his people.

The definition of a Sacrament out of a place of Saint. Rom. 4. 11.

What is the chiefest pointe? is sealed in a Sacrament.

Gen. 17. 10

Ierc. 31. 33.

Sacraments consist of two things.

3 That also we will allowe, which is commonlie said, that the Sacramentes consist of two thinges, namelie, of outwarde signes, which the Schoolemen count for the matter: and of the thing signified, which is chiefelie expressed by the wordes adioyned vnto the signes, whence we maie gather the forme. Which is not so to be vnderstood, as though those things which are signified, are bound to the outwarde signes or lie hidden vnder them: otherwise as manie as should receive the outward elements, should together therewithall receive the things signified. And it is necessarie, that betweene the signe and the thing signified, there be kept some analogie, that is, proportion and conuenience: for if signes had no similitude with those things that are signified, then should they not be signes of them. And yet notwithstanding, with this conformitie is to bee kept a diuersitie betweene that which is signified and those thinges which signifie. Which Augustine most manifestlie teacheth against Maximinus the Arrian, in his third booke, where hee saith, that Sacramentes are one thing, and signifie another thing: whereby oftentimes it commeth to passe, that those things which are attributed vnto the signes, agree in no case with the nature of them, but onelie are to bee referred vnto the things by them signified. And he citeth a place out of the Epistle of John, where this matter is manifestlie shewed: for he saith, that there are three things which beare witnesse, Bloud, Water, and the Spirit, and these three (saith he) are one. This can by no meanes be true, if we haue a consideration to the nature of blood, water, and the spirite: for these indeede are not one (as they vse to speake) in essence, or in kinde. But this verilie agreeth to the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost, which are the thing signified: And that which Augustine here writeth we maie easilie perceiue in the Sacraments which we nowe intreate of, wherein the outward signe and inward matter of the Sacrament haue their properties altribed one to an other. Nowe that I haue sufficientlie spoken of the name, and definition, and also of the matter, and forme of the Sacraments, there resteth to speake of the finall and efficient cause of them. The ends for which the Sacraments were instituted, is, that our minde being ammonished by the senses, might bee stirred vp, and by faith take holde of the promises of GOD: and so be inflamed with a desire to attaine vnto them. For we see, that signes tende to no other end, but to transferre and to imprint those things, which we our selues haue in our mindes, into the minds of an other man: that thereby he maie be made the more certaine of our meaning and will. And this is not commonlie done but in matters of great weight. For if they be but light matters, wee are not accustomed to confirme them with signes: but in things of great importance, they are commonlie vsed. As when princes are confederated, when matrimonies are contracted, when bargainings and giftes, or other like couenaunts of great weight are made: for we desire to haue them

Some thinges are to be kept betweene the signes and the thing signified.

A distinction to be kept betweene the signes and the thing signified.

Many things are spoken of signes which neither are nor agree with the things signified.

A place out of S. Iohn. 5.

to the vttermost witnessed, and to be known, not onelie by reason, but also by the senses.

How manie Sacraments of the newe Testament there be.

2. cap. part 3. pl. 8. 2. 9. &c. Here follow Sacraments excluded.

The efficient cause of Sacraments is GOD.

4 But there can bee no other efficient cause of the Sacraments giuen, but either God, or our Lord Jesus Christ, who also is verilie GOD: and of them ought wee to haue an euident testimonie out of the holie Scriptures. Which is most plainelie declared, by the definition which we haue nowe set forth: for thus we defined them; namelie that Sacraments are signes not in deed naturall, but giuen and that by the will of God. And this his will cannot bee made knowen vnto vs, but onelie out of the holie scriptures. And therfore it is no hard matter to knowe howe manie there are in number in the newe Testament. We see that Christ instituted Baptisme, and the Eucharist: but the other Sacraments with the schole diuines set forth, cannot by the worde of GOD be proued to be Sacraments. We speake not this, as though wee denie that matrimonie is to be had in reuerence, or that the institution of ministers is to be retained still, or y pennance is to be done: although we reiect auricular confession, and other the abuses thereof, and denie it to be a Sacrament, otherwise then we allo doe highlie esteeme those things, but not as Sacraments. Neither mislike we with that confirmation, whereby children when they come to age should be compelled to confesse their faith in the Church, and by outward profession, to approue that which was done in Baptisme when they vnderstode nothing: but yet in such sort, that of such an action wee frame not a Sacrament. But as touching extreme vnction, it is manifest, that it nothing pertaineth vnto vs: especiallie seeing it had no longer anie force, than whilest the giftes of healing were extant in the Church. And for as much as those giftes are nowe long since taken awaie, it were a follie to keepe still a vaine signe thereof. Neither yet did Christ commaund, that this vnction should be perpetuallie vsed in the church. But those other things, which we before spake of, although they maie still be retained with profite, yet are they not properlie Sacraments, either bicause they haue not outward signes, or because they want manifest words of promises: which should by a visible signe be sealed: or else because there is no commaundement of God extant, whereby we are bound to obserue those things. Basilius in his booke *de spiritu Sancto*, where he reckeneth vp the traditions of the Church, maketh mention of the signe of the crosse, wherewith wee ought to defende our selues: and that vpon the Sundaie, and from the resurrection vnto the feast of Pentecost they should worship vpright and standing. Among others also he reckeneth holie vnction. Hereby wee see that this father helde not, that this vnction is had out of the holie Scriptures, which our aduersaries rashlie doe. Further by his words we gather of how great weight it is, since it is accounted but of the same value with those things which haue now long since growen out of vse.

Why baptisme & the Eucharist are the onelie Sacraments of the newe Testament.

Basil receiueth holy vnction as among the Traditions.

The end of Sacraments.

Other effects.

5 Nowe let vs see, what be the effects of the Sacraments. The maister of the sentences, in the fourth booke, in the first Dist. putteth three effectes of the sacraments: for he would, that as men for pleasure sake haue made themselues subiect vnto things sensible and inferiour vnto themselues, so nowe they should for pietie sake doe the same, that of a certaine modestie, or (as they speake) humilitie, they should suffer themselues to be made subiect vnto these visible signes of the Sacraments. But herein he seemeth not to say well. For by the Sacramentes wee are not made subiect vnto creatures, neither ought we to worship them: onelie the minde is there erected vnto God, that man maie be restored vnto his old dignitie: for he is set to be aboue all things, which are seene, and not to be subiect vnto them. The second effect he putteth, to be of instruction, that by the outward signes we should bee instructed of heauenlie things. Which also we vndoubtedlie affirme. Lastlie he saith, that therefore they were instituted, that we should not bee idle: but bee profitablie exercised in true ceremonies, calling awaie superstitions. But this, vnlesse it be declared, is not verie plaine: for we are sufficientlie occupied in beleeuing, praying, reading of the word of God, and doing good to our neighbours. But outward ceremonies, although they be instituted of God, yet without faith they nothing profite: wherefore the exercising of them doeth not of it selfe please God. Howbeit if faith be present superstition can take no place: For faith hath alwaies a regarde vnto the word of God: And so after this maner they maie be called exercises of faith, and of pietie, and bee counted acceptable vnto GOD. But wee will after a better sort, set forth these effectes of the Sacraments.

The effects of the Sacraments.

First we saie, that they instruct vs: which thing is alreadie saide. Secondlie, that they kindle in vs, faith, and a desire of the promises of God. Thirdlie, that they knit vs together in a more straiter bonde of charitie, for that we doe all take vppon vs the selfe-

We are not by the Sacraments made subiect vnto Creatures.

In Sacraments we are instructed as of outwarde things.

They kindle in vs a faith and desire of the promises.

same mysteries. And to those maie two other effectes also be added: for by the sacraments we both are separated from other sectes, and also are admonished to lead an holie life. But touching grace, whether it be given by the Sacraments or no, we shall afterwarde see. These things being thus set downe, there are two things which are contrarie & repugnant vnto the nature of the Sacraments. The first is, if we attribute to much vnto them: for by that meanes is Idolatrie easilie brought in: when that which belongeth vnto GOD onelie, is ascribed vnto a creature. And if at anie time the facraments are faide either to saue or to remitte sinnes, or anie such like things, the same ought to bee vnderstoode, of the thing signified, & not of the signes: for these things onelie proceede of the promise and liberalitie of God, which is sealed vnto vs by visible signes. And oftentimes it happeneth, that both the scriptures & the fathers, seeme to attribute vnto the signes, those thinges which onelie belong vnto the promises. But nowe they which after this maner attribute more than is meet vnto the sacraments, maie be called Sacramentaries, because they put too much affiance in them. The other thing which we faide is repugnant vnto the nature of Sacramentes, is, when we count them to be nothing but bare & naked signes. For by that meanes, they shoulde nothing differ from Tragicall and Comicall significations, and from colours and garments. Neither are they onelie signes of our actions, but also of the promise, and of the will of GOD, and are sealings thereof. And the holie Ghost doth no lesse vse these signes to stirre vp our heartes, than he vseth the words of God which are in the holie scriptures. And hereby also we maie see, that they likewise are against the Sacramentes, which will haue them to be sacrifices: for the nature of a sacrifice is, to bee offered of vs vnto God: but the nature of a Sacrament is, to be offered of God vnto vs. I confesse in deede, that in the celebration of the Supper of the Lord, are contained thankesgiuing, almes, prayers, & other suchlike things, which may haue the consideration of a sacrifice. But we denie, that the verie sacrament of the Eucharist may properly be called a sacrifice: and much lesse is that to be borne withall, which the sacrificing Priests make their boast of, namely, that they offer vp vnto God the body of Christ. Our Lord hath offered vp himselfe, neyther hath he neede of any other to offer him vp.

By the Sacraments we are separated from other sectes.

Two things repugnant vnto Sacraments.

Vnto the sacraments are sometime attributed those things which do belong vnto the thing. Why he faith Sacramentaries

They are not bare signes.

The difference betweene a sacrament & a sacrifice.

The Sacrifices of the Papists offer not vp Christ vnto God the Father.

6 Now that we haue well considered all these things, we neede not manie words to expresse the instrument, whereby the thing of the Sacrament is receiued. For Paul hath most manifestlie declared it, when he said That circumcision is the seale of the righteousnesse of faith: for it is faith, whereby the righteousnesse, which is signified in the Sacrament, is receiued of vs, for neither can our sense or reason thereunto attaine. Augustine, expounding those words of Iohn, Nowe ye are cleane, because of my worde, saith that in the Sacraments do make vs cleane, they haue it of the word of GOD: for if thou take awaie (saith he) from the element, the word, there will nothing remaine but water onelie. The word commeth vnto the element, and it is made a Sacrament. For howe commeth it (saith he) that water toucheth the bodie, and washeth the heart? Ye aunswereth, that the same commeth to passe through the force and power of the worde, not because it is spoken, but because it is beleeued. By these things it is manifest, that faith is it, whereby we receiue cleansing and sanctification. Which thing also is written in the Actes of the Apostles: By faith purifying their hearts. And Paul to the Ephesians saith, that Christ loued the Church, and clensed it with the washing of Water. But there is added, In the word, that is, by the worde: which (as Augustine saith) is vnderstoode to be done, because it is beleeued, and not because it is spoken: for by the pronunciation of the words, are neither chaunged the natures of the signes, nor the benefites of GOD giuen, for so it might seeme an enchantment. Faith (I saie) is the instrument, whereby we receaue the words of God, and let them downe into our mindes. But now touching the manner of administring the sacramentes, there ought none other manner to be brought in than that which Christ him selfe, the author of the Sacraments, hath commanded vnto vs. For if the Iewes durst not deale otherwise in their Ceremonies of the olde lawe, than was prescribed them of God, much more ought wee to obserue those Ceremonies which Christ hath prescribed vnto vs, after the selfe same manner that he prescribed them. Further, for as much as those signes came from the will of God, and of their owne nature signifie nothing: what is more reasonable than to refer al things vnto his will, which hath giue them? But his will can by no other meanes be knowen but by the holie Scripture. And vndoubtedlie no man will presume to alter the letters patents of kings graunts: much more

By what instrument the thing of Sacraments is receiued. Rom.4.11. Iohn.15.3. Augustine

Words vnified by the power of the mouth not because it is spoken but for y⁴ it is beleeued.

Acts.15.9. Ephe.5.26

The benefits of God are not giuen by reason of the worde.

more ought the same to be taken heede of in the Sacraments of God. And the minister by whom these things ought to be exercised, & distributed, although it be conuenient, that he be godlie & of an honest life: (For such a one is to be maintained, & when he behaueth himselfe otherwise, and is knowen so to do, he ought no longer to be suffered) yet though he be wicked, so long as he keepeth still that function, he cannot hurt the Sacraments, so he do those things which Christ commanded to be done. Augustine hath a verie trim similitude, of a pipe of stone, through which water is brought into a garden. For although the Pipe be made nothing the more fertile by meanes of the running through of the water, yet is the garden by it watred, and made fruitfull. The dignitie of the sacraments dependeth not of the minister, but of the institution of God: which the Donatistes not vnderstanding, raised by manie tumultes against the Church. That is true which is commonlie said of liuing creatures, that by a dyed vp member, the spirite of life can haue no passage into the other member. For if the arme be dead and withered vp, the life and spirit cannot come vnto the hand. But in the Church there is no such great coniunction betweene men. For the power of the Sacraments is to vs, as the light of the sunne: which light although it be dispersed through vile and filthie places, yet is it not therefore defiled or corrupted.

The meaning of the Minister beleeth not the Sacraments.

A similitude Aude in 1. Cor. 4. verse 7.

Similitude

7 But the times of the sacramentes we will diuide into two partes: For some were before the comming of Christ, and some after. And these differ the one from the other by outward notes and signes. Neither was that done rashly or without great consideration: for we also (as saith Augustine) doe after one sort signifie things to be done, and after another sort affirme thinges alreadie done, and this doe these two words now pronounced sufficiently declare. But here are two errors to be taken heede of vs: as the same father against Faustus very well admoniseth vs: first, that we thinke not, that though the signes be changed, therefore the thinges also are diuers, or that for as much as the thing is one and the selfe same, therefore the signes ought not, nor can not be changed. For if an housholder may commaund straiter thinges vnto those seruantes whom he knoweth it expedient to be kept vnder with great seruitude, and may lay easier burdens vpon their neckes, whom he will count as his children, why then may not God doe the same towardes men? Physitions also vse according to the diuersitie of

Of Sacraments, some were before the comming of Christ, & some after. They differ one from another by outward and signes.

The Sacraments are both one and the same. Christ hath commanded.

Two errours to be shunned in Sacramentes.

Two similitudes.

the diseases of the sicke persons, to minister diuers and sundry medicines, of all which medicines yet the force is one and the same, namely, to restore health: But whether the signes of the old testament haue now vtterly ceased or no, Augustine answereth in his booke *de vera religione*, that they remaine by interpretation and faith, but are in very deede taken away. But touching the very things themselues, those which were set forth vnto the Elders in their sacramentes, and which are set forth vnto vs in our sacramentes, were one and the same. And if thou demaund, what were those thinges which were common vnto the fathers and vnto vs, it may in fewe words be aunswered, God, Christ, Reconciliation, Grace, Remission of sinnes, and such other lyke matters. These thinges in times past were signified, and set forth to be beleeued in the sacramentes of the old fathers, & the selfe same are in our time signified in the newe Testament, and set forth in our sacramentes. But the signes and symboles, which the fathers vsed, were changed by the comming of Christ: at whose second comming also, those which we now haue, shall in lyke maner be taken away. For when we haue once the fruition of that chiefe felicitie which we waite for, we shall then neede no sacramentes. Further besides the alteration of the signes, are also out of Augustine gathered some other conditions, whereby is declared that our sacramentes are more excellent than were the sacramentes of the forefathers. For ours (saith he) are in power greater, in profit better, in act easier, in number fewer, in vnderstanding more full of maiestie, in obseruation most pure, and in signification most excellent. Those things in deede are great, but yet they alter not the nature of the things signified. Neither cause they, but that our sacramentes and the sacramentes of the old lawe are as touching the substance one and the same. Paul in his Epistle vnto the Romans, sayth, that the Iewes as vnprofitable braches were cut off from the holy tree, and we grafted in their place. And the roote (saith he) caryeth thee, and not thou the roote. Whereby it is manifest, that both we and the fathers as touching the substance of saluation, are in one and the same stocke, and in one and the same roote. So then the better and worthier part of the sacramentes is one and the selfe same. And whatsoeuer difference there is betweene vs and them, the same consisteth wholy in the comming of Christ, past and to come. Wherefore Augustine against Faustus saith, that our sacraments are signes

The Sacrifices of the Papists offer not vp Christ vnto God the Father.

Two similitudes.

How the signes of the old Testament remaine and how they are taken away.

What thinges were common to them & vs.

At the second comming of Christ our signes shall be taken away.

Our Sacraments are more excellent than those of the forefathers

Rom.11.17.

How we and the Fathers are both in one stocke, and in one roote.

The nature of y⁴ things signified is one and the same.

of things now fulfilled, but the sacraments of the forefathers were signes of things to be fulfilled. And vppon the 6. Chapter of Iohn he saith, that in signes, they were diuers from ours, but in signification of thinges, they were both alike.

The fathers extenuate the sacraments of y old fathers.

8 I know in deede and I remember that ỳ fathers are sometimes wont aboue measure to extenuate the sacraments of the olde lawe. Chrysostome in his 27. homilie vpon Genesis denieth, that circumcision any thing profited vnto saluation: but that the Israelites caried it about with them, as a token of gratitude and as a signe and seale, to the end they should not be defiled by mingling themselues with other nations. And in his 39. Homilie he saith: that it was a bridle and a payre of fetters vnto the Iewes, that they should not mingle themselues with other nations. And he affirmeth that God commanded it vnto Abraham and vnto his posteritie, that by an outward signe he might declare, that he was the posterity of him. And for that cause he changed his name. For so doe we also when we take into our possession a beast or bondman: for we giue vnto them a name, and we marke them with our signe or marke. And vppon the same booke in the 40. Homilie, he saith, that the Iewes by circumcision might be knowen. And hereunto may be added Ambrose: for he declareth that circumcision did onely put a difference betweene the posteritie of Abraham and other nations. Howbeit they doe not euery where speake after one maner. For ỳ same Ambrose when he expoundeth that place in the 10. Chap. of the first to the Corinthians: What the olde fathers were baptized in the sea, saith, that their sinnes were not imputed, and that they were without doubt purified. These thinges are of much more excellencie than to be separated, or to differ from other nations. And Augustine against Faustus in his 12. booke and 19 Chapter, expressely saith, that the sea, and the cloud was baptisme consecrated in the bloud of Christ, and by them the sinnes of the Iewes were forgiuen. All which thinges are common with our sacramentes. Further all the schole diuines hold, that circumcisiõ was a remedie against originall sinne: whereby we may perceiue, they holde not, that circumcision was a bare and naked signe. Where may also for y same hereof be brought places of scripture, which teach the selfe same thing. For in the 10. Chapter of the first Epistle vnto ỳ Corinthians, the old fathers are sayd to haue bin baptised, and to haue eaten the selfe same spirituall meate, and to haue drunke the selfe same drinke which we at this day eate and drinke. And againe in the 2. Chapter to the Colossians hee saieth, that wee are circumcised with circumcision not made with hands: And he addeth: by the washing away of the sinnes of the flesh. Where he declareth, that in the signe of circumcision was through Christ giuen the washing away of sinnes. And in the booke of Genesis the 17. Chapter is most manifestly declared, that circumcision was the signe of the couenant, wherein God promised, that he would be the God both of Abraham and of his seede.

Similitude

Augustine confesseth that the Sacraments of the Israelites were the same that ours are, and that we and they haue one Lord, one faith, one baptisme, one spirituall meate and drinke.

Augustine acknowledgeth vnto y olde Fathers true Baptisme.

The schole-Diuines.

That Circumcision was no bare signe.

1.Cor.10.2

Verse.11.

The 1. obiection.

Whether ỳ sacramentes of the old Fathers and ours are all one.

The Fathers speak not of the thing after one maner.

9 But against those thinges which haue bin spoken, is obiected vnto vs out of the 10. Chapter of the first to the Corinthians, that Paul there affirmeth not, that the sacraments of the old fathers were one & the same with ours: but onely writeth this, that the elders and fathers had one and the selfe same sacramentes amongest themselues: and yet many of them shamefully perished, and were destroyed in the desert, although in the sacramentes they had communicated with other godly men. Wherefore they say, that Paul of the lesser, or of the lyke would conclude, that we also if we line wickedlie shall perish, although we be initiated in Christ, and vse the selfe same sacramentes that the elect of God doe. But against this expositiõ the wordes of the Apostle himselfe are most plainly repugnant? for he saith, that the old fathers had in their sacraments the selfe same meate that we haue, that is, Christ. For ỳ same Ambrose thus he writeth, And they dranke of the spirituall rocke following them: and the rocke was Christ. Now if they had Christ, doubtlesse they wanted not the meate of our sacramentes, which cannot be said to be any other thing than Christ. Further we see that the Apostle hath expressly appointed names vnto our sacramentes: for he nameth baptisme, and spirituall meat and drinke. Further if we followe the expositions of our aduersaries, we shall make Paules argument of small force. For he meant to represse the securitie of the Corinthians, which turned to pernicious thoughts themselues saluation. For this cause only, because they were Christians, and partakers of the holy mysteries: although in the meane time they lined lasciuiously, and dissolutely. Wherefore he declareth that God would seuerally punish them, except they repented, as we reade that he punished the fathers of the old testament, when he sundry wayes afflicted them in the desert. And if their sacramentes and ours were not one and the selfe same, Paule concludeth nothing. For the Corinthians mought haue

The 1. obiection.

Whether ỳ sacramentes of the old Fathers and ours are all one.

The fathers vnderstand Christ by the rocke that followed them.

Christ how they had ỳ same meate ỳ we haue.

sayd: yea but our testament is a farre other thing, than was the testament of the olde fathers, & our sacraments are far more excellent than were their sacraments. Wherefore for God will not afflict vs, neither oughteth thou to compare vs with the. By this meanes is Paules argumẽt made of no force, if we take away the similitude and proportion which the things of our sacramentes haue with the things of the sacraments of the olde fathers. Besides also Augustine in his 26. treatise vppon Iohn most plainely teacheth that the olde fathers as touching the spirituall matter had in their sacraments the self same that we haue. In outward forme (he saith) one thing was giuen vnto them, and an other vnto vs: but as touching the thing signified, he acknowledgeth no difference at al. So that the place of the Apostle, which our aduersaries haue by their expositions gone about to wrest from vs, is by these reasons to be defended.

Similitude

Images taken vp in matter of prayer.

10 They obiect moreouer that the fathers in many places say that the sacramentes of the olde fathers were shadowes and Images of that truth which is exhibited in our sacraments. Vnto them we answere, that Images may two manner of wayes be taken. For some are outwardly vaine and voyd, and containe nothing: other Images haue in deede the thing it selfe, but yet intricatly and obscurely if they be compared with other Images more euident. In the second sort we will easily graunt, that the sacramentes of the old fathers were Images and shadowes of ours, not that the olde fathers had not in their sacramentes the selfe same things that we receiue in ours, but because their sacramentes more intricately and obscurely shadowed the same. For the better explication hereof Chrysostome seemeth to bring a very apt similitude, in his Homilie which he made vppon these wordes of Paul: Our fathers were baptised into Moses. And in his 17. Homilie vppon the Epistle to the Hebrewes: Painters (saith he) when they intend to paint a king, first they drawe out the proportion vppon a table with shadowes and darke colors: but yet in such sorte that a man may by these lynes although it be somewhat obscure, easilie perceiue, that the image of the king is there painted, and horsemen, and chariots and such other like, which things yet are not straightway knowen of all men. But afterward, when the Painter hath layd on fresh colors, and hath finished the worke, those things which before by those first lines appeared scarce begunne and rude, are now manifestly and expressly perceiued. Such

Nestorius saith that the Sacraments of the Apostles differ nothing ours are all one as touching the spirituall thing.

Thenames of the sacraments of old & new are put one for another.

(saith he) were the Sacramentes of the olde fathers, if they be compared with ours. By these wordes it is manifest, that Chrysostom was of the opinion, that one and the selfe same thing is represented in our sacraments and in the sacramentes of the olde fathers, although in theirs more obscurely, & in ours more manifestly. But how great a nearenesse there is betweene both these kindes of Sacramentes, Paul seemeth hereby to teach, in that he putteth the names of the one, for the names of the other, and maketh them common to both. For in the 10. Chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinth. he affirmeth, that the olde fathers were baptised, and had one and the same spirituall meate, and one and the same spirituall drinke, which we now haue. And on the other side, to the Colossians, he calleth our baptisme, circumcision: for he saith: that we are circumcised in Christ, but yet with a circumcision not made with handes, by putting off the bodie of the sinnes of the flesh. In which place he ascribeth vnto circumcision, the putting off of sinnes. But they thinke that this maketh against vs, which is read in the viii. Chapter to the Hebrewes, In that he saith, New, he hath abolished that which was before. But that which is abolished and waxen olde, is euen readie to vanish away. Of these wordes they conclude, that the olde Testament is vtterly abolished. And this (say they) could not be possible, if the substance thereof were one and the same with the substance of the new. But these men ought to haue considered, that the substance of the old Testament is not abolished. In deede ceremonies are abolished as touching the outward signes, howbeit the signification of them abideth the selfe same that it was. Iudicial precepts also, although in our dayes they be not all had in vse, yet the summe and principall scope of them, is still retained, namely that sinnes should be punished, and Iustice preserued in common wealthes. But the sense and obseruation of moral precepts, remaineth still perfect and whole, although they no more either accuse or condemne the conscience, to the destruction of the elect.

Col.2.11.

Verse.13. The 1. obiection.

Whether the old Testament be vtterie abolished.

The 4. obiection.

11 But they say that Augustine also is against our opinion. For in his Preface vpon ỳ 73. Psalme, thus he writeth: That the sacraments of the olde Fathers promised a saiour, but ours giue saluation. But by these wordes Augustine meant onely to put a distinction betweene the manor, whereby the Sacramentes of the olde Fathers signified Christ in one sort, and ours in another sort: for they so represented Christ, as him that

should one day come: ours doe so represent him, as now already come. For how could Augustine thinke, that the sacraments of the olde Fathers did by no meanes giue a saui-our, when as he most manifestly testifieth that the fathers in the Manna had the selfe same Christ which we now haue in the Eu-charist. And in his Booke *De nuptijs & concupiscentia ad Valerium*, and other places he oftentimes confesseth, that the olde Fathers were by circumcision deliuered from originall sinne. Bede also vppon Luke affirmeth the selfe same thing, and saieth, that circumcision differed nothing from Baptisme, as touching remission of sinnes, but onely that it opened not the gates of the kingdome of heauen: for to the performance of that, the death of Christ was looked for. Touching this surely, I will not much contend, so that it be graunted, that those fathers being dead, in what place soeuer they were, were in the presence and sight of God in happy state. For they had without all doubt the fruition of God, neither is it to be thought, that they could be forsaken of him in whom they beleeued. But that they were caried by into heauen, before Christ ascended vp, I knowe the Fathers doe denie, neither doe I therein any thing contend against them. But let vs returne vnto that, that these fathers of their owne accord graunt, namely, that circumcision take away originall sinne. Howe then can they say, that Christ by circumcision was not giuen at all? For what remission of sinnes could there be without Christ? The Pastor of the sentences verie absurdly thinketh, that circumcision had the power of remitting of sinnes, but not of conferring of grace, as though forsooth remission of sinnes can be had without grace. They also feigne that the sacraments of the Gospell had their force by the death of Christ, and forasmuch as this death is now accomplished, therefore are they of more efficacie and of more force than the sacraments of the old Fathers: as if whole time, the price of the death of Christ was not yet payed. But this their opinion, whereby they appoint the force of the merite of the passion of Christ, to be but for a time, cannot be but absurde. For of what more force to saue, is the death of Christ nowe that it is already past, than it was in the old time, when it was looked for to come? Undoubtedly, on eche side is required faith, whereby assuredly we doe no lesse comprehend things to come, than we do things past. But if we will say, that God hath a respect vnto the sacrifice of his sonne offered vpon the Crosse, vndoubtedly this was from all eternitie, and before the foundations of the world were laide, ratified, & most fully accepted of him. Of Christ also it is written in the Apocalips: That the lambe was slaine from the beginning of the world. And whereas they say, that circumcision had the power to take awaie originall sinne, from whence I pray you, had it such great power, but from the death of Christ? Doubtlesse our Baptisme so agreeth with circumcision, that Augustine against the letters of Petilianus in his second booke and 72. Chapter, and in other places proueth, that the sacrament of Baptisme ought not to be renued, because circumcision in the old time was not renued, if a man had receaued it of the Samaritanes, and did afterwarde betake himselfe to the sincere Religion of Ierusalem.

Where the Fathers were before Christs ascension.

An error of the Master of the Sentences.

The death of Christ was of efficacie euen before it was performed.

Apoc.13.

Circumcision.

Arguments from Circumcision to Baptisme.

Why Baptisme is not now to be reuiued.

12 But amongst other things, this seemeth not a little to haue moued our aduersaries, for that it is written vnto the Galathians of the ceremonies of the old Fathers, that they were weake & beggerly elements of the world. But these words of Paul are to be vnderstoode of those old sacraments which are nowe abrogated by Christ. Or if this answere like not, then vnderstand Paule so to speake of the sacraments of the olde fathers, as he saw the Iewes at that time vsed them: namelie without Christ or his promise. But the first answere is both truer and plainer for that place. And if a man demaund how it commeth to passe, that the sacraments of the olde Fathers were more in number than ours, this question may be easily answered. Namely that the Church was than beginning, neither did they know so many things of Christ, as are made open vnto vs, nowe that he is come into the world and hath finished the sacrifice so long looked for. Therefore it was requisite that God should at that time by many ceremonies and images shadowe one and the selfe same thing: but there is no need now of such painefull instruction. For (as we haue before said) the signes of the sacraments were therefore giuen, to confirme the promises of God, not as though those promises are not of themselues firme ynough, but that our mindes, being otherwise hard to beleeue, and wauering, should by sensible signes be strengthened. Chrysostome in his 60. homilie vnto the people of Antioch: If (saieth he) our nature had bin vtterly spirituall and without body, spirituall things should haue bin deliuered vs, without corporall signes. Hereby it is manifest, how absurdlie they order the matter which set forth the bible signes of the sacraments to be seens of all men: but the promise which should

Gal.4.9.

How the sacraments of them the Fathers were weake & beggerly elements of the world.

Why many sacraments were in the old time, & but few in the Gospel.

Chrysost.

should be confirmed by those signes, & ought to cleaue vnto our mindes, they both pronounce in a straunge tongue, and secretly mumble vp, that it should not be heard of others. But that the sacraments of the Law, which were so many in number were scales of the promises of God, may by induction be easilie knowen. The Tabernacle and Arke of the Lord sealed the promise, that God would dwell in his people, and that he would be in the middest of them. The consecration of the Priest, and the ornaments of his garments, shadowed Christ the onelie Priest, and the same perpetuall and eternall, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrewes proueth. And of this selfe same promise, Dauid most plainlie maketh mention, when vnder the person of Christ he saieth, Thou art a Priest for euer according to the order of Melchisedech. The sacrifices also foreshewed the oblation of Christ vpon the Crosse. But here some man will peraduenture say: *Ergo* the sacrifices were sacraments. How then doe we say, that there is great difference betweene the nature of a sacrament, and the nature of a sacrifice? So in deede we said before, and now againe constantly affirme it, but thereof it followeth not, but that the consideration of either, may sometimes light vpon one & the same thing. The nature of a sacrifice and a sacrament may concurre in one and the same thing, for there were two things to be considered in sacrifices, first that there was something offered vnto God, and therin consisted the whole strength of sacrifices: secondly that the oblation which was killed and burnt, representeth Christ, which was to be slaine for vs, by whom we should haue God pacified and mercifull. And after this manner we doubt not but that in them was a sacrament. And how all these things were scales of most certaine promises, may easilie be declared by eueric one of them particularlie: as by the obseruation of the Sabaoth, by circumcisio, by choise of meates, by washing and sprinklings of holie water, by the vowe of the Nazarites, by the ceremonie of them that were zealous, by the purification of the childwife after her deliuerie, and by all such like kinde of mysteries. But because we would be briefe, we thought it sufficient to expresse those fewe now mentioned.

How farre they erre which vnduly labour in matter the words of consecration.

An explication of certaine sentence of the old fathers.

Hebr.5. 6. & 7.17. Psal.100.4

The nature of a sacrifice and a sacrament may concurre in one thing.

Two things to be considered in sacrifices.

Whether the Iewes knew not the promise for which they were saued in the Ceremonies. Augustine.

13 But there yet remaineth one doubt: whether the people of the Iewes hauing such sensible ceremonies, vnderstoode also the promises of God, which were by them sealed. Augustine at large intreateth of this matter in his 4. Booke against Faustus, and in his 3. Booke *De doctrina Christiana*, and saieth, that

The doctrine of expecting Messias was common. John.1.45.

the Patriarches and Prophets, and the excellenter sort of men in the olde Testament, being indued with a mightie spirit, knowe verie wel the signification of the ceremonies and of the sacraments: for that they tooke not the signes, for the things, which (saieth he) is a miserable seruitude: but he thinketh that the people and common sort of men vsed these signes as the things themselues, vnderstanding onelie this, that there is one onely God, whom they ought to honour with this kinde of worshipping and seruice. For if there were any which when they knew those to be signes of other things, would yet notwithstanding interprete the after their owne lust, that had bin an error of an vnbridled minde. By this doctrine of Augustine, may be affirmed three kindes of those men which vse signes. For some there are which in verie deede vnderstand what is signified, and therfore sticke not in the signes, but turne their eyes to the things signified. Others vse the signes, but to what they are to be referred, they know not. And this Augustine thinketh to pertaine vnto seruitude. Last of all there be others which are not ignorant, that those things which they vse are signes, but yet notwithstanding they pernerty, and as they lust themselues, interprete them. This is an error, and that not a little hurtfull. As touching the first and the third, I am of the same minde that Augustine is. But in the seconde as touching the common and vulgar people of the Iewes, I doe not so fully assent vnto him, to graunt, that the common people of the Hebrewes knew nothing else of the Sacraments, and ceremonies of the lawe, but that by them they should worship the onelie and true God. For they were taught continually of the Scribes and of the Prieests, and heard daylie the Oracles of the Prophetes. Whereby they might easilie gather, at the least a generall signification of their Sacraments, as well touching Christ, as all other things pertaining to the pureneese of life & holinesse of manners. The doctrine of the loking for Messias was so common amongst them, that as I suppose, it was hidden from none of them all. Philip (as it is written in the Gospell of Iohn) thus spake vnto Nathanael: We found the Messias, of whom Moses and the Prophets haue written. And the common people of the Iewes, being amased at the myracles of Christ, said: We knowe that Messias shall come and teach vs all these things.

This kinds of men which vse signes.

John.4.25.

14 Hereunto also serueth that the Prophets euer taught, that Ceremonies being onelie done outwardlie and without faith, are

Psal.50.13
Esa.1.11.

are displeasaunt vnto God. And that faith, which was required to outward rites, vnlesse it had a respect vnto Christ, although not fullie, yet somewaie, & that at the leastwise generallie: of what force coulde it haue bene? And for asmuch as the Prophetes were so diligent in obtruding, and euerie where beating into their heades the significations of the Ceremonies, doe wee thinke that they taught nothing of Christ? Dauid most plainelie speaketh of sacrifices, that God hath no delight in them. But a sacrifice vnto God (saith he) is a troubled spirite, and a contrite and humble heart. Touching washings and cleansings, Esaie instructeth thē saying, Be ye washed and be yee cleane. Ieremie also, Wash (saith he) thy heart from iniquitie. And Ezechiel sheweth, that by thole waters is signified the power of the holie Ghost, when hee bringeth in GOD, promising that he would powre cleane water vpon them. Touching circumcision also they were verie often admonished in the holie scripture, to circumcise their neckes & their harts. And that they shoulde not thinke, that they were able to doe this of themselues, and by their owne strength, Moses in the 30. chapter of Deuteronomie saith: GOD shall circumcise thine hart that thou maiest loue him. Touching purification and washings of garments, and such other like things, they were thus admonished in Leuiticus the 11. Chapter: I am the Lorde thy God, which brought the out of the lande of Egypt: ye shall be holie vnto me, because I am holie. Touching the Sabboth they were oftentimes told that in it was signified the rest of God, and their sanctification. And if so be all these thinges were so manifestlie and plainelie declared, which no man can doubt, but that vnto thē they were good and profitable, and that it was not possible for them to be ignoraunt that the attainmēt of euerie good thing came through Christ or the Messias: I cannot be perswaded, but that they saw that in there sacraments was signified Christ. Moreouer this also is an other reason, which Esay moll manifestlie teltifieth, that GOD did laie vpon Christ all our sinnes, and that we were healed onelie by his stripes and death: Wherefore seing in the Sacraments mention is made, that GOD by sacrifices is made mercifull vnto vs, they coulde not but call to remembrance the onelie mediator Christ, by whom onelie God is made mercifull vnto vs. Notweit we cannot affirme, that the common sort of Israelites knewe all the mysteries particularlie. Onelie this we saie, that they had a certaine generall knowledge of Christ in the Sacraments of the Lawe, when as otherwise we our selues cannot particularlie render a reason of these Ceremonies. The Apostles haue onelie giuen them set forth vnto vs generallie. And if there haue bene some amongest vs, as Origen, and a great manie other like which haue attempted to frame for euerie particular Ceremonie a proper allegorie, yet haue they in a manner but lost their labour, for their inuentions could bring no profite at all vnto vs: for they most plainelie want the worde of GOD. Neither is it to bee marueiled at, that they so much delighted in such inuentions, for euen as euerie wherе our owne deuices wonderfullie please vs, so in this matter the curiositie of man exceedingly delighteth it selfe.

The Prophets diligent to taught the significations of Ceremonies. Psal. 51.18. Esa. 1.16. Ier. 4.14. Ezc. 36.25. Ier. 4.4. Deut. 10.16 & 30.6. Verse. 44. Esa. 58.13. They were generallie, but not particularlie the ceremonies. The cōsideration of all the Ceremonies.

15 Nowe those things which we haue spoken, most plainelie declare, howe farre the sophistical men haue missed of the marke, which haue affirmed this difference to be betweene the old sacraments and the new, that the olde Sacraments signified grace & Christ onelie, but ours largelie and abundantly exhibite both. For the old fathers (saie they) were holpen by the worke of the worker. For when anie man came with faith and a godly motion of the heart and of the minde vnto these holie seruices, hee had thereby merite. But the worke wrought (as they call it) nothing profiteth them as touching saluation. But in our Sacramentes (they saie) it is farre otherwise, that not onelie faith and the spirituall motion of the minde, which they call the worke of the worker, helpeth vs, but euen the outward sacrament it selfe, and the institution of GOD, which they call the worke wrought, giueth vnto vs both remission of sinnes and also saluation. But I will demaunde of these men, what that is which the outward worke and visible Sacrament exhibiteth vnto vs, that we doe not attaine vnto by faith? If they aunswere it is Christ: as for him we comprehende him by faith: if remission of sinnes, that also we obtaine by faith: if reconciliation, whereby we returne into fauour with GOD, this also we cannot obtayne without faith: if lastlie of all, the increase of grace and of the spirite, neither vndoubtedlie doe we by anie other meanes obtain this, but by faith. What is there then remaining that this worke wrought bringeth? This worde is altogether straunge, neither is it once mentioned of in the holie Scriptures. Neither woulde I at this time haue vsed it, but that I haue to contende against the aduersaries. But peraduenture they will saie: for asmuch as besides faith is also added the outward worke, is there nothing to bee attributed vnto it? Yes vndoubtedlie, I attribute much, when it proceedeth of faith. For I knowe that such worke pleaseth GOD, and that he giueth to recompence manie things vnto such workes. But what maketh that to this present purpose? Did not the old fathers vnto their faith adioyne also these works, whereby they exercised and receiued the Sacraments of their lawe? And thus as touching this point, we see that they had in theirs as manie things which pleased God, as we haue in ours, vnlesse peraduenture they will contende, that the exercising and receiuing of our sacraments, is either a better or nobler worke, than was the exercising and receiuing of the Sacraments of the olde Fathers: which I will not graunt vnto them especiallie, seeing that the perfection of the worke is to bee considered by faith and charitie from whence it proceedeth. Wherefore if Abraham and Dauid had more faith when they receiued their sacramentes, than any weake Christian, when he is baptised or communicateth, who will not iudge but that their worke is more notable and more excellent than the worke of these men? And moreouer as for that kinde of speach which these men so often vse, namely, that sacramentes remit sinnes or giue grace, we doe not easilie admit, vnlesse peraduenture in that sense wherein Paule affirmeth, that the Gospell is the power of God to saluation: and as vnto Timothie, the reading of the holy scripture, is sayd to saue. Which vndoubtedlie is nothing else, but that the might and power of God whereby he remitteth sinnes, giueth grace, and at the end saueth, doth vse these instrumentes and meanes to our saluation. And euen as to bring saluation, he vseth the woordes of the Gospell, and the preaching of the holy scriptures, so likewise toyneth he thereunto the sacraments. For by both of them is preached vnto vs the free promise of God, which if we take hold of by faith, we shall obtaine both saluation and also remission of sinnes. This is the true sense, according to which the fathers must be vnderstood, when they say, that grace is the power of the sacramentes. Which is al one, as if they had said, vnderstanding and sense is the force of speach and of woordes.

The mery of the schoolemen. The power of our sacramentes of no value more noble than were those in the olde time. Whether sacramentes giue grace and forgiue sinnes. Rom. 1.16 1. Tim. 1.6

16 And how vnsafely the schoolemen speak of their tray or let, hereby it is manifest, for that they say, that he putteth not a staye or let, which although he haue not the act either of louing or beliouing, yet obiecteth nothing that is contrarie or opposite vnto grace, namely, the act of infidelitie or of hatred. Then in such case (say they) the sacraments of the Gospel giue grace: But this is nothing else than to attribute vnto creatures the cause of our saluation, and to bind our selues to much to signes and elementes of this world. This ought to be certaine and most assured, that no more is to be attributed vnto the sacramentes as touching saluation, than vnto the word of God. Wherefore if sometimes we heare (as Augustine also saith) that our sacramentes are better than the sacramentes of the olde fathers, this ought to be vnderstanded, that it be referred vnto perspicuitie. For we graunt that our sacramentes, both speake and preach more plainely of Christ, than do the sacramentes of the olde fathers. Now then seing we are more clearely and plainly instructed, faith is more fuller, and bringeth vnto vs more grace and spirit. And we gladly admit that which the same Augustine saith: That sometimes it commeth to passe, that the sacrament is received without y matter it self. For so the wicked and infidels vsing the sacramente receaue only the outward signes, and are vtterly voide of saluation and of grace. Sometimes also it contrariwise happeneth, that the godly being excluded by any necessitie from the vse of the sacraments, yet are in no wise destraude of the matter it self, and of the thing signified. Neither let any man here lay to our charge that we affirme that sacramentes depend of our faith: for neither teach we any such thing: yea rather we affirme that the sacramentes are sacramentes, although thy faith be either weake or none at all. And Augustines iudgement is very good concerning him, which onely carnally receaueth the sacrament, when he saith: It doth not therefore cease to be spirituall, but vnto them it is not spirituall. And now at length to make an end, we muste neuer come to this point, to thinke that grace and our saluation is conteined in the sacramentes, as in bagges, which may be powred out vpon the communicantes and receuers. For the sacramentes are as certain messengers of our saluation which who so giueth credite vnto, obtaineth saluation. And thus much hitherto haue I sufficiently spoken of sacramentes in generall.

The worke wrought of a minde beleeuing in the promises. Of the schoolemens tray or let.

No more must be ascribed vnto the Sacraments than vnto y word of God. In what respect our sacraments are better than those of the old fathers. Sometime the Sacrament is receiued with our thing, & sometime the thing without the sacrament.

Grace tied not bound vpon sacramentes as were in times past. Luke In Gen. 17

As touching the preposterous vse of the Sacraments, looke part 4. pl. 16. Art. 27. & 28. & in 2. Kings. 5.

Of Circumcision.

17 Now remaineth for vs to speake somewhat of Circumcision. For the better vnderstanding

what circumcision is saide to haue had remission of sinnes.

standing whereof we haue spoken these thinges the more largely and with more wordes. But here we shall not neede so long a treatise, for if we remember all those things which haue generally bin spoken of sacramentes, it shall be no hard matter to understand all that which may be spoke of circumcision. And circumcision (not to goe from the wordes of the Apostle) was the seale of the righteousnesse of faith, because it preached and confirmed the promise concerning righteousnesse, which the olde fathers received by faith. And hereof it followeth, that the old fathers had by it remission of sinnes. For seeing that righteousnes consisteth chiefly in the remission of sinnes, whosoeuer beleeues the promise set forth and by circumcision sealed, it followeth of necessitie that he was partaker of the remission of sinnes. Some demaund whether circumcision, and baptisme which succeeded circumcision, bring remission onely of those sinnes which are alreadie past, or also of those which are afterward committed. Let these men consider, that the vse of circumcision and of baptisme is not for a time but perpetuall. For as the faithfull oftentimes faile, so when they forthwith come againe vnto themselues, they thinke vpon the promise of the Gospel, which is as touching the remission of sinnes. Wherein also euen for this cause they are confirmed, for that they remember themselues to be either baptised or circumcised, and so by putting to of faith, they are deliuered from sinnes, and are reconciled vnto God. Hereby it is manifest, how they were in the olde time deceaued, which would not be baptised, but euen when death approched, and that they were in a manner giuing vp the ghost. Neither let any man thinke, that this is repugnant vnto the keyes of the Church, whereby the penitent are receiued. For, that they may the better vnderstand the matter, this they must neuer graunt, that those kaies of the Church are nothing else, but the preaching of the Gospell, whereby the ministers doe perswade the beleeuers that their sinnes are forgiuen them. But they which are to be perswaded, are by the benefite of the holy ghost perswaded, and their faith concerning the promise is also hereby confirmed, for that they call to memorie the signe of baptisme or of circumcision, which in times past they receiued. And Paul when he sayd, For the remission of sinnes going before, meant that iustification when it is applied vnto vs, alwayes putteth away those sinnes which we haue before committed. Yet it letteth nothing, but that the promise of the remission of sinnes, and sealing thereof, may oftentimes with profit be called to our memorie. But so oftentimes as sinne is so forgiuen, it followeth of necessitie, that the same sin went before: Howbeit it which we speake of, tendeth to this, to declare, that the vtilitie of sacramentes is not for a time, but pertaineth to the whole course of our life. Circumcision differed from our sacramentes, for that it was the beginning & first step and visible enterance to the couenant of God. And what maner of men the vncircumcised were accounted to be, the Apostle declareth in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Remember (saith he) that ye were sometimes Gentiles in the flesh, which were called vncircumcision of them which are called circumcision in the flesh made with handes: ye were ye say sometimes without Christ, aliantes from the common wealth of the Israelites, straungers from the couenauntes of the promises, without hope in the world, and without God. And in the Epistle to the Philippians he teacheth, which is the true and spirituall circumcision. For we (saith he) are circumcision, which serue the Lord in spirit, and glory in Christ, and haue no confidence in the flesh. And to the Colos. he writeth: In whom (saith he) ye are circumcised with circumcision not made with handes, by putting off the sinfull body of the flesh. By which place we see (as we haue before also noted) that forgiuenesse of sinnes is to be put as well in circumcision as in baptisme. Wherefore Augustine in his booke against Iulianus the Pelagian, (in that part wherein he heapeth by a great many of authorities of the fathers) refelleth the Pelagians by these wordes of the Apostle, for that notwithstanding they denyed originall sinne, yet they baptised their infantes: for seeing they affirmed that in them is no sinne, how could that baptisme (as Paule saith) be circumcision not made with handes, by the putting off of the sinfull flesh? These places of the Apostle serue very much to expounde the meaning and nature of circumcision. In Deut. the 10. Chapt. the Lord saith: Thou shalt circumcise the vncircumcision of thine heart, neither shalt thou harden thy neck. In steed of vncircumcision the Chaldey interpretour hath, Tephashoth, that is, foolishnesse: thereby signifying, that the first ground of sinne herein consisteth, that we are blind to all thinges pertayning to God, and that we are in all heauenly things blind and want the knowledge of God. The 70. interpretours haue σκληροκαρδίαν, that is, hardnesse of heart. The promises which are offered vnto the that are circumcised, are those

Rom.4.11.

Why eithes remission behad of sinnes to come.

The errour of them which would not be receiued baptised but at the houre of death.

What the keies of the Church be.

Ephe.2.11.

Phil.3.3.

Who be the true spirituall circumcision.

Colos.2.11.

Circumcision or no reasonable thing.

Diuine thinges must not be iudged according vnto our worldly sight. 1.Kings. 5. 11.

Deut.10.16

Exo.25.25.

The first ground of sinne.

The wordes which circumcision is of great weight.

The promises made vnto circumcision.

those, that God is made our God, & the God of our seede: in which onely thing we haue the some of plentie, that is, the summe of all good things. Hereof also springeth our felicitie, and consolation in all affliction. They were thereby also put in minde of the mortifying of the flesh: that is, of the cutting away of superfluous pleasures. And moreouer by it they professed true religion. And briefly thereby was signified the couenant made with God. Where were the thinges signified, and the matter of this sacrament, and doe pertaine truely vnto the nature and substance thereof.

Why circumcision was commanded of the part of generation.

18 Now are there two thinges remaining to be discussed. The one is, why circumcision was commaunded to be marked in the member of generation: the second, why it was commaunded to be done the eight day. Out of Augustine in diuers places we gather, that therefore God would haue it so to be, to put vs in minde, that originall sinne, is by generation drawen from the parentes vnto vs, and that euen as the foreskinne being cut off in the parent, doth notwithstanding return againe in the childe which is begotten, so originall sinne being remitted vnto the parentes, budded vp again in the childe which are brought forth. We are thereby also admonished (which we haue now oftentimes said) that the league of God pertaineth not onely vnto vs but also to our children which we beget. Finally by that signe was chiefly signified, that Christ should spring of the seede of Abraham. Neither ought we here to follow our owne sense or humane reason, to thinke that to be a thing ridiculous or of small force, which God himselfe hath instituted. For otherwise the crosse of Christ and the Gospel are an offence vnto the Iewes, and foolishnesse vnto the Gentiles. Neither ought we to iudge of thinges diuine according to that which is shewed outwardly. Otherwise Iulianus and Celsus made a laughing matter, that the apple was forbidden our first parentes. And Naaman the Syrian thought it a ridiculous thing, that he should be seuen times washed in the riuer of Iordan. Neither doubt I, but that there were some which derided Moses, when he cast the wood into the bitter waters, to heale their bitternesse. In our dayes also, bery many maruaile, how it commeth to passe, that the stealth of one halfpeny bringeth eternall destruction. But these men ought to remember, that these thinges are not to be considered accopding to their owne force: but vnto them must be added also the weight of the word of God, which vndoubtedly is of so great weight, as it weyeth heauier than the whole world. Neither is there any thing so vile and abiect, but that whē the word of God is added thereunto, it is made notable and excellent. In deede kinges and princes of this world haue a care to haue goodly and honorable seales. But as touching the promises and giftes, which are by them sealed, they oftentimes deceaue men. But God when he vseth euen the most abiect signes, neuer deceaueth any man. Now will I speake in a word or two of the consideration of the eight day. The Hebrewes affirme, that such is the dignitie of the seuenth day, that of it all thinges obtaine (I know not what) force and strength. Wherefore they thinke, that after the seuenth day there commeth into the infant newly borne so much strength, that he is able easily to abide the paine of circumcision. But let vs leaue vnto them such fained toyes, and let vs rather thus thinke, that in the eight day was betokened the resurrection of Christ, and therewithall ours. Which may easily be perceaued by Paul: for he saith, that in circumcision was signified the cutting off of the sinnes of the flesh. But the sinnes of the flesh can neuer be perfectly cut off from vs, vntill we are come to the holy resurrection. All the whole time of this world, and the time of this whole life, representeth a weeke of dayes. But the eight day signifyeth the resurrection. There is moreouer an other reason not to be contemned, namely, that a child being so newly borne, is able to doe nothing of himselfe as touching the attainment of righteousnesse. Wherefore hereby we be admonished that iustification commeth not of our workes. And although it were so in the right of circumcision, yet are not we in baptisme bound to any certaine number of dayes. For Christ hath made vs free from this kinde of obseruation. Howbeit there haue bin some, which haue gone about in baptisme also to compel Christians vnto the eight day. But those the counsell held by Cyprian, hath condemned.

The eight day betokened the resurrection of Christ. Col.2.11.

The whole time of this life representeth a weeke.

In Baptisme we are not intoyned to any certaine number of dayes.

19 Circumcision was for a time obserued in the Primitiue Church. And Augustine vpon the Epistle to the Galathians saieth, that not euery circumcision after Christ was condemned, but onelie that circumcision where in was put a hope of saluation: but that circumcision, which was receiued for this cause onelie, to retaine peace in the Church, and the more to aduaunce the preaching of the Gospell, mought well be borne withall. For this cause Paul suffered Timothie to be circumcised. But if it be required to be doone as

Circumcision might in y primitiue Church be retained for a time.

Act.16.3.

necessarie vnto saluation, it is by no meanes to be permitted. And therefore Paul earnestly resisted and would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, as it is in the Epistle to the Galathians. They say that euen now verie many Churches in the East or in ỹ South retaine still to this day Circumcision together with Baptisme. How rightly they doe it, let them see vnto that. Doubtlesse it is most likelie, that, forasmuch as they haue retained it so long, and that so stiffe, they put some hope of their saluation in it. Wherefore they should doe much better, if they would vtterly omit it. But it shall be god, in the meane time to declare howe Paul to the Galathians saieth, That he which is circumcised is debter to obserue the whole lawe. For when Abraham receiued circumcision, the lawe was not yet giuen. Wherefore it seemeth that circumcision had not that of his owne force, and nature, to binde men to obserue the law. But we ought to remember, that that which the Apostle saith, proceedeth out of another principle: namely that circumcision represented Christ as to come, and as to giue himselfe vpon the crosse: and the lawe should so long be of force, vntill Christ came. Seeing then by circumcision they testified that he was not as yet come, it must needes follow, that they were kept still vnder the law, seeing the lawe could onelie by the comming of Christ be abrogated.

Gal. 2. 3. That many Churches of the Christians doe still retaine circumcision.

Gal. 5. 3. Why Circumcision bound men to obserue the whole Lawe.

Gal. 4. 4.

20 And with how great an obseruation God would haue that sacrament to be kept, hereby it is manifest, for that in the Booke of Genesis the 17. Chapter he testifieth: That the soule which is not circumcised the eight day should be cut off from his people. Ambrose in his booke of Abraham the Patriarch, seemeth to wonder at this so great severitie. For God (saieth he) appointed Cities of refuge, that if any had by chaunce or vnwares killed a man, he mought haue a place whither to goe, that the friends and kinsfolkes of the partly slaine should not kil him, so that he had not of set purpole and willingly, but by chance and vnwares committed the murther. Wherefore seeing infants did not by their owne will refuse circumcision; what reason was there why they should be cut off? He answereth, that therefore peraduenture God would haue the children to be depriued of their corporall life, that in them parentes might be punished for their impietie. But he saieth, that there were others which were of the opinion, that this sentence pertained not vnto the infants: but vnto those, in whose power they were, as if it had bin saide, that they should be cut off. But the verie wordes of the Scripture are against this opinion: wherefore he turneth himselfe to an allegoricall exposition, as though that threatning shoulde pertaine to those, which circumcise not the mind which is the strongest and most excellent portion of the soule. But such allegories satisfie not this question. Wherefore it seemes to me that two things may well be applied to the absoluing of this doubt. The first is, that that threatening pertained vnto him when he came to full age, if he shoulde then allowe the negligence of his parentes and not receiue circumcision, vnto the which he was by the lawe bounde. The second is, that God is not to be accused of iniustice, if sometimes hee killed the infant being so brought vp vncircumcised. For such severitie mought be of force to admonish men, in how ill part God taketh it, to haue his sacraments contemned. And if peraduenture thou demaund what is to be iudged of the soule of a child so killed, hauing not as yet receiued the sacrament: I answer, that we either as touching his saluation or condemnation, can affirme nothing on either side. For if he pertained to the number of the elect, so that he was predestinate to eternall life, there is no cause but that he may be saued: forasmuch as grace is not bounde vnto sacraments. But if he were a vessell to that ende made of God, to shewe forth in him his wrath, and so to be condemned, what can we complaine of the severitie of God, especially seeing we are all borne the children of wrath, and of condemnation? Howbeit in my iudgement we ought to hope well of him. For seeing the promise was giuen vnto the seede of Abraham, and he being an infant hath not by any actual sinne of his owne withdrawen himselfe from the promise, it is most likely that he is admitted to the kingdome of God. Neither ought we to thinke, that he was slaine of God to eternall condemnation, but rather to saluation, that wickednes should not change his heart: and that by his death he might testifie vnto his parents and elders, and vnto others, how grieuous thie they sinned in neglecting his circumcision, & might profit the whole Church, carying in him a token of the wrath of God against the contemners of the sacraments. Moreouer it is no hard thing to be beleeued that godlie men which lined before circumcision was instituted, had other certaine notes, whereby their righteousnesse which was had by faith, was sealed. For we reade, that they both offered first fruites and also sacrificed: but by what signe, they noted their first regeneration, the holy Scriptures doe not teach.

Gen. 17. 14. Howe it is meant that the soule which is vncircumcised shalbe cut off.

Exo. 21. 13. Deut. 19. 2.

Iosh. 5. 2. Why Circumcision was geuen vnto the Israelites.

What sorte of children may be iudged by circumcision to be without circumcision.

21 And

21 And the Hebrewes in circumcising of their children vsed a knife made of a stone: which neuerthelesse God commanded not. But they were moued so to doe, by the example of Ziphora the wife of Moses, which vsed such a knife in circumcising of her sonne, when he was in daunger to haue bin slaine of the Angell. And although this sacrament was diligently obserued and kept among the Iewes, yet it spred abroade also to forraine Nations. For if we may giue credite to Ambrose in his seconde Booke of Abraham the Patriarch: the Egyptians, Arabians, & Phœnicians are circumcised. And he thinketh that they did it, because they thought that by such first fruites of their bloud, are driuen away euill spirits, to the end that they should not hurt him which is circumcised. So the Diuell hath alwaies gone about to corrupt the sacraments of God. For it was superstition to ascribe the power of saluation or of the deliuerie from Sathan, vnto the nature of bloud shed forth. And at this daie ỹ Iewes seeme not to be farre from this kinde of fonnesse. For while they circumcise the infant, there standeth one by with a little fell full either of earth or of dust, wherevnto they thrust the foreskinne being cut off: as though ỹ diuell might seeme by that meanes to haue his meate. For the Lord said vnto ỹ serpent euen straightway at the beginning: Vpon thy breast shalt thou creepe, and earth shalt thou eate. They seeme to thinke that the diuell hauing thus gotten his meate, departeth from the childe and will not trouble him any more. Amongst the Ethnicks also, as the same Ambrose affirmeth, was circumcision corruptly obserued after another manner. For the Egyptians circumcised, not in the eight day as God had commanded, but in the 14. yeare, in so much as Ismael at that age receiued circumcision. Which maner also it is most likely that the Arabians followed. For at this day the Turkes are likewise circumcised at that age: although the Egyptians, as the same Ambrose affirmeth, were wont also to circumcise their women kinde, and that in the 14. yeere, as they did their male children. And for the same they vsed this reason, because they might signifie thereby, that lust must be restrained, which in both kindes at that age beginneth very much to be kindled. But God commanded that onely the male kinde should be circumcised. And yet were not the women of ỹ Hebrewes therefore counted either strangers from the Church, or from the couenant. For they are alwayes numbred together with the men. They that are vnmaried, with their fathers; and the married, with their husbands.

Whether the matter of circumcision were of stone.

Exod. 4. 25.

Circumcision was vsed also among other Nations.

The deuill endeuoureth to corrupt the sacraments of God.

A fonde sentence of the Rabbins of circumcising of children.

The Egyptians circumcised not their children vntill the 14. yeare.

Gen. 17. 25

The Egyptians circumcise their women at the age of 14. yeere.

Why the women of the Hebrewes were not bounde to circumcision.

That before circumcision there were sore Signes of the same.

22 Where haue bin some, which by deceitful arguments haue spoken ill of circumcision, & after a sort reproued the God of the olde Testament. For first they said, that the foreskinne which was cut off, is either according to the nature of the body, or else it is against the nature thereof. If it be according to the nature, why would God haue it to be cut off? If it be against ỹ nature, why doeth God suffer it to growe? Ambrose in his 77. Epistle to Constantius answereth, that that foreskinne is according to the nature of our bodie: but it is not absurd, that those things which are agreeable with our body, or our flesh be cut off, if the spirit may thereby bee holpen. Which wee perceiue to be done in fastings and other mortification of the flesh, and in bearing of the Crosse, which God hath laide vpon all the faithfull. In which we are compelled to suffer many things against the flesh. Further they say that God feared awaie the other nations from the law of Moses, when he laide vpon them this yoke of circumcision. Which if it had bin away, manie strangers and outward nations would haue come vnto the religion of the Hebrewes. But after ỹ selfe same maner also, they might cauill against Christ himselfe, for that he seemed to fraie away the world from his religion: partly by reason of ỹ severitie of his doctrine, and partly by reason of the persecutions and Martyrdome, which in the first time, the most part of the faithfull were like to suffer. But they which truely pertaine to the number of the elect, doe in no wise start backe for the difficultie of the calling. But they which goe backwarde were not of vs, and therefore they are fallen awaie. They marvell also, why God woulde in so tender an age, haue such a ceremonie exercised, which might oftentimes bring weake little bodies into daunger. As touching age (saieth Ambrose) As euery age is subiect vnto sinne, so likewise it is meete for the sacrament. And that Infants are subiect vnto sin, their diseases, woepings, paines, and deaths abundantly declare. And if peraduenture they were brought in daunger of their life; yet was there no cause why they should complaine, forasmuch as they ought the same all wholly vnto God. And yet as they write, verie fewe haue by that occasion died. And that paine and daunger brought some vtilitie. For euen as valiant coulours when they remember that they haue before suffered many things, for that they should not flie awaie, are the more animated to stande by it, least they should dishonour those scarres and wounds

A cauillation against circumcision.

Why God would haue them to be circumcised being yet Infants.

That euerie age is meete for a Sacrament.

Why God would the children to be subiected, with such a wound and with paine.

which they before suffered, rather than they would forsake their place and standing. So would God that the Hebrewes being now of full age and at mans state should defend the profession of their lawe, euen against all daungers, when they called to remembrance that for religions sake, they had bin wounded euen from their infancie. But nowe he saieth, Circumcision is worthily refused of Christians. For that seeing Christ hath shed his bloud, the price of our redemption, there is now no neede that euery particular man should priuately shed his owne blood. And as touching the Sacrament of Circumcision, these things we thinke sufficient for this present purpose.

The eight Chapter.

Of Baptisme, Baptising of Infantes, and holinesse of Infants.

In Rom.6. ver.5. A large and ample definition of Baptisme. Like In 1.Cor. 1.17.

BAptisme is a signe of regeneratiō into Christ, into his death, (I meane) and resurrection: which succeded in the place of Circumcision, consisting of the fountaine of water, in the worde: wherein in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghost, remission of sinnes and shedding out of the holie Ghost is offered, and by a visible Sacrament, we are grafted into Christ & into the Church: and the right vnto the kingdome of heauen is sealed vnto vs, and wee on the otherside professe that wee will die vnto sinne, and from thence forwarde liue vnto Christ. That the members or parts of this definition may the better be vnderstood, we will plainelie set them forth. First it is called a signe which worde that it is common vnto Baptisme and vnto all the Sacraments it is proued hereby, because Paul in the Epistle to the Romanes taught that Abraham after he was iustified did receiue Circumcision, being a seale of the righteousnesse alreadie obtained. And what thing Baptisme sealeth, is sufficientlie expressed, seeing it is called the signe of regeneration. For Christ manifestlie enough taught Nicodemus in the thirde Chapter of Iohn, that they which will be saued must bee borne againe. That Baptisme is a signe of this regeneration, Paul teacheth vnto Titus, saying: According to his mercie he hath saued vs by the fountaine of regeneration. And seeing that regeneration is a certaine changing: that we maie the better vnderstande what it is, first must bee declared the ende wherevnto it tendeth. And therefore we added: Into Christ, because the faith, the indeuors, and life of those that be regenerate, haue respect vnto no thing else, but wholie to passe into Christ. And seeing that all things which Christ did for our saluation, are comprehended in his death and resurrection: therefore in this definition we put, That we must be baptised into his death and resurrection. Which also Paul teacheth: For thus he writeth: Knowe ye that all wee that are baptised into Christ, are baptised into his death. And straightwaie hee maketh mention of the resurrection. But that baptisme succeded in the place of Circumcision, the Epistle vnto the Colossians teacheth. Since then Circumcision was onelie once giuen vnto each one, and that euerie one hath but one onelie nativitie, thereof it commeth that baptisme must not bee renewed. Which is also done to that end: that the holie Ghost will haue vs fullie perswaded, that after baptisme we ought no more to returne to our olde life, as though an other regeneration might bee graunted vnto vs. For if anie should so thinke (as we read in the Epistle to the Hebrewes) he shoulde tread vnder foote the bloud of the sonne of GOD. Paul therefore vnto the Ephesians saith, One spirite, one faith, one Baptisme. And that it consisteth of the fountaine of water and of the worde, we are taught out of the Epistle to the Ephesians in these words: Euen as Christ also loued the Church, and gaue him selfe for it, that he might sanctifie it, being made cleane by y fountaine of water through the word. This is the nature of sacraments, that they consist of a signe, an outward element, and of the worde of God. Manie ecclesiasticall writers, treating of Baptisme, set forth the praises and commendations of Water. But here I rather praise the simplicitie of Christian religion, which hath Sacraments annexed as in number fewe, so most easie to be celebrated. And as touching the signes: we haue nothing but bread, Wine and Water, which are euerie where vsuall, and easie to be had. Doubtles the mysteries of Idols were celebrated with great coste, and were verie sumptuous: but Christ in outward things alwaies followed great simplicitie. Albeit the Deuill also as he imitateth God, would sometimes also haue water to be ioyned with his seruices: As

Tit.3.5.

An explication of Regeneration.

Rom.6.3.

Verse.4.

Col.2.12.

Why Baptisme ought not to be renued.

Heb.10.29

Verse.19. The forme prescribed by Christ in Baptisme.

Ephe.4.5.

The figures of the Ceremoniall Sacraments are most easie to be celebrated.

The ceremonies of the Papists were farre more.

The deuill sometime imitateth the Baptisme of God.

As in the mysteries of Mitra and Isis. And the Romans in the playes of Apollo and Pelusius besprinkled the Citie with water: For by that meanes they thought it to be perfectlie cleansed from periuries, murthers, iniuries and publike crimes. And such as had committed murther, did with great diligence seeke after purging waters. But omitting these thinges, this we ought to consider, that the signe in Sacramentes should haue an affinitie and similitude with the thing that is signified. Wherefore seeing that water washeth awaie the filthinesse of the body, maketh the earth fruitefull, and quencheth thirst, it aptlie signifieth remission of sinnes, the holie Ghost whereby god workes are made plentifull, and also grace which refresheth the anguishes of the minde. Neither did the Prophetes in the old Testament otherwise prophesie of the giuing of the holie Ghost in regeneration. Ioel saith, that God would powre cleane water vppon the sonnes and daughters of the Iewes. And Esaie saith: All ye that thirst come vnto the waters. And the olde Hebrewes are saide by Paul to haue beene baptized in the red sea, and in the cloude.

What Antiquitie hath vsed in Baptisme.

Ioel.2.28.

Esa.55.1.

1.Cor.10.2

2 But what manner of worde it is that ought to be ioyned to the element of water, we haue noted: namelie, wherein, In the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghost remission of sinnes, &c. Into this promise our faith is sealed: and as Tertullian saith: the Sacrament of Baptisme is the garment of this faith. Whele verie expresse words are deliuered by Christ in the last Chapter of Matthew. Neither can I perswade my selfe, that the Apostles changed this forme of words, although Ambrose of that thing thought otherwise: It sufficeth vs at this present, that by the element and by the word of GOD wee haue a manifest testimonie of our regeneration & saluation. For euen as there be three things (as saith Iohn) which beare witnes of Christ: the spirite, bloud, and water, (For the father which is signified by the spirite, the Sonne which is declared by blonde, and the holie Ghost which is noted by water, doe beare witnesse of his diuinitie: and of his true humane nature the spirite is a witnesse, which vpon the crosse he commended to his father, and also the blond and water which flowed out of his side) so haue we a testimonie of the holie Ghost, that we be the children of God. And we haue the remission of sinnes by the bloode of Christ, set forth in the worde of promise, and the water out wardlie powred vppon the bodie. For by these witnesses, our faith is both raised vp and also confirmed, because we are regenerate and nowe made the children of GOD. There is offered vnto vs remission of sinnes, in the name of the Father and of the Sonne and of the holie Ghost. And yet ought wee not to thinke that it is giuen by reason of the worke wrought as they vse to speake: as though a holinesse, or the spirite laie hidden in the water, and that it can regenerate vs by the outwarde touching. For it is not so, but by the worde of GOD, and outwarde signe is signified vnto vs our reconciliation with God made by Christ: vppon which reconciliation if we laie holde by faith, wee are both iustified and also sanctified. Wherefore Augustine vpon Iohn saith: Frō whence cōmeth this so great a vertue vnto the water, that it thoulde touch the bodie and wash the heart, vnlesse the word wrought it: not in that it is spoken, but if that it is beleeued.

Tertullian

Verse.19. The forme prescribed by Christ in Baptisme.

The three witnesses of Iohn.

But in Infants which by reason of age cannot yet beleeue, the holie Ghost worketh in their heartes in the stead of Faith. The effusion also of the holie Ghost is promised in baptisme, as it is expresselie written in the Epistle to Titus, Who hath saued vs by the fountaine of regeneration and renewing of the holie Ghost which he hath plentifully powred vpon vs.

The worde is effectuall not yet beleeuing, because it is spoken, but beleeued. The holie Ghost worketh in the stead of faith.

Tit.3.5.

3 Neither are these two things in such manner offered vnto vs in Baptisme, as though we in no wise might haue them before baptisme. For it cannot be denied, but that they which bee of full age, if they beleeue, are iustified euen before they be baptised. For so Abraham beleeued and was iustified: and after that hee receiued the seale of Circumcision. And Cornelius the Centurion when hee had heard Peter and beleeued, was not onelie iustified, but also visiblie receiued the holie Ghost. Neither would we baptise Infants, but that we suppose y they alreadie pertaine vnto the Church and vnto Christ. And yet are not such baptised in vaine. For we must obaie the commandement of GOD, which if anie man should contemne, though hee boast neuer so much of his faith, yet should he sufficientlie declare, that hee neither beleeued, nor is iustified, nor yet hath receiued remission of sinnes. Furthermore, although they beleeue, yet when these promises are againe offered, & that by the appointment of the Lorde, and they though faith and inklinct of the holie Ghoste, doe effectuallie take holde of them, the benefites of God cannot but be increased in them. And why the holie Ghost is powred into the heartes of them that be regene-

The thinges offered in Baptisme are also had euen before Baptisme. Rom.4.11. Act.10.44.

In Baptisme the gifts which are had before, are increased.

Why the holy Ghost is powred into the heart when we be regenerate.

rate, this is the reason: Because they must be made men againe, and their stonie heart (as the Prophete saith) must be turned into a heart of flesh, which is not possible to bee done by mans reason. And that we are by the visible sacrament grafted into Christ & into the Church, is first declared out of Paul. For Paul saith that they which are baptised are grafted into Christ. And in the first to the Corinthians the 12. Chapter. By one spirit (saith he) all we are baptised into one bodie. And that this bodie is the Church, he teacheth at large in the same Chapter. We added [in the definition] by a visible Sacrament, because so some as we be justified, we are verilie in minde and in spirite, grafted both into Christ and into the Church. But because that is unknowen unto men, it is afterward knowen when we are entered by the outward sacrament.

Ezc.36.26.
By Baptisme we are visible grafted into Christ, and into Church
1.Co.12.13

By Baptisme the right of eternall life is sealed.

4 Also the right way unto eternall life is sealed unto us by baptisme. So some as we be justified, we have it given unto us: and it pertaineth unto us by right, not of desert, but of the liberall gift of God: and by baptisme it is sealed. As the giftes of kings so some as ever they be graunted unto us, doe without doubt pertaine unto us: but afterwarde are sealed, that the will of the king, if it be needfull maie be testified unto others. Neither is this part, to wit, The right unto eternall life, so to be understoode, as though they ought to be excluded out of the kingdome of heauen which were not baptised. For if they beléeued, and that there was no let in them that they were not baptised, there is no doubt of their saluation. For Christ saith: He that beleeueth in mee hath life euerlasting, And in an other place, although he saie: that he which beleeueth and is baptised shall be saued, yet straight waie he added: He which beleeueth not, shal be condemned. By which words he gaue us to understande that baptisme is not of such necessitie, but that a faithfull man maie be saued without it: so that there happen therein no contempt no; disobedience. The Schoolemen also confesse that besides the baptisme of water, the godlie are sometimes baptised with martyrdome, and with the inspiration of the holie Ghost, so much as sufficeth vnto saluation. Christ also called death it selfe, Baptisme: when he said that he should bee baptised with an other baptisme, and forewold that the Apostles should be baptised with the holie Ghost not manie dayes after his ascension into heauen. Lastlie we againe in baptisme professe death toward sinne, and also a newe life: Which profession sheweth

Not all which be not baptised doe perish.

John.11.25

Mar.16.16

A faithfull man may be saued without Baptisme.

Death called baptisme
Mat.20.22

Acts.1.6.

Repentāce must be ioyned with Baptisme.

nothing else, but that vnto this Sacrament is ioyned repentance, which both Iohn and Christ taught, when they spake of Baptisme. And the fathers waen they passed ouer ỳ sea escaped into liberty: but Pharao with his host was drowned in ỳ waters, wherby was signified ỳ by baptisme we ought so to be renewed, as there we should forsake our sinnes, and issue out with a newe purpole to holinelle of life. All these things ought we, when we are baptised, often to consider out of the testimonies of the Scriptures, and continuallie admonish our selues thereof. For although this sacrament be but onelie once giuen, yet ought it neuer in our whole life be forgotten. For euen as it behoued ỳ Iewes euermore to remēber ỳ they were circumcised, so also we ought cōtinually to cal to mind our baptisme.

Mat.3.1,8. 28.20.

Exod.14.

We must continually exercise our Baptisme in remembrance.

5 But it is wonderfull how some dare affirme, that the Baptisme of Infantes is a newe institution in the Church. For Cyprian a verie auncient writer, maketh mention of it and aunswereth, that it is not of necellitie, that we should tarie till the eight daie for the baptelling of them: For that the truethi of the Gospell hath delivered vs from the obleruing the number of daies, and that therefore they may well be baptised, what daie soeuer the Church shall be assembled together. Origen also writing vppon the Epistle to the Romanes, and vppon Leuiticus, sufficientlie declareth that Infantes were in his time accustomed to be baptised. And since that these men were not long after the Apostles times, and that they make not mention of it as a thing inuented by them, or in their time, it sufficiently appeareth that that custome came from the Apostles. They say that Higinus a Bishoppe of Rome was the first author of, which certainelie cannot be proued by his decrees. We reade in déede that he made a law for sureties, whom they call godfathers and godmothers, which without doubt was a profitable ordinance. For his meaning was, that when Infantes shoulde by baptisme bee receiued into the Church, they should be commended vnto the faith of some men by whom they might bee instructed. And for the performance of this, the godfathers and godmothers doe binde their faith, although now adaies they regard nothing lesse. But it is a verie weake argument to gather thereby, that Higinus was the first author that Infants should be baptised, because he first ordained godfathers: May rather seeing he made a decree touching that matter, it is probable that the baptisme of Infants was before that time in vse. But they cite Tertullian in his booke *de Baptismo*, which

Baptisme of Infants is of ancient vse in the Church.

Cyprian. Epist. 59. Lib. 2.

In 1. Cor. 7. and in the Rules of Doctors, pag. 71. & 80. Edit.

Higinus was the first author of godfathers and not for the Baptisme of Infants

The opinion of Tertullian an author thought this ryte of not to be receiued.

which is very elegātly written by him. But for somuch as that man in his latter age, fell from the true faith vnto the Heresie of Montanus, his authozitie heereof cannot bee of so great force: For hee also condemned seconde mariages, and disallowed the Baptisme of Infants against the receiued vse of the Church. And if wee should followe his opinion, neither young men vnmaried, nor yet young widowes ought to bee baptised. For he affirmed that this Sacrament ought to be administred verie late and but to those onelie which were of full age. But it maie sufficientlie be declared by the selfe same Tertullian, that euen in his time the maner was that children should bee baptised. And hee would not haue reproued it, vnlesse it had then beene in vse and practise.

Tertullian not to baptise children.

6 But there ariseth a verie weightie question as touching the holines of children, which are begotten of Christian parentes, what manner of holinelle it is, and of what sort it is to be accounted. Some haue interpreted the words of Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the seuenth Chapter: that they, which be so borne, obtaine a god and godlie education: which might not bee, if a diuorce should chance betweene the parents. For they should perhappes be adiudged children vnto an vnbeleeuing parent, where they should be altogether set free not vnto religion but vnto vngodlinelle. But if the mariage continue, then hath the beleeuing partie power to bring them vp to Christ, which exposition Augustine in his booke *De Sermone domini in monte*, seemed not to millike. For he saith, their children are brought vnto Christ, and they be consecrated to him in baptisme.

In 1.Cor.7 verse.14. Lib.1. cap.18 What politicke ordre there is of our Infants.

The first opinion.

Augustine.

But Augustine seemeth to say lesse (although his iudgement be godlie) than the Apostle minded to proue: for he would confirme the sanctification of that matrimonie which bee had set forth before: but by this sense hee should rather declare a certaine fruit of that matrimonie, than haue proued the same to be holie. For sometimes the children, otherwise begotten by vncleane copulation, maie haue this benefite of godlie education and of Baptisme. For if by happe anie Christian man being fallen into fornication, should beget a child, and should promise to haue it baptised and brought vp after a godlie sorte, it should not be proued thereby that the continuation wherein hee abused an harlot was either godlie or honest. Which we vnderstand happened in Adeodatus the sonne of Augustine, who being borne in vnlawfull copulation, was both baptised and by the Fathers indeuour was most godlie brought

Augustine changeth his opinion, and writeth that children are not to be baptised vntill they be of age to answere for themselues.

An other opinion.

vp. Wherefore others saie, that Paul by this sentence vnderstandeth onelie a ciuill pureneste and holinelle because that children being borne after this manner are taken for Legitimate, and are not accounted for bastards which they saie, doeth verie much serue to the purpose of Paul. For séeing hee would declare that these matrimonies should be still continued, hee thereby prooueth the right and honestie thereof, in that the children which doe spring of the same would by publike and iust lawes be accounted for lawfull and iust inheritours: But they doe not fullie satisfie this Argument of Paul. For the Corinthians might haue saide: We which are nowe Christians, require noze in our matrimonies than to haue them established by ciuill righteousnesse: wee wonde haue them to bee holie and such as should please GOD. How shall it be proued that there is such holinelle in vnlit matrimonie, that by the copulation of infidels we cannot be defiled: If thou onlie alleadge ỳ ciuill cleanelle of the issue so begotten, what doest thou noze attribute vnto vs than the Infidels haue: For their children, if they be begotten in matrimonie, are lawfull, and be admitted as iust heires. So that it semeth that Paul signified some other thing that is not giuen to the children of the Infidels. Wherefore I iudge it to bee this holinelle, that they belong vnto the Church of Christ: For they are reckened as if they were borne of Parentes that were both faithfull.

The holinesse is that they belong vnto the Church of GOD.

7 But if thou demaund how the children of the Christians belong vnto the Church or vnto Christ, we will aunswere: No otherwise, than the children of the Hebrewes, being of the posteritie of Abraham, were sayd to be contained in the couenant of God. For God promised vnto Abraham that he would be not onely his God, but also the God of his séede. And therefore are our children baptised, as the children of the olde fathers were circūcised, because they must not be thought to be out of the Church. For we haue succeeded into the posteritie of Abraham: and those things that were spoken of him, doe very wel agree to vs and to our children. For they may haue the grace and spirit of Christ, séeing they be parts both of vs & of the Church. For this cause the Apostle séemeth to call the holy. Wherefore vnto the Romans it is said: But and if so be the roote be holy, the braunches also are holy: & if the first fruites be holy, the lumpe also shall be holy. Which wordes, although they be spoken of the Hebrewes, yet are they not straunge frō vs: for we haue passed into the familie of Abraham by

Gen.17.7.

The young children of the faithfull may haue the grace and spirit of Christ.

Ro.11.16.

Therefore are children of Abraham by succession to vs and our children.

braham and of Israell, because through Christ the wall is broken vp by which the Gentiles seemed to be severed from the posteritie of Abraham. So as our little ones inioy the benefite of them which were sprung of the stock of that Patriarch, not that we attribute this to the generation of the flesh; as vnto the chiefe and true cause. For as our owne saluation is, so verily is altogether the saluation of our children of the mere election and mercie of God, which oftentimes goeth together with naturall propagation. Weigh with thy selfe, that euen they be elected of God which be also borne of ỹ saints, as we sawe it came to passe in Isaac which was the seed of Abrahā, nor only according to the election, but also according to the generation of the flesh: Not that it doth always so happen of necessitie: because the promise is not generall as touching all the seede, but of that onely in which the election together consenteth. Otherwise the posteritie of Ismael and Esaw were of Abraham. But because we ought not to be ouercurious in searching out the secret prouidence and election of God, therefore we iudge the children of the Saintes to be Saintes, so long as they by reason of their age, shall not declare themselues straungers from Christ. We exclude them not from the Church but imbrace them as members thereof: hoping well, that as they be the seede of the Saintes according to the flesh, so alls they be partakers of the diuine election, & that they haue the holy ghost and grace of Christ: And for this cause we baptise them. Neither muste they be heard which moue a doubt of this matter and say: What if the minister be deceaued? And what if for a very trueth, the childe be not the childe of promise, of diuine election and of mercie? Because the same cannot may also be as touching them that be of lawfull age. For we also know not, whether they come fainedlie, or whether they beleue truely: whether they be the children of predestination, or of perdition: whether they haue the grace of Christ, or whether they be destitute thereof, and doe falsely say that they beleue. Why dost thou baptise them? I know thou wilt say: This I doe because I follow their outward profession which if they falsifie, it is nothing vnto me. So we say, that the Church doth therefore imbrace our children and baptise them, because they pertaine vnto vs. And that is vnto the Church such a token of the will of God, as outwarde profession is in them that be of ripe yeares. For as it may be deceaued in the one sort, so also it may be in the other.

Saluation is not attributed to the generation of the flesh.

The promise is not generall touching all the seede.

Seing we be ignorant of the secret predestination of God we hope well of the children of the faithfull

As the profession of a man of ripe age may be a falsehood, so to be borne of the faithfull is no true signe.

There is nothing so certaine but it may be otherwise. And so not all, so many as are baptised; are either saued or predestinated to eternall life. Neither can we by any other meanes discerne betweene the baptised who belong vnto saluation, and who be not the sonnes of God, but that we bailie iudge of them by their workes.

8. Wherefore the Anabaptistes must not be heard, which will not haue children to be baptised. Because they deny originall sinne, therefore they will haue them tary till they come to yeares, whenas now euerie one hauing sinned by choyse, and fallen by his owne will, and infected with vice, hath matter to be washed away by baptisme. From these men we disagree as far as heauen is wide, seeing we altogether confesse originall sinne. For it is proued in the Epistle to the Romans where it is said, that by one man sinne entred into the world, & by sinne, death. Whereby it appeareth, that sinne is there, wheresoeuer death hath taken place, Therefore seeing infantes dye, it is of necessitie that they be subiect vnto sin. And many other testimonies there be in the same Chapter, which most manifestlie proue this originall sinne. And we haue in the psalme, For behold I was borne in sinne, and in sinnes hath my mother conceaued me. And Christ said: Vnlesse a man be borne anew of the water and of the spirit, &c. Whereby is manifest, that if it behoueth vs to be borne againe, we be borne in sinne. And vnto the Corinthians the 2. Epistle and 5. Chapter, it is said of Christ: That one dyed for all men. But and if he be dead for all, it is manifest that the infantes also had nede of a redemer. And when it is said vnto the Romans; Christ dyed for them that were sinners, enimies, and weake, and vngodly: it followeth that infants also are such, in their owne nature whē they be born, vnlesse we will say, ỹ Christ dyed not for them, which is against the iudgement of Paul now alledged. And in the booke of Genesis it is shewed, what the imagination of our heart is, euen from the very childhood and deliverance from the mothers wombe. Wherefore the Hebrewes haue often in their mouth *Ietser hara*, an euill imagination, which they take out of that place of Genesis. And we read in the booke of Iob; Who can make cleā that which is conceaued of an vncleane seed? Where the seede of man is called vncleane: which cannot be otherwise referred but to originall sinne. For if thou shalt weigh the naturall causes, the seede of man hath no more vncleanelie in it than hath the seede of other liuing

Against the Anabaptistes.

Originall sin proued. Rom.5.12.

For Psal.51.

Verse.14

Rom.5.ver. 6.8.& 10.

Gen.8.21.

Iob.14.4

Ephe.2.3. uing creatures. And to the Ephesians: We were by nature the childre of wrath as others be. Where that word Nature sheweth that this euill is drawen with vs euen from the beginning. And although that they be Christian parents, yet because they beget not with that part, wherein they are cleansed anew (with the minde I meane where faith hath place, by which they are reconciled vnto God) but with ỹ body & with the flesh, which while we liue here, haue not altogether put off their vncleanesse: as it is deriued from Adam, so doth it drawe with it his infection and blemish. So then we disagree very much from the Anabaptistes: for both we confesse originall sinne which they deny, and doe also teach that children ought to be baptised, as at this day in the Church. Therefore how are the infants of Christians when they are baptised, called holy & members of the Church, seing they be corrupted with originall sinne? We aunswere, that in originall sinne, two thinges are to be considered: One is the corruption of nature, whereby the posteritie of Adam lacketh righteousnesse, and are loaden with ignorance and euill concupiscence. Then there is a guiltinesse whereby God imputeth these things vnto sinne and vnto death. Wherefore the first part all our children vndoubtedly haue, when they be borne: but the other part, I meane guiltinesse & imputation vnto death & vnto euerlasting damnatiō, those (which not only are born of their parents according to the flesh, but also appertaine to the election & promise of God) haue not, because it is take away by the mercie of God, by the holy ghost, and by the grace of Christ: neither is that corruption imputed to them vnto death. They therefore, which be so borne of Christians are called holy, because they are iudged to belong vnto grace and election, seing nothing perswadeth otherwise. Now then, the Church doth seale these thinges vnto them in Baptisme, as to these which belong vnto the promise, and already haue the gifftes of God: I meane the remission of sinnes and grace of Christ.

Why Ismaelites regenerate be not partakers of the originall sin

Whose our Infants may be called holie though they be inferred with originall sinne.

Rom.4.11. Abrahā. and a place in the 4. Chapter to the Romanes.

10 But one thing seemeth to make here against, which is written vnto the Romanes the 4. Chapter; That it was giuen vnto Abraham to be the father of Circumcision, and not onelie of Circumcision, but of them also that walke according to the steppes of the faith, which he had when he was vncircumcised. Wherenpon it is concluded, that the Ethnichs which are ioyned vnto the stocke of Abraham, haue not that by the seede of the flesh but by the power of faith, which seeing the Infants haue not, they shall not be vnderstoode to be ingraffed into the stocke of Abraham. But we muste vnderstand, that the Apostle spake there of them which be of ripe age and of the first graffing in of the Gentils, whereby they were coopted into the flocke of Abraham; which none of vs doubteth to be done by faith. But when as nowe, that the Gentils, & our families or Churches be grafted into that stock, all the priuileges are communicated with them that were graunted vnto Abraham, among which this was the chiefe, that God would be both his God & the God of his seede. So as it is graunted in like maner both vnto vs and ours, in maner and forme alreadie declared. Further it is written in the 17. Chapter of the same Epistle: Not all they which be of Israel be Israelites, nor all they which be of the seede of Abraham be all children: but in Isaac shall thy seede be called. That is, not all they which be the children of the flesh, be the children of God, but they which be of the promise. Whereupon it semeth to be gathered by these wordes of the Apostle, that the generation of the flesh, bringeth nothing at all to passe that our children be called holie. But vnto this we haue sufficiently answered. For wee haue declared at large, that this must not be attributed to the generation of the flesh, as to the proper and chiefe cause, when as our saluation (as Paul saieth) consisteth onely of the grace of God, and of the election o2 promise. But because the reason of this election is hidden, and that the first token which we haue thereof, is, if children belong vnto them that be holie, and be offered by them in the sacrament of regeneration: therefore doe we call them holie, although as it hath bin said, this token may deceiue: euen as also the confession of faith, which is expressed in wordes by them that be of ripe age, when they are to be Baptised, may lie and proceede of hypocrisie. Moreouer the Apostle would by that place, call backe the Iewes, (who disdained the Gentils) vnto the first and principall cause of our saluation which he had propounded vnto them not to be the workes of ceremonies, or our merites, or the flocke according to the flesh, which they alwaies boasted of. We set before their eies the election of God and the promise: which cause is of that kinde that it cannot be deceiued, but that it hath perpetuallie an effect. Yet his minde was not to make voide all these second instruments or meanes and also tokens which God vseth, as he would vtterly saie, that they were nothing. The linage of the flesh is not sufficient of it selfe vnto righteousnesse and true holinesse. For sometime the children of holie men maie belong vnto perdition. When they be growen to ripe yeares, they may degenerate from their god and

Verse.6.

A place of the 9. Chapter to the Romanes.

The election and predestination of God cannot be deceiued.

and godlie bringing vp. They may also depart from religion, which they semed to receiue from their childhod: as we knowe the Iewes did, which haue denied Christ, and haue no more to glorie of concerning the holy sede: although the promise of God in that stocke, shall neuer be vtterlie voide. For afterward in the 11. Chapter the same Apostle most plainlie sheweth, that he take not from the Iewes the gifts of kindred and progenie, when he saieth: If the roote bee holie, the branches are also holy: if the first fruites be holie, so is the whole lumpe.

Verse.16.

11 Neither doeth Christ shew these promises to be vaine when as in ẏ sede of Abraham accoyding to the flesh he became man, and was so conuersant in that nation: as in the Epistle vnto the Romans he was said to be the minister of Circumcision for confirming the promises of the fathers. This vndoubtedlie had not the Iewes by their merites, that Christ vnto them before others ministred the word of life, but they had it by the promise which was made vnto their stock: whereby it appeareth, that it is not altogether a vaine and needeleste thing to bee borne of a godlie kindred. And in the Actes of the Apostles Peter saide vnto the Iewes: that vnto them specialie pertained the Gospell by the right of the couenant: as it is in the second Chapter. Further in the next chapter, they be called children of the Testament. And euerie where in Paul thou readest: First to the Iewe, and then to the Greeke. And Apostles obserued this: ẏ they went not to preache vnto the Gentils, vnleste they had first ministred the worde of saluation vnto the Iewes. And more than all these things thou hast in the ten Commandements an excellent promise of God, that God woulde doe wel vnto those that feare him, and vnto their posteritie vnto a thousand generations. Although we denie not, but that oftentimes ill children haue succeded in the place of good parents: because such promises (as I haue saide) be not common vnto all the sede, but onelie vnto that sede wherein euen the election of God and predestination doe mete together, the which oftentimes (as we faithfullie beleeue) hath place in the sede of the Saints. God doeth not so binde his promises to a kindred or to things of this worlde, but that it maie be lawfull for him sometime to temper them according to his prouidence. For it sometimes happeneth that he indueth with greater grace the children of ill parents than others which were borne of the sede of the godlie. And we muſt not thinke, that this the diuine couenant is couenant of God made with Abraham, and

Rom.15.8. Although he were to certaine signe yet no baine signe to be borne of the Saintes.

Acts.2.39.

Acts.3.25.

Rom.1.16. & 2.9.& 10

An excellent promise of God.

Exod.20.6.

with his posteritie and ours is deriued from not proper the flesh to the children, but that such promise is preserued onlie by the power and efficacie of Gods mercie. from the flesh vnto the children

12 And leaſt thou ſhouldeſt thinke, that the promise made vnto Abraham, is onelie a worldlie thing temporall, consider this specially, I will be thy God, and the God of thy seede. They vndoubtedly vnto whom God is manifested, are deliuered from sinne, death and damnation. For so much as this properties agreeable vnto God, that he will saue and deliuer them that be his. By which reason Christ prowed that the dead doe liue and shal rise againe: because in the Scriptures we reade: I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Iacob. Neither are we to doubt, but that the same couenant is applied vnto our children, vnleste we will account God to be leſſe pitifull and mercifull vnto vs than he was vnto the Hebrewes: although his grace were diminished by the comming of Christ. In ẏ Epistle to ẏ Colossians circumcisiō is moſt masterfullie compared with our baptisme. For it is said: In whom ye be circumcised with a circumcisiō not made with hands, by putting off the sinfull bodie of the flesh, in that ye are buried with him through Baptisme. Wherefore our baptisme is of no leſſe account than was Circumcision, for it did seale the couenant and promise in the young children of the Hebrewes. The which we muſt iudge to be done by Baptisme. This (if we doe well) muſt be obserued while the Sacraments be giuen, that the thing which is sealed with the outward signe be had, and be there present. Those that be of rype age declare, that they holde the promise by faith, when they confeſſe the trueth of Christian doctrine, and then is applied the sealing, and they are baptized. And in ẏ young children of the Christians, when they are declared by the wordes of God to haue the promise of the couenant, and to be in the church, this communion and promise no doubt is sealed by baptism. Sometime in deede by an ouerthwart order it happeneth, that the thing followeth the applying of the sacrament, and then the promise or the gift of the promise, which in very deede is not there, is not sealed, as appeareth in them which be vnbeleeuers and come to baptisme with a feigned minde. Those men assuredlie belong not vnto the Church: neither haue they the iuſtification or communiō of Christ: onely they carrie a signe about with them. Howbeit it maie be, that if they be conuerted vnto Christ, they maie afterwarde obtaine these things, neither muſt baptisme be therefore renued. But this waie of receiuing the sacraments

This proper to a worldlie thing to be thy God, and the God of thy seede. Gen.17.7.

Reason why to whom we children were in the couenant before circumcision vexated.

Mat.22.32.

Exod.3.6.

Col.2.11.

A comparison betweene circumcisiō & baptisme.

The thing that is sealed by the sacraments ought to be present.

sacraments is not allowed. And as touching the ryper age there is no doubt, when they faithfullie receiue baptisme, but that they haue first entered into the couenant of God. For so soone as euer a man beleeueth in Christ, he both hath saluation, and is also iuſtified. And albeit some haue doubted as touching the children of the faithfull, yet muſt we iudge the selfe same [of them.] And vndoubtedly vnleſſe that the children of the Hebrewes had bin contented with this couenant before circumcision, if they had died the fifth or first before they had come to the eight daie, they should haue bin thought to be damned, and circumcision differred would haue beguiled them, which as an absurditie may not be grāted, seeing they were destitute of the circumcision, not through contempt of the sacrament, but by reason of obedience to the lawe of God. And [by that reason] our young children which die before Baptisme should be damned. Which although Augustine admitted, yet is it amiſſe and is not necessarie gathered out of the Scriptures. But and if so be that they maie be saued, the children also of the Hebrewes which died before the eight daie might be saued. Furthermore it is necessarie that they belonged vnto Christ and to the church, seeing out of it there is no saluation. And that the state of our infants and the Hebrewes is all one, we haue alreadie declared before: because through Christ is broken downe the wall of the olde ceremonies which semed to be a stop, and by being made the head corner stone, hath ioined together in one the two walles of ẏ Ethnick and of the Hebrew people. So as now there is but one fold and one shepheard: and manie bowes are broken off and we grafted in their place, so as it is now one and the selfe same tree which beareth aſwell the Ethnickes as the Iewes that beleeue in Christ.

Circumcision shall one hardly ascribing ẏ Hebrewe children vnto purg.

Eph.2.14.

Mat.21.43.

Ioh.10.16. Rom.11.17.

13 And that it may be the more plainly vnderstood how they pertaine to the couenant of Christ, which either were sealed with circumcision, or now be washed with baptisme, it behoueth to repeate that which is written in the hiſtorie of the boke of Genesis the 17. Chapter, whereas God did first enter into couenant, not onely with Abraham, but with his whole familie: and would that not all onely Abrahā, but all his houshold seruants, & those that were bought with mony, should pertaine to that couenant: among which no doubt but there were many yong children. Afterward there followed circumcision. Whereby it appeareth, that the promise, agrement, or couenant was not brought in by circumcision, but that it went before it. The very which thing muſt be vnderstood of baptisme. For first the word was preached to Citizens, or to houſholders, and the couenant to be made by Christ was set forth. Wherewithall when they were kindled by faith, & that they had submitted themselues to the couenant, there followed baptisme, not onely touching themselues, but touching their yong children, who were acknowledged to be within the compaſſe of that couenant. S. Paul saith, that he baptised the house of Strephanas. And in the Acts of the Apoſtles, as we said a little before, not onely the maiſter of the pallon, but also all they which belonged vnto him receiued baptisme. And that doe they obserue (as I said a little before) which haue heads of Cattel: For they haue not bin accuſtomed to set their burnt signe or marke vppon either hoples or Oxen that belong not vnto themselues. So doeth the Church baptile them whom it supposeth to belong vnto it, and which be not strangers from the same. Neither is it otherwise in a kings letters patents. First we obtaine the gift and bill assigned, and then we cause it to be sealed. Cornelius the Centurion, first receaued the holy ghoſt, afterward was giuen water wherewith he was baptised. The same happened vnto the Eunuch which was baptised by Philip. And finally all they which be of ripe age doe first by faith take poſſeſſion of Christ before they be marked with his badge, vnleſſe that (as we said before) they come in hypocrisie vnto baptisme.

Act.10.44. & 48.

Act.8.38.

14 They were wont to obiect that there is one consideratiō to be had of infants, & an other of them which be of ripe age: because they ẏ be of yeares, may haue faith whereby they belong to the flocke of God, which cannot be attributed vnto infants, seeing they haue not the vse of vnderstāding and reason, by which they may giue consent to the promises of God. I know it hath bin thought of some, and those of no small estimation, that infants haue faith, as though God wonderfully & beyond the course of nature worketh in them, whose opinion to say the trueth I do not verie readilie imbrace: not ẏ I iudge this to be vnpoſſible vnto God, ẏ either he may potore in vertues into what age soeuer he will: or that he can euē bring forth a sense of ẏ minde or reason in the soules of Infantes, by preuenting the time of nature, or else bring to paſſe that although they themselues neither vnderstand, nor know what is to be beleeued, yet the holy ghoſt apprehendeth the same in them, and consenteth vnto them euen as he is sayd to doe in them that be of age

There opinion which thought that Infantes haue faith.

Rom.8.25. age in the Epistle to the Romans, when we require thinges that we know not whether they be profitable or no, but the spirit it selfe maketh intercession for vs, when we know not of it, and prayeth as it behoueth: and God for so much as he knoweth his meaning heareth him. And these thinges I say as touching God may easily be done. But leaning the holy scripture, telleth me not that yong children doe believe, or that these miracles be borne in them: neither that I doe see this to be of necessitie vnto their saluation, I iudge it sufficient to affirme that they which shall be saued, (for to which as by election and predestination they belong vnto the treasure of God) are indued with the spirit of God, which is the rote of faith, hope, charitie, and of all vertues which he afterward (when he list) and declareth in the children of God, when through age it may be done. Howbeit by a certaine kinde of speach, such yong children may be called faithfull, euen as otherwhile we call Infantes reasonable, not that they in very deede are able to reason, but because they haue a soule, the which so soone as their age shall giue them leaue, will both reason and exercise them in liuely arts and faculties. And that that age may be adorned with the holy ghost, Iohn and Ieremie may witnesse, who were inspired with the spirit of God euen frō their mothers womb. Which thing also Ierom vnto Marcella writeth of Asella, that she was sanctified by the holy Ghost euen from her mothers womb: which sanctification must not be thought repugnant to originall sinne: For doutlesse they haue it as we aboue declared, but it is not imputed. For if it should be imputed vnto them, it would be altogether of necessitie, that so many yong children of the faithfull parents as died without baptisme or circumcision, should be damned, seing that none with originall sinne are admitted into the kingdome of heauen.

It is sufficient for the saluation of Infants if they be inuested with the holie Ghost.

Quemlibet may after a sort be called faithfull.

Luke.1.15. Ierem.1.5.

Ierom.

If originall sin should be imputed vnto infants those of the which die before regeneration should be damned.

15 But the cause why our aduersaries are so loath to allowe of this opinion, is for that they attribute vnto the Sacramentes more than they ought to do. For they thinke that by the power and efficacie of the worke of baptisme, sinne is forgiuen. Neither do they acknowledge it by the Sacraments, forgiuenesse is rather sealed, which they of perfect age obtaine by beleeuing, and the young children of the faithfull, which belong vnto election, haue it alreadie by the holie Ghost and by grace. And when thou shalt demaund of them, wherefore they baptise Infantes, knowing that they perceiue not those things which are spoken, nor yet doe consent vnto the couenant which is pronounced to them in baptisme, perhappes they will aunswere according to the opinion of Augustine, that they bee saued by other mens faith, that is, by the faith of their Parentes.

Why we baptise Infantes when as they vnderstande not the thinges that are done in baptisme.

But the Prophet saith, that euerie one in his righteousnesse shall liue. Abac.2.4.

Euery one is saued by his owne faith and not by an other mans. Wherefore we make more fitte made aunswere, that as touching them which be of ripe age we require a faith stedfast and sure, but in the young children of Christ, (as which are offered to be baptised we say, that the same is begunne, I meane in their beginning and rote, because they haue the holie Ghost, from whence, as well faith as all other vertues doe flowe. And that it maie the better appeare that young children which are baptised (and not onelie they which haue bin alreadie baptised) doe pertaine vnto the Church, we will declare it euidentlie enough by the Epistle to the Ephesians: where it is said, Ye men loue your wiues, euen as Christ loued his Church & gaue himselfe for it, that he might Sanctifie it, being cleansed by the washing of water through the worde, &c. By this place thou seest, that it is the Church which is washed and baptised. So then, so long as yong children be baptised, it is manifest that they belong vnto the Church, and they cannot truelie be partes of the Church, vnlesse they be adorned with the spirite of Christ.

Euery one is iustified by his owne faith, not by other mens.

Ephe.5.25

It is the Church as touching which baptisme is ministred.

Wherefore yong children which verily belong vnto the election of God, before they can be baptised are instructed by the spirit of God: otherwise as we alledged before, they cannot be saued, if they died before circumcision or baptisme.

Yong children which verily belong vnto the election of God are instructed by the spirit of God before they can be baptised.

16 Neither must it be thought that I haue spoken these thinges, to the intent I would promise saluation vnto all the children of the faithfull which depart without the sacrament: for if I should so doe, I might be counted rash. I leaue the to be iudged of the mercie of GOD, seing I haue no knowledge of the secrete election and predestination. But this onelie I affirme, that they are in verie deede saued vppon whom soeuer the diuine election lighteth, although they be not baptised. For God hath not tied grace vnto the Sacramentes, as though without them he neither can nor will saue vs. All I hope well of such young children, because I see that they be borne of faithfull parentes, which (as it hath beene declared) hath no vncertaine promises: which though they be not generall as concerning all, (as appeareth of Iacob and Esaw which had both one father and one mother) yet when as I see nothing otherwise, it is meete that I should hope well of the saluation of such Infants: otherwise not all bee saued which are baptised. Certainelie Esaw was circumcised when he was a young child, and yet who dare say that he was acceptable vnto God at that age seing the Scripture saith, That he was hated of God, before that he did anie good or euill? And yet neuertheless we must hope that the children departing with baptisme are saued, since there appeareth nothing to the contrarie: yea and rather on the other side we haue arguments of their saluation, because they bee borne of the faithfull, the promise is extant, they are adopted in the Church, and sealed with the Sacrament. Wherefore letting passe the curious inquiring of Predestination or election of God, we will hope well of them.

Saluation is not promised to all those Infants which are not borne of faithfull parentes.

Women beare not children but vnto God.

Baptisme.

Rom.9.11.

17 But some will saie, if the children of Christians which belong vnto Election, (as thou hast saide) before they be baptised, doe belong vnto the couenant of GOD, and haue the holie Ghost, neither is originall sinne imputed to them vnto death, otherwise they might not be saued, doubtlesse baptisme serueth to be superfluous. Why then are they baptised? What profite haue they therby, or what is bestowed vpon them that they had not before? Before I make aunswere I will againe demaunde of thee: Admit an Ethnicke be of ripe age, who giuing eare to the preaching of the Gospell, is conuerted vnto Christ, doeth truelie beleeue: Further by his faith, is alreadie iustified: he desireth baptisme, but as yet he hath it not. This man seeing he hath alreadie obtayned all, I praye thee tell me why should he be baptised? What will the Sacrament auaile him? And least the case should seeme to be vncertain, we know that this happened vnto Cornelius the Centurion. He before hee was baptised did beleeue, and so beleeued, as the holie Ghost in visible forme he seemed vpon him, & afterward was baptised. What had he by baptisme, that hee had not before? Moreouer let Iacob be considered. He was loued of God being an Infant, he was borne of faithfull Parentes, and he truelie belonged to the couenaunt of GOD. And if he had died before circumcision, who will saie, that he should haue beene damned? If he had alreadie all things that serued to saluation, what neede was there that he should be circumcised? What had he by y sacrament, that he had not before? But although I haue shewed an argument which maketh no lesse against vs than against our aduersaries, yet to dissolue the same I will adde these things.

Why men must be baptised which already beleeue vnto righteousnesse, and with the mouth we confesse vnto saluation.

How grace is increased in the receiuing of the sacraments.

How Baptisme is not superfluous though children be iustified before they receiue it.

The same obiection pertaines the aduersaries.

Act.10.44.

The commaundement of the Lord must be fulfilled: he commaunded that wee should

Mat.28.19.

Gen.17.11

be baptised: and euen he commaunded Circumcision, so that if anie man would contemne these things, he should most greeuously sinne. Hereunto belong the giftes which are alreadie had, and the promise which already belongeth vnto them that be of Christ, must be sealed with the outward signe, that we may be continuallie mindfull thereof, thereby to take an occasion to exercise our faith, and to be admonished of our duetie. Furthermore there be added the prayers of the minister, the vowes of them that offer, which things no smal deale profite the yong Infant: and the Church which standeth by at the ministration of that Sacrament, is taught concerning saluation. Doe these things little auaile, or be they vnprofitable? Yea and it must be thought that GOD, as he is God, doeth of his mere mercie while his promises and giftes be sealed, make these things more ample, not by the worke of the Sacrament, but by his goodnesse and spirite, by the verie which he hath beene accustomed while we outwardlie heare the worde of the holie scripture, to inflame our heartes, and to renue vs more vnto godlinesse. And if so be that anie man shall prouoke vnder this pretence contemne the Sacraments, he neither hath faith neither belongeth to the couenant of God: so farre is it off that hee can promise himselfe saluation. And the Parents and Elders, in whose power the Infants be, ought to be verie carefull that they depart not without Baptisme: which if they do not, both they sinne greeuously, and they must suffer punishment, because they contemned the Sacramentes instituted by God.

Parents to be punished which neglect the baptising of their children.

18 Nowe here remaineth that we discusse two places which seeme to proue that young children which are departed without circumcision or without baptisme, should be thought to be damned. Augustine against the Pelagians, while he laboureth to defend this opinion, alwayes vrgeth that place which is in Iohn: Vnlesse a man be borne anewe of water and the spirite, he shall not enter into the kingdome of heauen. But whereas it is saide: of water and Spirit, it is shewed to be sufficient vnto saluation, that at the least wise the spirite be present when water cannot be applied, and that there cannot alwaies be a coniunction of both, and be affirmeth that both the one part & the other must of necessitie be had. The like speech thou hast vnto the Romanes: With the heart we beleeue vnto righteousnes, and with the mouth we confesse vnto saluation. If anie man by hearing the word of God shall beleeue, to

Augustine

Ioh.13.5. Where water cannot be had, there the spirit as tone sufficeth to saluation.

Where the heart we beleeue to righteousnesse, and with the mouth we confesse to saluation.

Rom.10.5

whom is not giuen the libertie of outwarde confession, shall we denie him to haue saluation? For if maie well be that a man at the last houre of his life doeth receaue the faith, which he can neither testifie by wordes, nor yet by signes. Further our aduersaries also confesse ꝑ there is a baptisme of requeſt & deſire, which they cal. The baptisme of fire. For whenas a man beléeuing, desireth baptisme & cannot inioy it, & dieth, they saie he is saued. Baptismus flaminis.

What Ambrose iudged of Valentinian the Emperour. Which also Ambrose iudged of Valentinian ꝑ Emperor, which came vnto him to be baptised, and was slaine by the waie. How then do they regard this sentence: Vnlesse a man be borne againe of the water and the spirit, &c? If a requeſt & desire be there sufficient, why maie it not be sufficient in children, the election of God, and the promise, and the holy Ghost, wherewith we declare them to be indued, séeing they be borne of faithfull progenitors? Moreouer Christ talked there with Nichodemus, who was of a perfect age, and might haue had the benefite both of water, and of a minister. There be some also, which there by the water and the spirit vnderstand all one thing, so as the latter worde expresseth the former. For Water allegorically, doeth diuerse times signifie grace and the holie ghost: as Christ shewed when he talked with the Woman of Samaria, and when he cried: He that thirsteth let him come vnto me and drinke. And in Ioel it is saide, I will powre vpon you cleane water, &c. And the same manner of speech in a maner thou hast, in that which Iohn Baptist saide of Christ: He that commeth after me, he baptiseth with fire and with the spirit. In which place, fire and the spirit signifie all one thing: but the former and worse are plaine enough. John.3.5. The water and the spirit taken to be both one. John.4.10. John.7.37. Ioel.2.28. Matt.3.11.

19 There is another place in the 17. Chapter of the booke of Genesis. But the vncircumcised manchilde in whose flesh the foreskinne is not circumcised, that soule shall be cut off from his people, because he hath broken my couenant. Behold (saie they) the young Hebrewes, which died without circumcision were to be cut off, and that as touching the soule: wherefore it séemeth to followe, that they cannot haue saluation. Howbeit this place also prooueth but litle, which euen our aduersaries shall be compelled to graunt: For Iosomuch as the Maister of the Sentences in the 4. Booke, when he followeth this opinion, that children which died before the vſe, daie being vncircumcised, were damned, is forsaken, and for the more part is not defended by the writers. And as touching the matter: the Hebrewes referre these words vnto him which after the vſe, daie was not circumcised, and they vnderstand the cutting off to be as concerning the life of the bodie, to wit, that he shoulde die before his naturall time: which opinion séemeth to be proued out of the historie of Moses, where the Angel would slaie him because he had not circumcised his sonne. But this proſe séemeth not to be sufficient ynough: because it is not read, that the Angell meant to kill the childe, but the father, vnlesse perhaps they bring this testimonie onelie to the intent to declare that the threatening was to kill the bodie. There be others which vnderstand That the soule should be cut off from among the people, because he shall not be reckoned among the Israelites, nor their Church, neither shall be numbred in the common weale: there to obtaine neither heritage nor office. Nowe, séeing these two interpretations may be vſed, it maketh the argument to be weake. But least we should séeme to giue the slip: admit that God speake there of the death of ꝑ soule and of the losse of eternall life: yet may we expound that these things must not so be vnderstoode except when the circumcised shall be come to age, and shall consent to the negligence of his elders which did not circumcise him. Otherwise if he himselfe shall circumcise himselfe, and shall detest that which the Parents did towards him, he shall not deserue to be cut off, but rather to be commended. So must the law of God be vnderstood: if their happen a consent of omitting Circumcision, he is worthie to perish, he (I meane) shall be cut off. But if so be he depart vncircumcised, before he haue power to circumcise himselfe, he must be left to the mercie of God, neither is it meete to iudge rashlie of him. But séeing he might belong to the predestination or to the election of God, and that he came of godlie angelours, we maie hope well of him. And the selfe same iudgement in all respectes is to be giuen of this sentence that was of the saying of Christ which we intreated of before: namelie, Vnlesse a man shall be borne of water and the spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdome of heauen. Wilfully saying since our aduersaries are constrained whether they will or no, to vnderstand no deſtie: there is no cause why thy houlde so greatly wrangle about this sentence. By these things which we haue nowe alleaged it is easilie proued that our young children, séeing now by the worde of God and promiſe of the couenant they séeme to be ingrafted to the Church, ought not to be excluded from Baptisme. Euen as the children of the Hebrewes although they were young ones, were circumcised. Exod.4.24 Luke part.1. cap.7.ver.30 Verse.14. Whose fleſh shall not be circumcised, that soule shall be cut off. Gen.17. verse.14. The matter of the Sentences. How the Hebrewes vnderstand that sentence.

The

The ninth Chapter.

Of the dedication of Temples, wherein is intreated of sundrie corruptions of Baptisme.

In 2. kin. 8. at the end.

WHile I earnestly think vpon the Dedication [of the temple] which Salomon made, that cómeth to my remembrance which Augustin hath in a certaine Oration to the people, of the dedication of a temple: to wit, that those things which are done in the outward temples, doe also pertaine vnto vs, who be the true temples of God. Wherefore in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the third Chapter, it is written, That the Temple of God is holie which are you. Further we haue in the 6. Chapter: Your bodies are the Temples of the holie Ghost. Therefore we must take héede least we erre in the dedicating of any of both temples. The outwarde temple is then dedicated, when we begin to applie it to holie vses: and godlie men are then visiblie consecrated vnto God, when they be washed in holie baptisme. But this must be prouided, that both the one and the other be done according to the rule of the worde of God. But séeing we are to intreate of these things, it is meete we should begin with the Etymologie of the wordes. In Hebrew there be two verbs Chanac and Cadasch, which in the coninagation Hiphil hath Hiedisch, and is nothing else but to sanctifie. But Chanac, signifieth to teache and instruct in the first principles. Wherefore Salomon in the Prouerbs the 22. Chapter wrote *Chanoc Iannaar Alpi darco*, which is: Instruct a childe according to his waie, that is to saie, as his capacitie will serue. And in Genesis we reade that Abraham for the recouery of Lot, armed Eth Chanicau his house borne seruantes, whom he had trained not onelie in religion but also in necessarie artes. Moreouer that verbe signifieth to dedicate, because it is then done so soone as we begin to vse anie thing. Wherefore Chrysostom vpon the Epistle to the Hebrewes saieth: that consecration or dedication is then done so soone as euer we beginne to vse it. And not onelie are temples dedicated, but manie things else, as a house. And therefore ꝑ title of the 30. Psal. is *Schir Chanucath beth ledauid*, that is: The dedication of the house of Dauid. Then also men are said to enter their house, when they first begin to eate, to drinke, and to dwell therein. Which thing the godly without prayers and thanks giuing vse not to doe. Therefore Dauid when he had dedicated his house, made a song or Psalme: wherein both he himselfe gaue thankes vnto God and also prayed, that the same might be godly, religiously, and holilie vsed. Of such dedication also, there is mention made in ꝑ 20. Chapter of Deuteronomie, wherein are deliuered preceptes of warfare. Verelie God would, that manie should be excepted from the warres, and those among the rest, which when they had built an house had not after dedication vsed the same. And in the Booke of Nehemias there is a dedication of the walles of a Citie: which was no thing else, but that the walles of the Citie being made vp, the people, together with the Leuites and Priests, and also the Princes went thither, and there gaue thankes vnto God, because the walles were reedified, and prayed that the Citie might be righteouslie vsed. After which maner likewise, before we take meate, we also consecrate the same: not that we thinke that the Diuell is therein, or that it is cuill in his owne nature: Because God sawe all things that he made, and they were exceeding good, and Paul in the first to Timothie verie well said, That the things which God hath made be good, & that therefore nothing must be reiected which is taken with thankesgiuing; for it is sanctified by the word of God and by prayers; But in our consecration, we first giue thankes vnto God, that he hath prouided for vs these helpes of life. Further we crane ꝑ our bodies may not be hurt by them, because we distemper our selues, whereby we afterward fall easilie into sickneſſe, and while wee be loaden with surfeiting and drunkennes, we can be no apt instruments either of reason or of the spirit of God. Neh.12.27 Dedication of the walls of a Citie, & the manner thereof. Consecrating of meates. Gen.1.31. 1.Tim.4.4

2 Wherefore it is very commendable, that after this manner we should consecrate all thinges so soone as euer we beginne to vse them: that is to wit, as well by thankesgiuing as by prayers: so far are we from disallowing such a custome, Constantine the great, when he had repayred Bizantium, and had determined to vse that Citie for the seat of the Romane Empire, would consecrate the same to God: and to the dedication thereof, he called three hundreth and 18 fathers, which at that time he'ld the Synode of Nice. The same Emperour also going to Ierusalē, builded a verie sumptuous témple vnto Christ, and decked it with pretious offeringes: with golde I meane, with siluer, and with pretious stones: And he called away those By-

The dedication of Temples or applied vnto God. Verse.17. Verse.19. Bodie men are dedicated vnto God, when they be washed in holie baptisme. What strength the name of dedication hath. Verse.6. Gen.14. verse.14. Dedication of private dwelling. The dedication of Byzantium or Constantinople.

thops, which held a Councell at Tyrus, that they would come to dedicate the same. And as Eusebius sheweth, that dedication consisted of preaching of the Gospell, of prayses vnto God, of prayers, and of thankesgiuings.

From' whence sprang the dedication of temples among the Christians.

And hereof (as I thinke,) the dedication of temples had originall and beginning among the Christians. For I finde not in the Ecclesiasticall histories, that Temples were dedicated before that time. Neither must this be vnspoken of, that the Hebrewes accustomed to dedicate Temples not onely which were new builded, but also those which were repaired and cleansed from vncleanesse. This they did when after the returne out of Persia they had repayred anew the Temple and altar. Also Iudas Machabeus reformed the Temple when it was polluted by the Ethnicks with the most filthie idolatrie of Antiochus, Yea and yet still in the papacie both the one and the other is retained. Such renewed dedications are in the Greeke called ἐγκαίνια, which in Latin we may call *Renoualia* or *Renouales dies*, that is renewals or dayes of renewing, which are not once celebrated, but the solemnities of them are done euerie yere at one time. Moreouer in the executing of them, the Papists haue gotten to themselues many things as well from the Hebrewes as from the Ethnicks: pretending that they very much profite the ignorant by the ceremonies which they vse. Howbeit what the Iewes did in their dedications, the holy history doth plainly teach.

Nehe.12. 39. 1.Mach.4. verse.37.

The Ethnicish dedications.

But the rites of the Ethnicks were sundrie and manifold. Whereof we reade many thinges in Tulli: especially in the Oration for his house vnto the high Bythops. There the Southsayer must hold fast a post, and speake certaine set wordes, without stutting or stammering in his tongue, but with a firme and constant minde. Also men were consecrated by the Ethnicks, & thereof Cicero reasoneth a reason in his second booke *de legibus*, namely, that the mysteries which were deliuered vnto them were certaine entrances, of mans lyfe. Whereby men might be drawne from rude and rusticall to a more humane and ciuill kinde of lyfe. Yea and children were said to be initiated or entered, when as they were weaned, because they were then trayned vp: namely from milke vnto a more substantiall meate and drinke. Wherefore they were said to be consecrated vnto the goddesses Edidia and Potina. The thinges verily were Ethnicall, but yet a token of them remaineth in the holy history.

The initiating of children.

Gen.21. 8. Wherein it is shewed, that Abraham made a banquet when he weaned Isaac. Wherein no doubt but thankesgiuing and prayers were placed among. Also Chanoch which liued before the flood, had his name of consecration or dedication: and I doubt not but it was by some mysteric: of which, although I know that the Hebrewes doe fable, yet haue I not what to bring for a certainty. And to dedicate or initiate the Greekes call τελεῖν and μυεῖν: but to consecrate, they call ἐνθεσθέαν καθιερόσαν: and to sanctifie, ἁγιάζειν. And the Latins name them *Initiare*, *Dedicare*, *Consecrare*, *Sanctificare*. And to sanctify is nothing else but to apply to divine and religious vses, or to prepare himselfe to offer some thing vnto God. And Cicero said: to bind with euerlasting religion. And there is a difference betweene these words, To consecrate, and To dedicate: for alminch as thinges are sayd to be consecrated, when of prophane thinges, they are sayd to be religious and holy: and they are said to be dedicated when they are appointed to any certain God. This truely is a very trifle: but yet it must be earnestly considered, that the Hebrewes did dedicate and initiate their thinges, not by simple and bare wordes, but by adding of outward rites, signes I meane, and tokens which might be seene: not for sooth that they thought any holinesse or diuine qualitie to be in those thinges: for seeing they be in the soules, they be not capable of holinesse: but to the end they thought, because, the rites being instituted by God, those thinges which were consecrate, might become instrumentes of the holy spirit, by which the faith of men might be stirred vp. Neither were they beceaued because those thinges for that time had the word of God: & that which is to vs at this day, water, bread, & wine, was vnto the sundry, and manifold signes in holy thinges. Furthermore as the holy history teacheth, they extended consecration vnto priestes, altars, garments, & other implements as well of the Temple as also of the Tabernacle.

Gen.5.21. Chanoch, that is, Yeer.

The Hebrewes dedications of the Sacraments.

3 The very selfesame thinges in a manner haue the Papistes of a certaine naughtie zeale drawen vnto them. In the second counsell of Bracca in the 5 Canon it is commanded, that a Church should not be consecrated till a prouision be made for gifts and reuenewes. Whereby both the Minister and Deacon might be maintained least the temple being built should lye desolate. Both these might haue bin done, if superstition had not bene added: whereby they in that Synode would haue it prouided, that in no wise the Temple should be without oyle and lightes. Such better should it haue bin that these expenses had bin bestowed vpon poore and sick folke.

The Papists first consecration.

folke. The like in a manner hath the counsel of Wormes 3. Chapter. But *De consecratione* in the first distinction, by the former Canons, it is very seuerely commaunded, that no Temple should be builded or consecrated, vnlesse it were with the will of the Bysshop of Rome. Which in very deed tended vnto manifest tyrannie. And why it was abolished, I will not now declare. But againe *De Consecratione*, in the Chapter, *Missarum Solennia* there is strait commaundement, that Masses should not be said or sung, except in places dedicated by bysshops. And there in the Chapter *Si aliis*, it is affirmed that it is far better, that Masses be not said nor sung, than that they should be celebrated in places not consecrate. And least they should seeme to speake without the scriptures, they bring that which is written in the 12. Chapter of Deuteronomie: Take heede that thou offer not thy whole burnt offerings in euery place, but in that place onely which God hath chosen. As though God hath chosen to himselfe all those places, which they with their superstitious Masses doe euery where contaminate. But there be many more of these things in the Extrauagantes of consecration of Churches and Altars, and also of holy annointing. In a Nationall Councel, holden at Colen: which was held in the yeare of the Lorde 1536. in the 9. part the 12. Chapter: Those fathers which were present, endeuored to exclude their dedications, and denyed that they would follow the trade of the Iewes, when as neuertheless in confirming their trifles they bring nothing out of the word of God, vnlesse it be so much as they wrest for their purpose out of the old Testament. But Gratian in the beginning of the first distinction *De Consecratione*, while he goeth about to confirme those thinges which were fondly done in the dedicatiō of Temples, reasoneth on this wise: The Iewes did these thinges, therefore it is much more lawfull for Christians to doe the same: grounding his reason in very deede from the greater. Which kinde of Argument is most feeble: because it is not lawfull for to conclude of the ceremonies and rites of the olde fathers. In morall precepts, the reason would be firme: but in ceremonies which were figures & shadowes it is not meet for to reason, seeing all the commaundementes of that kinde were abolished after the purging of Christ. But I returne to those of Colen, who in the place now alledged, the 14. Chapter, say, that Temples are therefore consecrated, that from thence ill spirits may be expulsed: which how true it is, shall afterward in his place be declared. But

Verse.4.

Argument of Gratian to prooue the first consecration.

Arguments of the men of Colen.

in consecrating of the Church, they haue superstitiously deuised many thinges. For they vse water, oyle, waxe, lightes, many markes of the cresse vppon the walles: And vppon the floore the description of well of the Greek as of the Hebrew alphabet: when as neuertheless the bysshops which doe these thinges be altogether ignorant both of the Greeke & of the Hebrew. Their custome is also to reconcile (as they speake) the Temples themselues, if they haue bin ouerthrowen, if blood haue bin shed by slaughter, or if filthie lustes haue bin committed, or if the dead body of a man excommunicate or an aliant from Christ haue bene there buryed, when as neuertheless their temples are continually polluted with horrible Idolatrie. But in these reconciliations, least they should be thought destitute of holy scriptures, they bring for example sake the fact of Christ, who hauing made a whippe of small cordes, cast the byers & sellers out of the Temple. Which argument in very deede doth manifestly reproue them: because the Bysshops and Suffragans which dedicate their Temple, doe buy and sell their owne labour. For vnlesse they be hyred for some reward for the doing of these thinges, they deny to goe. Further, what other thing else are the Papists Temples, but the markets and marchandise of Masses & Neither doth that any thing helpe them, which they bring out of the 14 and 15. Chapters of Leuiticus, seeing all those things belong vnto the tabernacle of Moses.

Papisticall consecrations of temples.

What kind of things the Papists doe consecrate.

14 Furthermore it is to be considered, that these importunate men, doe not onely consecrate the Temples themselues, but also the altars, and couerings of the altars: I meane the tableclothes and naphins, & also the Chalices & patins, the Mailing garmēts, the Churchyardes, the waxe candles, the frankincense, the paschall Lambe, egges, and also holy water, the boughes of their palme trees, yong springes, grasse, and pothearbes, and finally all kinde of fruites: and it is come to that passe, as they consecrate the very belles, and they take it in ill part that we say they baptise them. For Hosius cauileth, that this is bainelie spoken by vs, and affirmeth that they be consecrated by their Ministers, but not baptised. But truely, the common people are wholy to be excused for saying, they doe baptise them; for seeing all thinges in a manner are there done which pertain vnto baptisme, it is not without cause that they say they baptise the. For they be washed, they be annointed, they be coniured, they are named & handled with far greater pompe and ambition, than men are while they are bap-

The baptizing of bels.

How much the Papists attribute vnto Relig.

tised with the holy baptisme, & much more is attributed vnto them, than to the prayers of godly men. For they say, that by the ringing of them, the wicked spirits, the holde of aduersaries, the laying awaite of enemies, tempestes, hayle, stormes, whirlewindes, violent blastes, and hurtfull thunderclaps are driuen away, flames and fires extinguished, and finally what else soeuer. But we much more soundlie and rightlie iudge, that it is lawfull as we haue saide, yea to bee required by godlie right, that in the first vse of euerie thing, wee should giue thankes vnto God, and celebrate his goodnesse, and that with meete and conuenient praises, and desire that we may vse religiouslie and holie such a benefite bestowed vpon vs. These things doubtlesse cannot be reproued, seeing they haue iust foundations out of the holie Scriptures. But the trifles of our aduersaries, seeing they bee not deriued of the word of God, but haue beene brought in by idle and superstitious men, ought worthilie to be reiected by the Church of Christ. For such is not the condition of men to institute sacraments at their owne pleasure, because that is proper to God alone, and to none besides him. For sacramentes be instruments of the holy ghost, the which he vseth to stirre vp our faith. And seeing he is altogether the wisest, he hath no need that we should by our owne imagination or indeuour prepare instrumentes for him. Which thing also no artificer in his faculties would abide, but would him selfe make choyce of his owne instrumentes. Wherefore great is the doubtfulnesse of these men, which will prescribe his instrumentes whereby he should worke our saluation. They are also reproued for an other cause: because they deale against the diuell by commaundement, as though they could constraine him to depart when they will, whereas they haue receiued no such grace of the holy Ghost, and seeing that all Christians inioy not that gift. For the spirit (as Paul testifieth) distributeth his gifts, euen as he will. Further they be ignorant whether an euill spirit be in that place, which they say they consecrate: which seeing they knowe not, neither are warranted by the worde of God, whatsoeuer they doe, they worke without faith: and therefore they sin, seeing it is written by the Apostle: Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. In deede there hath sometime sin certaine wicked houses where ill spirites exercised horrible thinges, so as they might not be inhabited by men: but there it was knowen by the deed it selfe: that the ill spirite was present: but in other

A lawfull kinde of dedication.

Why the consecrations of the Papists ought to be reiected.

1.

2.

3.

1.Co.12.11

houses we cannot perceiue, either by the effectes, or yet by the word of God that there be ill spirites. Why then doe they so imperiously coniure them? They might aswell coniure the whole world, seeing Paul in the 6. to the Ephesians calleth the diuels, The rulers of the world: or at the least wise the whole ayre (whereby we chiefly vse to take breath) seeing the euill spirites are called the powers of the ayre. Neither can that be, because they make more account of the ceremonies inuented by themselues, than of the Sacraments instituted by God. For they vse greater pompe and preparation in the administring of them, than when they celebrate the supper of the Lord or baptisme, which Christ instituted. Againe, they preferre their inuentions aboue the tenne commaundementes, and would more grieuously punish the breakers of them, than those which transgresse the commaundementes of God. Wherefore godlinesse is marueilouslie impayred: for men are ledde away from the word of God and doe turne their mindes vnto vanities and to mens traditions. And it is vnspeakeable how greatlie the ordinance of new worshippinges doe displease God: for he hath euerie where in his lawes forbidden that it should not be done.

Rom.14.14.

Verse.14.

4.

5 But now that we haue spoken ynough of the consecrating of outward thinges, wherein this principle must be holde, that besides prayer and thankesgiuing, no other thing ought to be vsed: now will we see whether they deale anie thing more sincerely and godly in the baptising of men. Undoubtedly with their superstitions and inuentions they haue horriblie infected baptisme. For that sacrament doeth consist of two things: of the outward element of water, and the word of God. Whereupon Augustine verie well said: The worde is added vnto the element, and it is made a Sacrament. Other things which afterward were put thereunto proceded from Bishops, who were more giuen vnto Ceremonies than was meete, and were marueilouslie affected to things inuented by themselues. For this is a grieuous, and in a manner a continuall fault of the nature of man, that we haue in estimation those things especiallie which wee our selues haue inuented. Therefore were the institutions of Christ and of his Apostles contemned as things worne out of vse. Whereof it came to passe that the Papists do more detest them being barelie and simplie receiued, than god himself doe the wordes that be altogether out of vse. So that in tract of time the Bishops haue foisted into Baptisme. Oyle, salt, spittle,

Oyle added to baptisme.

Salt added to baptisme.

Spittle added to Baptisme.

Consecration of fonte twise a yeere.

The Papists Sacramentals.

spittle, ware, light, breathings, exorcismes, consecration of Fontes twise a yeere, (that is at Easter and at Pentecost) three times dipping, and such other like. And (as they bee most pregnant in coyning of wordes) they haue called manie of them not sacramentes, but sacramentals, because they be tokens & signes of those things which they themselues not God, would haue to be signified: and as they were moued and did dreame in their imagination, so they brought in things which seemed good vnto themselues. As concerning Oyle, we confesse that the auncient Kings, Prophets, and Priests, and among the Ethnicke the wrestlers were annointed withall. But these men by applying their annointings in Baptisme, doe saie that they shadowe Christian kings to be made Prophets and Priestes, and also strong wrestlers, to fight continuallie with the Diuell, the world, and the flesh. And while they doe these things, they expounde them not vnto those that stande by: and a great part of their Priests are ignorant of them. Besides this, if they vnderstande the matter after such a sort, (seeing they alone will be Priests) they dissagree much among themselues. Wherefore intollerable is their ambition, who by the ceremonies which they haue added, doe arrogate vnto themselues onelie that which belongeth vnto all Christians, as they themselues also testifie. But it is no maruell if they be iniurious to other Christians, seeing they spare not Christ himself, who they feare not to rob of his honor. For he (as the Epistle to the Hebrewes teacheth,) is our onlie Priest which remaineth for euer, and alone offereth the sacrifice of saluation for vs. But these men with an incredible boldnesse haue challenged vnto themselues the ministerie both of the Priest and of the offering. Moreouer Paul when he armed the faithfull vnto battell against the world, the flesh and the Diuell, he did it by the word, that is, by wholesome admonition, not by oyle: neither doe we finde, that the sonne of God or the Apostles annointed them whom they baptised. But it is no maruel that these men do things which the Apostles neuer did, seeing they also teach those things which the Apostles neuer taught. The vse of salt was much in the olde Testament, for without salt sacrifices were not offered. But Christ and the Apostles admitted not that seasoning to the Sacraments of the Gospell. So then, that which is added vnto Baptisme, is selfe worshipped and no lawfull and sincere administration of Baptisme. Further why should they haue bled their corrupt spittle? The diuels be no

Scorpions, whom they would destroy with their spittle. In deede there is a certaine propertie of spittle against poysons: but that is naturall: but to spirituall graces, we reade of no power that it hath, especiallie when the institution and word of Christ is not applied vnto it. But they saie, that Christ with his spittle tempered the dust, and with that claie wyped the eies of him that was borne blind. We know that this was done: but let them shew that Christ commanded that we should doe the like: and then we will graunt that they doe it rightly and orderly, but they can in no place shew of such a precept. Whereunto thou maiest adde that the spittle of a corrupt and infected man (to saie no worse) ought not to be compared with the spittle of Christ. It is therefore a peruerse imitation, seeing they learned no such ceremonie, neither of Christ nor yet of the Apostles. And it maie well be sometime, that they hurt the infant which they spit vppon, if they be infected either with the Leprosie or with the French pockes: which is not vnlike, for it falleth out sometime that diuerse of them be whoremongers.

Note.

Wax candels added to baptisme.

6 Furthermore I would demaunde of them, wherefore they light ware Candles in Baptisme, seeing it is ministred in the day time. I am not ignorant that the Christians were constrained in the old time to vse lightes in the holie assemblie: because when the Church had no peace of their Princes, it was not lawfull for the Christians to assemble in the day time: and therefore (as Plinie testifieth) they had their holie assemblies before daylight. Yea and Ierom against Vigilantius writeth: We light not candles in the daie time as thou doest bainelie misreport, but we vse light as a tempering of darkenelle, that we maie watch till it be daie light, least we sleepe with thee in darkenelle, &c. For in the time of Ierom, when the Church had now peace, vpon certaine daies there were watches bled in the temples: and there candles being lighted, the Christians which watched, gaue themselues to prayers, singing of Psalmes, and hearing of the word of God: And this is it that Ierom teacheth, that the vse of ware lightes was not vsed in the daie time, but for auoyding darknesse of the night. Whereby we see that this father acknowledgeth not the vse of ware candles which are lighted in the daie time: and yet not withstanding in Poperie candles are lighted euen in the Churches at high noone. The duble consecratiō of fruits is also superfluous at Easter & at Pentecost, because salt water is consecrated when it is applied

The cause why they bled lights in the Churches in times past.

In poperie candles are lighted at high noone.

to an holie vse, the word of God (I meane) being added thereunto. For then (as it hath bene said) it is made a sacrament. Let them saie moreouer what meaneth the breathing of the Priest, before that the Infantes bee baptised. Perhaps they attempt to breath the holie Ghost vppon the Infant, that is to be baptised. But that this is not in mans power, all wise men vnderstande. For onely God giueth the holie Ghost vnto men. But and if they will saie, that by such a breathing they driue away the euill spirite, who hath giuen them such power? But of that matter we will speake more largelie when the place serueth. In vaine also doe they giue precept of the three times dipping inthe water, seeing that once maie bee sufficient and other while a final sprinkling is enough. And therefore in the booke *de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* the 7. Chapter, the proposition is read not *simple, but disiunctiue: that is to wit, that after the confession made the partie to be baptised should either be dipped in the water or else sprinkled. Pea and Cyprian himselfe allowed the baptisme of them that lie bedred. For manie at that time differred baptisme till the end of their life: and when as they in that state beeing at the point of death could not be baptized, they were onelie sprinkled with water. We also demaunde of them, wherefore they coniure the salt, as though the diuell by himselfe were not salt enough, & therefore dwelleth in salt, that he maie be yet better and more salted. The maister of the Sentences in the 4. booke the thirde Distinction of baptisme, saith, that therein bee some thinges (as he speaketh) substantiall, but other some that be added: he saith that the substantiall things with vs are the word and water: but the rest he saith are added for honestie sake, for comlines, and solemnitie. If we shall receiue these things, it will follow ther of that Iohn, Christ, the Apostles, and primitiue Church did baptise vnhonestlie, vncomlie, obscurelie, or shamefullie: because their baptisme wanted all these things, the which (as the maister of the Sentences beareth) do serue for honestie, comlines, and solemnitie. This doubtlesse is lamentable that almost all things in Christianitie be corrupted, not onelie concerning manners, but also as touching doctrine and Sacraments. Verilie it had bene meete in baptisme to haue delt by faith, and to require a full and perfect profession thereof. And let not anie man answere, that the crede is recited, because in the baptisme of Papistes it is done verie coldlie: especiallie seeing it is alwaies

Thepistelles blurting forth added to baptisme

Thrise dipping in Baptisme.

*Categorica.

Why salt is exorcised.

vsed in the latine tongue, which is not vnderstood of them that stande by. And although, they that be present doe after a sort knowe by long experience, the articles of the faith, yet doe they but lightlie vnderstande them, wherefore it is necessarie to instruct them more plainelie. They boast also that they vse a Catechising or instruction: But in what sort? Forsooth the same consisteth of fiue or tenne words, and these not vnderstood. Besides they commaunde him that is to be baptised to renounce the Diuell and the pompes of this world: For the which they haue no commaundement of God.

7 But leauing the rest of their trifles: let vs come to Exorcisme, wherein they put the whole summe and effect of the thinges that be added. And seeing the matter is of great importaunce, I thinke it first meete to speake somewhat of the signification of the word. In Greeke ἐξορκίζειν is to adiure by holie things. Augustine in his booke *de Beata vita*, writeth, that an euill spirite inuadeth the soule, troubleth the senses, and traineth men into madnesse, in the driuing out of which they that haue authoritie, doe laie on their handes and exorcise, that is, do adiure him out in adiuring him by diuine thinges. Hereby it appeareth now that exorcisme is an adiuring by holie things. Vlpianus in the Pandects in the Title *de variis & extraordinariis cognitionibus*, in the first law saith, that he alloweth not of those Phititians which inchaunt and exorcise: and he addeth, that the same is a word which deceiueth vs. And although some (saith he) affirme, that they be holpen, yet doe they nothing but inchaunt and curse. Also Plinie beleeued that there bee certaine diseases which maie be healed by inchauntments and adiurations. In like manner there were some which supposed that exorcisme is therefore applied to holie baptisme, because a great oth is there made in the name of Christ. But they be verie far deceiued, for that the sacrificer doth there adiure the euill spirit, neither doeth he take anie oth in the name of Christ. True indeed it is, that the verbe is deriued of the nowne ὅρκος, which is, an oth. And vndoubtedly as I haue already said: A certain adiuratio by holie things is performed in exorcisme. I haue noted that the verbe ὁρκίζειν is three times found in the newe Testament. For in the fifth Chapter of Marke, the Diuell adiured Christ, saying, ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν: that is, I adiure thee by God, that thou torment me not. Verse.7.

In the 19. Chapter of the Actes the sonnes of Sceua saide: ὁρκίζομεν ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὁ Παῦλος κηρύσσει, that is, Wee adiure you by Iesus Verse.13.

Exorcisme added to Baptisme.

Lib.2.cap.2. pl.1.dist.24.

Lib.3.par.1. pl.1.&par.2. pl.9.dist.30.

Lib.5.par.1. pl.1.dist.1. epi.9.ast.10. Vnto what times may be referred the originall of Exsufflme.

Iesus Christ whom Paul preacheth. And in the first to the Thessalonians the last Chapter, ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον, ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις, that is, I adiure you by the Lord that this Epistle be redde vnto all the Saintes. Wherefore these places declare, that exorcismes as it hath beene saide, is an adiuration by diuine things. But exorcisme is exercised, by a certaine commaundement and ropall power: because the exorcistes cõmaunde the vncleane spirits, and verie boldlie commaund them to depart: and by this meanes exorcismes differ from prayers and supplications. Now it throughlie appeareth, what is exorcisme, and what is to exorcise. Verse.27.

8 Nowe are there three things to bee considered in order, first, when exorcismes began: secondlie, whether exorcistes should be retained, and so retained as they maie belong to the holie ministerie: Lastlie, whether exorcismes are to be ioyned with baptisme. As touching the first: I saie that in all the old Testament I haue not read that any exorcismes were ordained for the driuing out of diuels. I know indeede that there be adinrations extant. Wherefore there is a law of zelosie in the booke of Numbers, which commaunded vnto the Israelits a forme of a certaine adiuration: but by it the Priestes did not adiure the woman to cast Diuels out of her: but he wished either god or euill vnto her, according as she had behaued her selfe. If she had bene chast and blameleslie, he wished her well, but if shee were vncleane and defiled with whoredome, he cursed her with expresse words. Also Iosua adiured Acham, not to driue the Diuell out of him, but to driue him to confesse a trueth of conueying awaie the accursed thing. Some thinke that Dauid did exorcise Saul: which I allowe not, for he with his Harpe played before him, and with most pleasant verses prayed God: But that hee vsed not exorcisme it maie for two causes bee affirmed. First because he did not perfectlie heale him: but as it is written in ỹ historie: While he plaied, his trouble was allwaged: yet was not the euill spirite vtterlie cast out from Saul. Further Dauid vsed not the forme of adiuration, which the Scripture teacheth, but verses of Musicke: and these (as it is like lie) of the nature of prayers. But that there were Exorcistes among the Hebrewes, I denie not, as I wil streightwaie declare by plaine Testimonies: although I graunt that I am ignorant in what age they first began. Iosephus in ỹ 8. booke of Antiquities, the second Chapter writeth, that Salomon Num.5.12. Iosua.7.19. 1.Sam.16. 23.

made certaine charmes and exorcismes. But of that matter I spake sufficientlie, when I interpreted that place where it is shewed that Salomon passed in wisedome all the men of the East and the Egyptians. But to come somewhat nearer vnto the matter I thinke that the wisedome of Salomon was inspired into him by GOD. And those things which God bestoweth vppon men are not to bee counted euill, but good: but that incantations are condemned by the lawes of GOD, it is most certaine: For which cause they are not giuen to men by the spirite of God. Whereby it is proued that the exorcismes, inchauntments, and the booke of the little Bay, the which are caried abroad vnder the name of Salomon: are counterfait and not to be fathered vpon him. They abound enerie where with superstitions, and be fraughted with gestures both ridiculous and Idolatrous. A counterfeit booke of Salomon.

9 But that the Hebrewes (as I haue said) had Exorcistes, it is proued by the testimonie of Christ in the 12. of Matthew. For there the Lord answered: If I in the name of baalzebub doe cast out Diuels, in whose name do your children cast them out? Where Ierom interpreteth, that by the children of the Hebrewes maie be vnderstood exorcistes, which all that time wandered here and there coniuring if spirits by the name of the Lord. It is saide then that they shall be their iudges, not by power but by comparison: They doubtlesse confessed that Diuels were cast out by the spirit of GOD, but these men attributed ỹ power vnto Baalzebub: wherefore they were found to be much worse than they. But he adueth that that place might also be vnderstoode of the Apostles: which were the children of the Hebrewes as touching the flesh and had already giuen by Christ the giftes of casting out of Diuels, and are rightlie saide, that they shall be iudges of the wicked and of the blaphemous, seeing it is saide vnto them: Yee shall sit vppon 12. seates iudging the 12. Tribes of Israel: And hee farre preferreth this latter interpretation before the first. But mee thinkes the first seemeth the more agreeable. For if we affirme that these things are spoken as touching the Apostles, the Scribes and Pharises shall not seeme at the full to bee reprooued of Christ. For they might haue saide: Why Disciples also cast out Diuels in the name of Baalzebub, euen as they be taught by thee. Neither do I perswade my selfe that those wicked men make more account of the Apostles in better place than they did of their master. But if so be we refer those words vnto Verse.27. A place of Matthew expounded. Exorcistes among the Hebrewes. Mat.19.28

to

to exorcistes, the Scribes and Pharisees are notablie confuted. Wherefore I confesse that among the Iewes there were exorcistes. Neither doe I denie but that God bestowed that gift (of driuing awaie of Deuils from men) to certaine men whom he would, yet not vnto such as the Prielstes had appointed. But ẏ Prielstes therein greuouslie sinned, in ẏ they would at their owne pleasure appoint a felowship, or colledge, or order of Exorcistes: as though they might binde the grace of GOD to their elections and constitutions.

10 But afterwarde Christ reuued that strength and power, yea rather: he was the Christ the head of new Exorcists. a chiefe and prince of new Exorcists: and he dealt against the vncleane spirits with great commaundement and absolute power, as it manifestly appeareth in the storie of the Gospell. Neither did he onelie cure them that Mark.1.25 Ibid.5.11. were present, but them also which were absent: for he healed the daughter of the woman of Chanaan which was absent: neither had he himself onlie power ouer ẏ diuels, but he also gaue the same gift vnto his Apostles.

Ver.13. But there is another place in the Actes of the Apostles, in the 19. Chapter: whereby it most euidently appeareth, ẏ such Exorcists were among the Hebrewes. For the sonnes of Sceua adiured ill spirites, which also they attempted to doe through the name of Iesus. Howbeit the auncient Prophets, although I reade that sometime they did myracles, yet doe I not finde that they vsed Exorcismes. But that Christ gaue power of casting out the Diuell vnto his Disciples, it is shewed in the 16. Chapter of Mark, where it is written: And there signes shall followe: the beleeuers shall cast out diuels, &c. And in the

Luke.9.49. 9. of Luke it is declared that Iohn sawe a certaine man which through the name of Christ cast out diuels, and yet he did not follow him: Wherefore (saieth Iohn) wee forbad him: which deede Iesus disallowed. Manie also at the latter daie shall saie: as we haue it in the

Ver.22. 7. of Matthew: Haue we not in thy name cast out Diuels? And Paul as it is written in the

Act.16.18. 16. of the Actes commanded the spirit of diuination to depart: which forthwith was done. Howbeit we must vnderstand, that the Apostles were not alwaies able by their authoritie to cast out ill spirites. For as the historie

Mat.17.16. of the Euangelist teacheth: A certaine man offered to them his sonne to be cured, whom they could not deliuer. And Christ comming to them taught that that kinde of Diuels, are not cast out but by fasting and prayers.

Ib. ver. 21. As if he shoulde saie: that therein prayers, and that verie earnest are needefull; the which are verie much furthered by fasting: true fasting I meane, not that fained fasting, which consisteth onelie of the choise of meates.

11 A great while did these gifts of healing remaine in the Church. And what time they vtterlie ceased, it cannot precisely be defined. And because that they are now no longer had, we are constrained to thinke that the wordes of Christ, (wherein he said: These signes shall follow them that beleeue:) were not generallie spokē, as if those graces should be giuen alwaies vnto all the faithfull. It was sufficient that they were giuen to the Church, and remained for a certaine space in it. Iustinus Martyr, who liued in the time of Antoninus Pius in the first Apol. page. 146. writeth, that the Christians ouer all the world and in the Citie it selfe healed verie manie that were possessed with euill spirits, which other inchaunters, coniurers, & sacrificers could not perfourme: and that as yet those men of ours perfitt in their purpole. Neither onelie did these graces indure vntill the time of Antoninus, but as Tertullia in his Apologie teacheth, they continued still vntill the time of Seuerus the Emperour, in whose time he flozished. We are accustomed (saieth he) to assaile Dæmons, that is spirites, and to driue them awaie frō men: and as it should seeme he reckoneth himselfe among the number of them which did this. And in the same place he saieth: We driue out ill spirits without reward or hire. Likewise in his booke intreating of idolatrie, in ẏ 734. page he saieth, against them who being Christians yet neuertheleste solde frankincense, and those things which were vsed in the worshipping of Iools: When thou seest the Aultar smoking, how canst thou contemne it, and with what constancie wilt thou exorcise thy seruants? And he calleth the Diuels, the scholers of these men, because these they made their boule a Cell for Iools, whereby they retayned Frankincense vnto them, to the intent they might make a perfume for them. By this place we are taught that the giftes of these adiurations, were not onelie giuen vnto the Clergie men, but that they happened euen to marchants also, & moreouer that they were graunted vnto souldiers. For the same Author in his little Booke *De Corona Militis* page 454. against them which of their owne accord went a warfare with Emperors, writeth: Those which he by exorcisme in the day time chased awaie, in the night he defended. Which he therefore wrote, because the souldiers were constrained other while to watch about the Churches and Temples of the Iools.

How and how long the gifts of healing were in the Church. The Author of the last Booke is vncertain.

dols. Also in his Booke *De Anima*, the last Chapter but one, he teacheth that vncleane spirites did oftentimes deceiue men, and made lies vnto them: namelie when they fayned themselues to be the soules of men departed, which wandzed in the shape of mens bodies. For the Diuell woulde not that it should be thought of the Christians, that the soules after this life should be detained in hell. And he adueth, that at the last they were conuicted, and constrained by adiurations to confesse the trueth: to wit, the grace they were no soules of men, but ill spirites. Further in his Booke *De Præscriptionibus aduersus Hæreticos* page.111. saith, that the women among the Heretickes were wont to vse Exorcismes.

The diuell fayned them selues to be the soules of men departed.

Custome was graunted for the first gift of adiuration.

12 But it must be considered that what hath hitherto bin brought as concerning Exorcismes, must not bee vnderstoode of the Exorcismes in baptisme, but of those where by the possessed with ill spirites were healed by the Christians. Yea and Iustinus Martyr in the former Apologie while he is earnestly occupied about baptisme, maketh no mention of Exorcisme. Neither did that Dionysius whatsoeuer he were, that wrote the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, make any mention of such Exorcismes. In deed he hath certaine things, I cannot tell what, of thē times breathing out and thē renouncings, which neuertheleste must be done (as he teacheth) by a mā that is to be baptized, and not by an exorcist, or minister of the sacrament. Of renouncing also Tertullian made mention in his Booke, *De Corona militis*, but hee writeth that the same was wont to be vsed vnder the hands of the chiefe Prelate. But at this day, there be no Bishops present when the sacrament of baptisme is administred. But they were present in those dayes, and also in the time of Ambrose, as he himselfe testifieth in the first booke *De Sacramentis*, in the first and seconde Chapters: And also in the Booke of them which were entered into orders euen from the beginning. Yea and Basill in his Booke *De spiritu sancto* in the 27. Chapter made mention of Renouncing: lykewise annointing and holy water; and also of thzice dipping in the water: but he speaketh nothing of Exorcisme. But the consent of Colen, to proue their trifles as touching fault and annoynting, alledge Origen in the 6 and 7 Homilies vppon Ezechiel. But if a man diligentlie weigh his sayinges, he hath nothing which serueth to that purpose, Eusebius Cæsariensis in his 6. booke 43. Chapter maketh mention of an Epistle of Cornelius the Bysshop of Rome, vnto Fabius the pzelate of Antiochie, in which he describeth the manners and life of Nouatus, making mention among other thinges, that at the beginning when he was possessed with a diuell, he was remedied by exorcismes, which was an occasion that he was conuerted to Christ, where notwithstanding he was afterward baptised lying beddered. And Cyprian in the 4 booke and 7 Epistle writeth vnto Magnus that the vncleane spirites doe sometime deceaue the seruantes of God while they bee adiured by them; and do faine that they go their waies, whereas neuertheleste they depart not. But he saith: that when they come vnto the water, that is to wit, vnto Baptisme, there the diuel cannot staie, he vtterlie departeth, neither is hee able to abide the Sacramentes. While I diligentlie consider with my selfe this place, it seemeth to me that I haue found the fountaine, head, and beginning of Exorcisme ioyned together with Baptisme. For that Father seemeth to signifie, that if deliuerance succeded not after Exorcismes, men in those daies fled vnto Baptisme, and that men folowed this way in the entring of them which were possessed with ill spirits. Wherefore the age that followed would imitate this, that Exorcismes should bee vsed before Baptisme, euen though the possessed were not to be baptized, least they should seeme to haue any thing lesse than the former church, in which they which could not bee cured by Exorcismes, were brought to the receiuing of baptisme. And afterward it followed that although the power of casting out deuils bee not nowadayes had, yet doe the Papists vse Exorcismes. But to returne vnto Cyprian: He in his treatise *De Baptismo Christi & manifestatione Trinitatis*, calleth those children of Sceua (of whom we made mention before) gainefull Exorcists, as though they solde those adiurations, and made a market of them. Also Gregorie Nazianzene in his Oration *De Luminaribus*, or in his third Oration *ad Sanctum Lauacrum* made mention of Exorcismes: and also many other Fathers. But this must be considered, that the latter age vsed Exorcismes as being ioyned with baptisme: and as though they belonged vnto a certaine order of Clergie men.

Iustinus time there was no mention of Exorcisme at the Baptisme.

Whose scholers the diuels are counted.

Acts.19.13

13 Wherefore I will now come to the second point of the question proposed: where in we must trie whether at this day Exorcists should be retained, and so retayned, as in the Church should be a certaine peculiar order of Exorcists. It hath seemed good vnto many that such an order should be had in the Church. For Epiphanius in his third booke and second Tome, when he reckoneth the hos-

Whether Exorcists are still to be retained in the Church. Arguments for retayning of the.

1. Epiphanius.

lis

lie orders, among others, nameth ἐπιορκίσας that is adiurers. Indede after a sort he alte-reth the word, but yet indede he meaneth the selfe same thing. Also Isidorus in his booke
Isidorus. 2. *De Officijs Ecclesiasticis* Chap. 13. citeth the
Verse. 55. place of Esdras where in the second Chapter, the sonnes of the childre of Salomon are recko-ned together with the children of Nathan.
3. The Hebrewes were declared to bee those seruants of Salomon for the reparations of the Temple: namely that they should prouide to keepe it safe from winde and water. But Isidorus saith, that they were Exorcists: But howe truelie, let others iudge. In the decrees, Gratian Distinct. 77. in the Canon
4. Monachus: Exorcists are called defenders, as if (in my iudgement) they should defend bodies and soules from the diuell. In the La-
5. odicene Councell in the Chapter 26. it is forbidden, that none should exorcise, vnlesse he be ordained by the Bishop, as though the Bishoppe bee able by his imposition of hands, to giue power to driue away ill spi-rits. This also we haue in the decrees in the
6. distinct. the 69. in the Canon, *Non oportet, &c.* Againe in the fourth Councel of Carthage it is decreed that whe an Exorcist, is ordained the Booke of Exorcismes is deliuered vnto him, and he is commanded to learne them by heart, that he may vse them when occasion-
Arguments on the contrarie part. tie shall serue. But at this day the Papists in their Churches haue onlie the titles & names, but they perfourme nothing of those things which they teache to belong vnto their fun-ctions. For onely the Elders doe baptise ordinarylie among them, neither are there vsed besides them any other Cleargie men, which by their ministerie, may exorcise the infantes which be brought vnto them. And they which in times past accompanied the
Who were Acoluthi. Bishops as witnesses of their good name & conuersation, were called ἀκόλουθοι. At this time in deede remaineth the order of Aco-luthes, but they do not the office. They haue also the name & order of doorekepers: vnto whom the Temple doores are said to be com-mitted, that they may haue a regard to them that goe in, and that they may keepe the in-fidels and excommunicate persons from the
Doore kee-pers. holy seruice. But there is no doorekeeper found at this day that doth execute that office. Furthermore they ordaine readers:
Readers. whose office in the purer times was, that they should openly reade certaine places out of the Scriptures vnto the congregation assembled: which the Bishop afterward suc-ceeding did interprete vnto the people stan-ding by. This office is at this day out of vse: Yet is the name and order retained. And they haue also added exorcists which should adiure them which be assailed with diuels. And this as I haue said, the priestes at this day doe in baptisme, not the meaner Cleargie men, who seeme now to doe nothing in the Temples (as we see) but to sing, to beare ware lightes, to ring belles, and to help the priest to say Masse: and so now all thinges in the Church are become ridiculous & foolish. And while they shall imitate the forefathers, especially in that wherein they were not to be allowed, they after a sort shewe themselues to be their Apes. Wherefore vaine names and degrees ought not to be retained
By what meanes we must fur-come the pol-lecies with which Satan ouerwhelmeth all things. How that Exorcisme is taken a-way. without the true exercise of a function. What then shall we doe with men that be taken and assaulted with euill spirits, when they be tormented by them: shal we forsake them? Vndoubtedlie they must not be forsaken: But we must we not by adiurations commaund the euill spirit to goe forth, seeing we perceiue not our selues to be indued with that grace and power that we should by our owne commaundement cast forth diuels. Wherefore we will vse faithfull prayers, deuout and most earnest supplications for the recouerie of them. Briefly it would be well and aptilely don in these dayes to cōuert exorcismes into prayers. And hitherto concerning this point.

Reckoning vp the exorcismes about to be refuted.

14 Now let vs see for the third: whether exorcismes should be ioyned with baptisme. They which defend the part affirmative, vse very many testimonies & sentences of the fathers. Further they bring certaine reasons of their owne mind. Augustine in the first and fourth bookes *De Fide & Symbolo ad Catechumenos* giueth an excellent testimonie vnto exorcisme. And in his booke *De peccato originali* against Pelagius and Coelestius the 40. Chapter. By exorcismes (saith he) is blowen out before baptisme a contrarie power. The same father in his *Encheridion* vnto Laurence 3. Chapter the 31 saith: that now Exorcismes be in the whole world, and that by an exsuf-flation or blowing out, the vncleane spirite is driuen away and the prince of this world is cast forth, the strong armed man is bound and his vessels are plucked from him. Moreouer in the first booke and 14. Chapter *De peccatorum meritis & remissione* he wri-teth: what doth my Exorcisme worke in the baptising of an infant, if he be not held in the familie of the diuell? Vndoubtedlie Augu-stine in this opinio erred grenouslie, in that he attributed ouer much vnto Baptisme. For he acknowledgeth it not to be the out-ward signe of regeneration, but he would that by the very act of washing, we should be regenerate and adopted, and passe into the
Whether Exorcisme is to be ioy-ned with Baptisme. Arguments affirming it, and their refutations. 1. 2. Fathers. 3. 4.

the familie of Christ. As though before that they belong vnto the familie of the diuill, and were wholy
5. possessed of him. The same Author in the 6. Chapter *De fide & operibus* teacheth that by
6. Exorcismes men be purged. And in his trea-tise *De Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* he is of the
7. same opinion. And also in his Sermon *De Sacramentis fidelium feria seciūda paschæ*, where he saith: By Exorcismes and adiurations ye
8. began to be grinded. Chrysostom also in his Homilie of Adam and Eue made mention of Exorcisme and exsufflation, as of thinges vsed generally by the Church. Furthermore Optatus the Bishop of Miletum in the iiij. booke against Parmenianus, maketh mention of Exorcismes, as though they serued euery where for the vse of Churches.

15 Surelie, it would be ouer long, to re-cite here the sayings of al the fathers. Wher-fore leauing now the Testimonies of them, I will rehearse the reasons by which they
1. defende this opinion of theirs. First they take as graunted, that it is necessarie vnto saluation to passe from the power of darke-nesse into the kingdome of light. They adde afterwarde that men before baptisme, liue vnder the power of the Diuell. So then they conclude, that he must be put awaie, which they iudge to be done by exorcisme. Second-
2. lie, they say, it is come to passe for sinnes sake that the Diuell hath power ouer men: but they affirme that sinne is in them vntil such time as they be baptised: and therefore iudge it requisite that the euil spirit which is al-wayes ioyned together with sinne, shal giue place vnto the good spirite, seeing they cannot be both together. For what agreement is
3. there betweene light and darkenesse, and be-tweene Christ and Belial? Further that the vncleane spirit is driuen out by exorcismes, they thereby confirme, because with their cries they testifie themselues to be tor-mented and il vexed while they be adiured. But if thou shalt saie vnto these men, that the nature of Infantes is good: For GOD sawe all things that he made, and they were good: They will answere, that they doe not exorcise nor blowe out nature which GOD hath made, but that they woulde depresse the power of the ene-mie, I meane the Diuell, that he should not at his owne pleasure hurt nor stirre vp the infection of concupiscence to commit sinne.
4. And they adde that it is lawful for them to
1. Tim. 4. 5 Exorcise euery creature: seeing Paule hath said vnto Timothie: that thinges are sancti-
5. fyed by the word and by prayers. For this purpose also they alledge that saying which was spoken by God vnto Adam after sinne committed: Cursed is the ground for thy sake: and thereby they gather, that by Ex-orcismes the state of man is to be deliuered
6. from the diuell and from the curse. They bring also that saying of the Apostle: Our
Ephe. 6. 12. wrestling is not against flesh and bloud, but against wickednesse in heauenly thinges. Wherefore they affirme that the spirites must be bridled by Exorcismes. Lastlie they
7. say, that in naturall thinges the impedi-mentes are first removed from the matter, before a forme and habite of good be brought in. So it behoueth before the forme of new generation to exclude the aduerse power which hindreth, and altogether resisteth spi-rituall birth.

Reasons to the contrary

16 But this matter is farre otherwise: for seeing the Scripture hath no where com-maunded, that exorcismes should be ioy-
1. ned with baptisme, it is not to be attemp-ted by vs. And if to be we will followe bet-
2. ter examples, we shall perceiue that Peter baptised Cornelius: and that the Eunuch was baptised by Philip without anie adiu-rations. Thirdlie I adde, that this gift of
3. the holie Ghost flourisheth not at this date in the Church, that we be able to heale them that be taken with ill spirites: & to cure such as be possessed with the Deuill. Therefore we must cease to boast of that which wee haue not receiued. Moreouer it should be necessarie, that they which iudge otherwise should shewe some signe or token of their power which they haue receiued from God. There be (as it is saide) verie manie Luna-ticke men, and there want not of them that be possessed of ill spirites, why doe they not heale them? This whilest they do not to the Deuill himselfe, nor yet to vs, let them not perswade vs that they be indued with such
4. power. Augustine in the 22. booke *de Ciui-tate dei* Chapter 22. writeth that Infantes of Christians being baptised, are oftentimes miserablie vexed by vncleane spirites. Then seeing these Exorcistes be not able to driue awaie vncleane spirites out of them, in whom it is not doubted but that they are, why bable they, that they can cast them out of them in whom they shewe no signe of their presence? Ouer this let vs consider,
5. that Circumcision in olde time was in the place of Baptisme, and yet that during all the time of the old testament no exorcismes were vsed to the Circumcising of Infantes. Which if they had beene necessarie, wee are not to thinke that so manie Prophetes had passed them ouer: especiallie seeing among the Hebrewes, (as we haue said) there were

some exorcistes that were indued from God with the power of driuing awaie ill spirits. Neither can they easilie escape which imbrace exorcismes, but that of one Sacrament they make manie, seeing they make so manie signes which they will to be accounted holie, adding oyle, spittle, exsufflations, and such like: so as one Sacrament of baptisme doeth degenerate into manie. Neither 6. must they be heard when to the intent to mocke the simple, they feigne a difference betweene Sacraments and Sacramentals, which is altogether Sophisticall. For distinctions are to be receiued gladlie, but those to be such as are taken out of the verie nature of things, because they bring much light to controuersies: but those distinctions, which spring out of the braine of Sophisters onelie for the shifting off of Arguments, are altogether to be refused.

7. 17 But seeing that among them selues, euen priuate men and silie women doe baptise and vse neither exorcismes nor exsufflations, what manner of baptisme will they iudge that to be? If they will say: a perfect baptisme, they ought not to ioyne thereunto these inuentions of their owne, seeing they iudge that to bee perfect, vnto which nothing can bee added: If vnperfect, they make themselues wiser than Christ, who ioined not exorcismes and exsufflations with baptisme. Besides that, they are so insolent, as they saie in the 4. booke of the Sentences, Dist. the 6. that these their Sacramentals must both be supplied and pieced vp, when they haue beene omitted vpon the daungers of life. But they knowe for a certaintie, that they are vaine elie and superstitious patched. For if (as themselues saie, and Cyprian affirmeth) when they come to baptisme, the Deuil is chased awaie, neither can he be there anie more after Baptisme is celebrated at the perill of Death: if he nowe be away, why doe they adiure him, and by a certaine imperious manner commaund him to depart? A foolish thing doubtlesse it is to speake with one y is absent, and to command him to depart which is alreadie gone. But y 8. we maie againe fight with their owne weapons, we remit the reader vnto Gratian, who *de Consecratione*, distinct. the 4. C. *Siquando*, bringeth the iudgement of Cælestinus who decreed, that from baptisme must be driuen all those from whom the Diuell by adiurations and exsufflations hath not beene cast out. There the Glosse saith, that this must not be absolutelie vnderstoode, because the euill spirite before baptisme is not cast out, seeing vntill the time of baptisme we be the Familie of the Diuell and his members. Wherefore he affirmed that the Diuel is not cast out by exorcisme, but signified that hee shall be cast out, namelie in baptisme. To conclude, these men be they which so greatlie lie from figuratiue speeches, and cannot abide that we should applie a figure of signification vnto the words of the Lords Supper: where as they at their owne will (I will not saie for their pleasure) euerie where abuse figuratiue speeches. But if it be lawfull for them to saie, that by exorcismes is signified that the Diuell shall be cast out, by the same reason another will say, it is signified that he is cast out alreadie. But I goe 10. yet vnto stronger reasons, and affirme, that Arisme no those which are to be baptised, be either men argument a gainst infants of ripe age, or else Infantes. They which baptisme. be of ripe age, it behoueth that they beleeue before they be baptised: who if they beleeue they be already iustified, and when they are become the members of Christ, the Diuell out of doubt is departed from them: So that they ought not to be exorcised or adiured as though they had yet euill spirites present in them. And if they which be offered to bee baptised, be the Infantes of Christians, I denie them to belong to the diuell, seeing they be in the couenaunt of God, wherein it was saide vnto Abraham: I will bee thy Gen.17.7. God, and the God of thy seede. Wherefore Ezec.16.20. in the Prophet Ezechiel the 16. Chapter and Exe.23.37. also in the 23. Chapter, God is brought in to the Israelites, blaming them because they had yeelded vnto Idols, the children which 11. they had begotten vnto him, and had made thē to passe through the fire that they might become sacrifices of the Idols. And Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians affirmed 1.Cor.7.14 that the Children of the Christians be holie. Which if it be true, there can no cause bee alligned why the Diuell should bee driuen from them by exorcismes.

18 But the head of their superstition is 12. Christ and the apostles neuer vsed that taken away one thing, and put another in place by another. this, that these men thinke, that by the out- ward baptisme sinnes are chiefely forgiuen. But they are greatly deceiued: this is the gift of Christ alone: and therefore Iohn in pointing by pointing vnto Christ said: Behold the lambe Iohn.1.29. of God, which taketh away the sinnes of the world. And in Exodus the 33. it is expressed Verse.33. as a thing proper vnto God, that he taketh awaie iniquitie, vngodlines and sinnes. And Esaie in the 43. Chapter: It is I that take a- Verse.25. waie sinnes. In the first of Iohn we reade: He 1.Iohn.2.2. is that is the Propitiation for our sinnes. Which also Paule affirmed vnto the Romans Rom.3.25. when he saieth: Whom he hath set forth a Propitiation through his bloud. Also Iohn in 1.Iohn.1.9 his first Epistle and first Chapter wrote: The bloud of Iesus Christ his sonne cleanseth vs from

from all sinne. Verilie the outward things doe not cleanse the conscience, otherwise Christ had died in vaine. Againe, the soule which is a spirit and without bodie, is not purged by grosse & corporall things. Which the Epistle to the Hebrewes the 9. Chapter Verse.9. doeth plainely teach, when it saith, That the gifts and sacrifices doe not purge nor make cleane: but that Christ was the verie high Priest, who hauing wrought eternall redemption, passed into the heauens. And if at anie time the holie scriptures maie seeme to attribute forgiuenesse of sinnes or saluation to outward signes, that must be vnderstoode by the figure Metonymia, wherby those things are giuen vnto signes, which are proper vnto the things signified, & the things signified are expressed by the name of the signes. So 1.Pet.3.20 Peter in his first Epistle saith, that in ỹ time of Noah viij. soules were saued by the water, alluding vnto baptisme. Howbeit by water he vnderstandeth not the outward element, but that washing which is done by the bloud of Christ. And so in the outwarde signe hee comprehendeth the thing signified. Which he himselfe manifestly declareth afterward, 1.Pet.3.21. where he saieth: Not in that wherein the filthes of the flesh is put awaie, but in that a good conscience answereth euen to God by the Resurrection of Iesus Christ. So that by the water he noted the bloud & death which is expressed vnder the name of Resurrection. After the same manner must that be vnderstoode, which wee haue to the Ephesians: Ephe.5.25 namely, That Christ gaue himselfe for the Church, that the same might be sanctified by the washing of water through the word, &c. The cause of sanctification is Christ himselfe, who gaue himselfe for vs, and for that cause gaue the washing of water, that the cleansing by him might be testified by ỹ word and by the signe. Wherefore this must be held: that the outward signes ioyne vs not vnto Christ, but that they be giuen when we be alreadie ioined vnto him. Euen as the watch Alimelles take. word of souldiers doth not lenie a souldier, but hath bin accustomed to be giuen when he is alreadie lenied. And there is none that marketh his cheepe, horse, and oxe, vnlesse he first possesse those beastes. Yea and the letters of Donation are first finished and written before the seales of the giuers be set vnto them. And assuredly thus God delt with A- Gen.15.6. braham: First he beleeued and it was imputed to him for righteousnesse. Then he receiued circumcision as a seale of the righteousnesse of faith, which he was indued with whē he was vncircumcised. Neither did God begin to deale with Abraham in circumcision, but the same circumcision followed iustification. Which is also done in baptisme. The thing it selfe, that is the couenant, made with mankinde by Christ goeth before: afterward followeth the outward token. And that it is not otherwise with vs than with Abra- Rom.4.23. ham, Paul declareth, when he saieth, that he was set forth vnto vs, as an example of iustification. Which if it were not, all the Arguments of Paule concerning that matter should be weake: yea rather, they would be vtterly ouerthrowen.

19 Yet doe I not denie, but that there be Certaine signified things of baptisme, which things that follow bap- doe not goe before but followe the eternall tisme. washing: as is mortification and repentance: and according to this Analogie I vnderstand that which we haue in the Epistle vnto the Romans, to wit, that we die with Christ, and Rom.6.4. are buried together with him, because the olde man, that is the affections and lustes of the flesh must perpetuallie bee mortified: which is not yet brought to passe so long as we be baptized, but it is requisite that it should afterward be done. And whereas we reade vnto the Galathians: So manie of you Gal.3.27. as are baptized, haue put on Christ: I iudge it must be so expounded, as if thou vnderstand, To put on Christ, for to be made the member of him; that goeth before baptisme: but if you meane it by manners and life to expresse the childe of God; that followeth after baptisme receiued. So as we must decree as Two plaines concerning the children of faithfull men, that they be reckoned among the faithfull, and that the children of the Saints are numbred among the Saints: as Paul testifieth in 1.Cor.7.14 the first Epistle to the Corinthians, And if 12. that one will obiect, that in the same Epistle 1b.12.ver.13 the 12. Chapter it is written: that wee bee baptized into one bodie; that must not be so expounded, as though we first passe by outward baptisme into ỹ bodie of Christ, seeing An obiection we were of the bodie of Christ before. Then touching original sin to the intent that this maie be testified and confuted. sealed, we are outwardly baptised. And therfore before those words it is written: By the 1bidem. spirit we are baptized into one bodie. So that it is first wrought by the worke of the holie Ghost that we become the mēbers of Christ: then baptisme is added. Wherefore seeing the Infants of Christians be such, there is no 13. cause why they should be adiured or breathed vpon. But we must weigh, that it is not brought to passe by those things that originall sinne is vtterly taken awaie, because we confesse that all men are borne the children of wrath, and be depraued with originall sinne; seeing that kinde of sinne com-

meth not by imitation, as the Pelagians taught, but it is the corrupting of the whole nature of man, both as touching the soule & as touching the bodie. Against we adde that God, by Jesus Christ doeth make cleane his elect and predestinate: so as the vice, which in his owne nature should be mortall sinne, shall not bee imputed to them vnto death. Further by his spirit he renueth and adorneth them. Afterward is added the sealing of outward baptisme. First therefore, they haue election or predestination, they haue the promise, and they are borne of faithfull [Parents:] and seeing they be now in the couenaunt, adopted by God, and iustified, there is no cause, but that they be iustly and of good right baptized.

In 1. King. Cap. 8. 20 Wherefore many are deceiued, which throughly perswade themselues that the Infants of Christians which perish without baptisme are vtterly damned. In deede Mar. 16. 16. Christ saide: He that shall beleeue and bee baptized shall be saued: And further added: He that will not beleeue shall bee damned: But did not there put, He that shall not bee baptized. For it maie well be that some man beleeueth, and by some occasions is let that he cannot be baptized. Yea and Augustine himselfe somewhat harde in this matter, acknowledged a baptisme aswell of the spirit as of Martyrdome, namelie, when anie man dieth of Martyrdome before he be baptized. And Ambrose in his funerall sermon made at the death of Valentinian who was slaine, being *newlie conuerted and not yet baptized, affirmeth that he raigneth with Christ in heauen. For albeit that he were not baptized, yet did he therefore trauell into Italie, that he might be baptized of Ambrose a Catholick Bishop. Wherefore he affirmeth that he was iustified by faith. Therefore lake what faith bringeth to passe in men of rype age before they be baptized, that doth the spirit of Christ, and the promise, worke in young children. But here some men demand, whether all the children of the Christians belong vnto the couenant. Which, if it be auouched, then that is obiected which vnto the Romans is written of the two twins: of whom being not yet borne, when as they had done neither good nor yll, it was saide: Iacob haue Rom. 9. 13. I loued, but Esau haue I hated. Neither is it any doubt, but that Isaac was a faithfull father and a holie man: whose sonne Esau notwithstanding is knowen to haue bin out of the couenant. Vnto this we answere, that those which be of the couenant of God, are considered either as they are before God, or else in such sort as they maie be knowen of the Church. God doubtlesse hath the number of his children most certaine which he hath predestinate from all eternitie. But the promise of the couenant with the stock of Abraham, is not of any number certaine, and it expressely shutteth forth none of his successors. And so when the children of the beleeuers are offered vnto the Church to be Christened, the same hath respect vnto the promise according as it is vttered. But if there be anie prerogatiue or exception in the secret counsels of God: the Church taieth not for that, seeing no such matter belongeth vnto it. Therefore it cannot bee accused of falshood when it reckoneth the children of holie men among the holie. And so it circumcised Esau and such like. It is said of some that regeneration is not to be graunted but by the word which is the seede of God. For Peter saith in his first Epistle the first Chapter, That wee are borne anewe not of a corruptible seede, but of an incorruptible, which is the word of God. But vnto this we answere, that this must be vnderstoode as touching men of ryper age, but that the case standeth not so with infants, vnlesse we will make the children of the Hebrewes to be in better state then the children of the Christians. For those coulde not be circumcised, if they had died the viij. daie. Whom notwithstanding to exempt from the couenant of God would be wicked. Also it might be lawfull to affirme that yong children bee borne againe by the worde of God, but yet by the inward word, that is, by the comfortable power of Christ and his holie spirit. Lastlie is obiected that which is written in the 3. Chapter of Iohn: Except a man shall be borne againe of the water and the spirit, he shal not enter into the kingdome of heauen. Vnto this maie be first said, that Christ would teach Nichodemus a newe regeneration, and that the same is done by the spirit. Which he expressed by two words, namely by water and the spirit: neither is it against the maner of the scriptures, that the grace it selfe of God, should be signified vnder the name of water. For it aswell watereth as also maketh fruitfull the minde and the soule of the faithfull. Yea and John Baptist ioyned together the spirit and fire when he saieth: He that commeth after me, shall baptize with the spirit and with fire. In which speech he vttered one and the selfe same thing vnder two maner of wordes. Or if ye had rather referre these words vnto outward baptisme, the saying may be drawen vnto them which neglect the receiuing of baptisme, whē they haue no let to the contrarie. For if a man refuse this sacrament, he vndoubtedly sheweth

Whether men hauing the spirit & grace before Baptisme, are therefore baptized in vaine.

15. Verse. 15. Note it must be vnderstoode with this exception, that we ascribe not to the generation but vnto the word.

16. Iohn. 3. 5. Note well the legerdemaine of the Anabaptists.

1. of Iohn. Water is a meane to signifie the spirit.

Mat. 3. 11.

sheweth himselfe not to be iustified. Then seeing the matter thus standeth, that iustification dependeth not of baptisme, but goeth before it, there shall bee no nede of exorcismes and exsufflations. For the word of God teacheth not that these thinges shoulde be vsed. Also there appeareth not in vs at this daie this grace of healings: neither are the Infants which are offered to be baptized, such

17. as these men haue imagined. But perhaps thou wilt say: To what ende then is Baptisme deliuered vnto them, if they had the substance of baptisme before? Is the labour spent there in vaine? No verily. First, because we obey God, who commanded vnto vs the worke of baptisme. Secondly, wee seale the promise and gift which we haue receiued. Moreouer, faith is there confirmed by the holie Ghost, through the word and outward signes. And when we thinke with ourselues of this visible worde or sacrament, the spirit of God stirreth by faith in our hearts, whereby againe and againe, we imbrace the diuine promises, and so iustification is amplified while faith is increased in the beleeuers. Verily God doeth assist the signes ordained by him. For they are no prophane or emptie things. Wherefore the fruite of baptisme is not momentanie, but it indureth all our whole life. For which cause they that are baptized, spend not their labour in vaine, neither doe they an vnnecessarie worke.

Anantswere vnto the cauils of the Fathers.

21 Now these thinges being declared and expounded, it remaineth that I answere the iudgement of the Fathers, and the reasons which the fauourers of exorcismes doe bring. The fathers that were of the greater antiquitie and purer age, spake of those exorcismes, with which the men taken or possessed of ill spirites were healed by those faithfull which had the grace of healings giuen them by God. And therefore they would wonder sullie maruell, if they should nowe see men being not indued with that grace, so boldlie and impudently commaund the Diuels, as at this daie it is done by Priestes

1. and feigned exorcistes. But those things that were afterward spoken by the latter writers of the Church, as touching the ioyning of exorcismes with Baptisme, seeing they bee alleadged without Scriptures, and sauour of superstition, neither are done with any fruit nor ought to be receiued. But from whence the errour sprang, it was declared before, when we handled a certaine place of Cypri-

3. &c. an. Further an other cause of the error was, for that men had begunne to attribute ouer much vnto Sacramentes. In which thing Augustine (otherwise a man of a sharpe wit and incomparable learning) was verie much deceiued. For he thought that the Infantes did then first goe out of the power of the Diuell when they were baptised. But seeing it hath beene declared, that this is not so, I thinke it good not to vse anie newe confutation. Onelie this I will say, that the Sacraments must not be contemned: but on the other side, wee must not attribute vnto them that which belongeth onelie vnto God.

An answere to the argumēts of the Aduersaries. 22 And thus much as concerning the Testimonies of the Fathers. Nowe come we to confute the reasons alleadged. First it was taken as graunted, that wee out of 1. the kingdome of darkenesse, shall be translated into the kingdome of light. That we willinglie graunt, but we denie that to be first done by receiuing of Baptisme, seeing Infants obtaine this by the predestination and promise of GOD, and also in right of inheritaunce of the couenant. So that there is no cause why place should therefore bee giuen to exorcismes. And they which were of ripe age obtaine this translation by faith. For by the same they receyue iustification. Wherefore they must not be adiured, seeing they belong alreadie vnto Christ. We con- 2. fesse also that by the desert of sinne it is come to passe, that men are come into the power of the Diuell: but yet that the same is taken away and euacuated by Christ through the holie Ghost and the word of God: and as concerning men of ripe age, by fayth, not by adiurations and exorcismes. And whereas 3. otherwhyle, when adiurations be vsed, the ill spirites crie out that they be wrung, tormented and vexed, it maie be done by collusion: namelie that the father of lies doeth faine such things, to the intent that superstitions may increase, and may be longer time nourished in the Church. And whereas they say, 4. that they do not blow out or exorcile the mans nature made by God, which is therfore good, but onelie indeuour by their adiurations to make feeble the power of the diuel & original corruption, least then it should as much hurt as it did before: We answere, that this may much more, iustlie and religiouslie bee obtained by prayers. Further if this were their mind, men ought to exorcile, not onelie at Baptisme, but also in a maner through out their whole life, seeing men are indangered all their life long by the violence and temptations of the Diuell, and also by the naughtie originall corruption, which doeth perpetuallie remaine in them. But after what manner, meates, and those thinges 5. which we vse for defending the life of the 1. Tim. 4. 5.

bodie are sanctified by the woꝛde of GOD and by pꝛayers, theiꝛ is no neede now to exꝑresse, seeing of that matter we haue spoken
6. largelie enough befoꝛe. They added, that in times past the earth was cursed by GOD, by reason of the first fault of Adam: and that theꝛefoꝛe it is needfull that the fruities theꝛeof should by adiurations be plucked out of the powꝛ of the diuell. This doe we not deme, but we adde, that a curse was thꝛough Christ, either mitigated oꝛ turned into blessing, and that theꝛefoꝛe eꝛoꝛcismes should be counted foꝛ superfluous and unꝓfitable, seeing that the ble of the earth and the fruits theꝛeof (to that thanksgiuing and pꝛayers be vsed theꝛein) are made cleane and pure vnto the faithfull. Also the woꝛds of the Apostle were alleadged, wheꝛein hee sayth:
7. That our wrestling is not against flesh and Eph. 6. 12. bloud, but against spirituall wickednesses. What this maketh foꝛ the ꝓsent purpose, I cannot so much as imagine, much lesse peꝛceiue. The Apostle in that place instructed vs, with a wonderfull complete armour against spirituall enemies, and against celestiall things: yet spake he not of eꝛoꝛcismes and
8. exsufflations. To conclude, they said that beꝛe foꝛe ꝛegeneration bee wꝛought, the impediments must be remoued: namelie the foꝛces of the Diuel. That which they first take vnto them, let vs graunt them: but we must adde that such obstacles are remoued by the might of Christ, and also by the powꝛ of the holie Ghost, by the ꝓmise of God, by the ꝛight of the couenaunt, and in men of ꝛiper age, by the ꝓeaching of the woꝛde, by faith and by ꝓayers, and theꝛefoꝛe theꝛe is no place left vnto adiurations, vnlesse peꝛhappes in some one man, that shall be indued peculiarlie from God with the gift of healing. Which powꝛ oꝛ facultie we iudge not, that it can be giuen by the bishoppes to whomsoeuer they wil by laying on of hands: seeing it is the holie Ghost which distribuеth these giftes of his vppon whomsoeuer he will. And thus much haue we spoken as concerning the question ꝓpounded.

Of Papisticall holie Water.

23 The fact of Elizeus, [wheꝛein he ap-
In 2. kings. 2. ver. 21. plied fault to helpe the waters of Ierico] doe the ꝓiests of the Pope imitate of a certaine
* nam Gyra. * peruerse zeale, who not onely vse fault in the baptising of infantes, but doe also powꝛe it into their holy waters, which may ꝛather
Aqua lustralis & piacularis. be called haynous waters. I maruell that they sometimes vse not figges, since that Eзai once applied them in healing the soꝛe of
4. Kings. 20.7. Ezechias. Howbeit so great is the boldnesse of these men that in their fainings and inuitions, they not onelie exercise these thinges which Christ and his Pꝛophets vsed, but they also take those things which they neuer vsed. Foꝛ they say that they mingle the holy oyle with Balme. But they make a notable lye, seeing Balme hath not bin bꝛought vnto vs of long time. And seeing they so bountifullie abuse fault, they beway themselues that the fault is become vnfauouꝛie. Which Cardinall Caietanus manifestlie confesseth, when he interpreted the woꝛdes of Christ, wheꝛein he said: But if the fault be made vn- Matt. 5. 13. fauouꝛie, it is nothing else woorth but to bee castfoorth and to be trodden vnder foote by men. When he wꝛote those thinges, the Citie of Rome was sacked by the Spanyardes Rome sacked. vnder Pope Clement the vij. Whereupon he said: Because we are now become vnlauoꝛie fault, theꝛefoꝛe are we cast foꝛth and trodden vnder foote. Wheꝛefoꝛe we must ꝓay vnto God that these bondslaues of Antichꝛist may become new vessels, and receaue fault of holie water, seeing they haue of long time foꝛsaken God the fountaine of liuely water, and haue digged to themselues Ier. 2. 13. pittes, which cannot containe wholsome waters. And this place they haue abused foꝛ confirming of their holy water, which euery Sabbaoth day they inchaunt and coniure, ascribing the inuention theꝛeof to Alexander the first Romane Byshop of that The inuenter of holie water. name, whom they will to be the fift oꝛ sixt after Peter. And in deede there is caryed about a decretall Epistle of his wheꝛein are contained manie thinges as touching this inuention, which were afteꝛward set foꝛth in the decꝛees *De Consecr.* distinct. 4 in the Chapter *Aquam Sale*. But in my iudgement and the iudgment of the moze learned, that Epistle is no ꝛight, but a supposed Epistle. Foꝛ Alexander liued in the time of Traianus. So then most auncient had the institution of this water bin. Wheꝛeof neuertheleste the Ecclesiasticall wꝛiters which flozished before the time of Gregory made no mention in any place. But how fond and absurd things they be which are theꝛe wꝛitten, we will somewhat moze diligentlie examine. Fiꝛst he decꝛees that that water should be sanctified of the Pꝛiests. Wheꝛeupon the Canonists gather, that the same is not lawfull neither foꝛ a Deacon noꝛ a Subdeacon, whenas notwithstanding they admit the administration of Baptisme both vnto laicmen and vnto women. But this is an old puꝛpose of the diuel, to ꝓuide that mans inuentions may be

be had in moze ꝓize than the lawes of God. Which also may be perceiued in consecꝛating of the vnsauouꝛie ointment called of them Chꝛisme oꝛ the holy oyle: wheꝛe so great a solemnitie is vsed, as it behoueth that a Bythop with all the Clergie men be ꝓesent, when in the meane time Baptisme and the Eucharist, which be the veꝛie sacraments of Chꝛist himselfe are ministꝛed after a vulgar and common maner. But howsoeuer this Alexander oꝛ whosoeuer he weꝛe doe appꝛoue his holie water, he vseth a veꝛie wicked argument in pluꝛping those woꝛds which are in the Epistle to the
Hebr. 9. 13 Hebꝛewes: If the bloud of Goates and of Buls, and the ashes of an Heifer being sprinkled did sanctifie them that are vncleane as touching the sanctification of the flesh, howe much moze doth the bloud of Chꝛist, which by the eternall spiꝛit offeꝛed himselfe foꝛ vs, &c? Wheꝛein Paul the Apostle argueth fꝛom the lesse to the gꝛeater. These woꝛds Alexander taking, inferreth that much moze the water consecꝛated by diuine woꝛdes, shall sanctifie them that be vncleane. And so that which Paul concluded, as touching the bloud of Chꝛist, this man with intollerable blasphemie transferreth to holie water. Foꝛ the woꝛthinesse and woꝛke of Chꝛist his bloud, must not bee attributed to the elementes of this woꝛld, especiallie when they lacke the woꝛd of God.

24 Againe, he commendeth his water
Luke. 1. 42 thꝛough the fact of Elizeus. Foꝛ if Elizeus (saith he) by casting in of salt, put away baꝛrennesse fꝛom the waters, much moze shall this water dꝛiue away all baꝛrennesse. And yet fuꝛther amplifying the matter, It will bꝛing all good things (saith he) to them which vse it. Moꝛeouer he attributeth to great a stꝛength theꝛeunto, as hee affiꝛmeth that the craftie indeuours and temptations of the diuell are theꝛeby put away, and that it also remoueth fꝛom the minds of men, hurtfull visions and naughtie cogitations. And he yet ꝓceedeth fuꝛther, and vseth a veꝛie wicked argument. If the skiꝛts (saith he) of our Lozdes garment, when hee was touched by the sick woman, did make heꝛ whole, howe much ꝛather shall this water bꝛing health both of bodie and soule vnto the faithfull? By these thinges it plainelie appeareth, The holie water made equall to the bloud of Christ. that this holy water is made equal vnto the bloud of Chꝛist, and is ꝓeꝛeꝛred aboue the skiꝛts o this garments: as though our sinnes were so light, and take so feeble ꝛoote in our mindes, as they can be wiped out by the sꝓinkling of a superstitious water. Besides this, among the false Ecclesiasticall men, theꝛe is in use an other kinde of consecꝛated water, which they vse in the consecꝛation oꝛ reconciliation of Churches oꝛ Temples. That, onely the Bythop doth coniure, oꝛ as they speake, doth sanctifie: and he applyeth theꝛeunto wine and ashes. Theꝛe is also among them an other kinde of most solemne water, namely, of the fountaine of baptisme, which they vsing with gꝛeat pompe consecꝛate the day befoꝛe Easter and Pentecost. And theꝛeof is mention made by many of the fathers. The waters of baptisme consecrated the day before Easter and Pentecost. And the custome of consecꝛating such waters of baptisme seemeth to haue bone of some antiquitie. And so whereas I said befoꝛe that the Elder fathers made no mention of holy water, I had onely ꝛespect vnto that which is said to haue bin institꝛuted by that same Alexander, namely which they sꝛope in tentes, to the intent that men may sꝓinkle themselues theꝛewith. They themselues also doe sꝓinkle houses, dead bodies, chuꝛchyaꝛdes, egges, flesh, pothearbes and gaꝛmentes with the same. Of this both Aquinas in the 4. booke of sentences inquiꝛe whe- Thomas Aquinas. theꝛ it be a Sacꝛament: And in aunswering, denyeth it, alledging this ꝛeason, that it is not institꝛuted to abolish any defect of ours. But he affiꝛmed it to be a certain sacꝛamentall thing whereby we aꝛe affected, and as he speaketh, disꝓosed to obtaine the foꝛgiuenesse of some certaine sinnes. And fꝛom this opinion *Petrus de Palude* and *Alexander de Ales* doe nothing dilagꝛe. Foꝛ they say, that Petrus de Palude. Alexander de Ales. by the vse of the consecꝛated water, sinnes be foꝛgiuen, not in veꝛy deede as by the Sacꝛaments, (which peꝛsone this onen without the motion of the heaꝛt, if onelie theꝛe be put no let) but in ꝛespect of meꝛit, because they sꝓinkling themselues with that water, doe deuoutlie (as they speake) lift up theiꝛ minde vnto God, desiꝛing the foꝛgiuenesse of sinnes, which by ꝓayeꝛs they obtaine. Among those sayings of the schoolemen, theꝛe aꝛe many wicked & blasphemous thinges, seeing they attribute to the elementes of this woꝛld that which belongeth onely vnto Chꝛist. Besides this, they tꝛifle many wayes, disputing whether ꝓꝛophane water being added vnto consecꝛated water becommeth holy. And finally they conclude that it doth so after this maner: to wit, that those thinges which be the moze woꝛthie doe conuert into themselues the thinges which be lesse woꝛthie. Which is most contꝛarie vnto the tꝛueth. Foꝛ if a Anexample. man mingle water with wine, and doe that ofteen, at length the water changeth into his owne nature the wine it selfe which is beteꝛ than it.

25 But passe we ouer these thinges, and

Holie water ben used by an imitation of the Hebrewes and Ethnickes. Num.8.7.

let vs consider that this ordinance had his originall of two sortes of peruerse zeale and fond imitation. One wherein they would imitate the Hebrewes, vnto whom by a prescript rule of the lawe of Moses that water was commaunded, as it is in the booke of Numbers. Howbeit seeing the legall ceremonies by the benefit of Christ his death be extinguished, we ought not of our owne rathnesse to reuoke the same. While they were in vse they had the word of God ioyned with them: but now when they are destitute of that, they be meere superstitions. An other there is wherin they haue imitated the Ethnickes, who no doubt but vsed purifying waters, but yet not after the same manner. For when holy seruice was done vnto the supernall Gods, the body that was to be purified was all wholy washed: but if to the infernall Gods, they were onely touched with sprinkling of the purifying water. And this Virgil as a man very skilfull of [their] high priestes lawe, did diligently obserue by the testimonie of Macrobius in the 3. booke of his Saturnals the first Chapter. Which I therefore thought good to rehearse, to the intent that sacrificing priestes may know, that while they sprinkle things with holy water, they doe it not to the high God, but doe sacrifice vnto the infernall gods, that is, to them that be in hel. And that sprinklings with purifying waters was an vse among the Ethnickes, the Ecclesiasticall history teacheth. In which it is written of Valentinianus, when as yet he was not Emperour, and was in the traine of Iulianus the Apostata, and had come into the Temple: there the priest sprinkled him with his water. He being angrie thereat, gaue him a blowe, saying: Why hast thou polluted my purple garment with thy water? Yea and God may therefore seme to haue appointed that rite vnto the Hebrewes, because they should not decline to the superstition of the Ethnickes. And that ceremonie no doubt so long as it was of force had his utilitie, as the rest had. For the old rites before the comming of Christ, were testimonies and certaine seales of the heauenlie giftes, promises, and fauour of God to be giuen. For these are spirituall thinges, neither can they be discerned with the outward eyes: and therefore were signes, rites, and ceremonies added thereto, that men being admonished by them, might be confirmed as touching the good will & grace of God. Whereunto adde, that all those thinges shadowed Christ and his redemption. Also we after the same manner doe in Christianitie vse baptisme & the Eucharist.

Virgil.

Why the ceremonies of the old law were instituted.

And there is no doubt but that Dauid when in the 51. psalme he sang (Sprinkle me Lord with Hisop and I shall be cleane, and shall become whiter than snowe) had respect vnto the legall sprinkling, the which in that age as I haue declared had the word of GOD ioyned therewith. But that which the sacrificers doe say that they consecrate, is no inuention of God but of men.

Apiece of the Psalme expounded.

26 These men indeuour indeede, howbeit in vaine, to fasten to their superstition certaine places of the Scripture. As that of Ezechiel: I sawe water going foorth of the Temple &c. And also the Testimonie of Zacharie, wherein it is written: And in that daie shall the house of Dauid and all the inhabitantes of Ierusalem haue an open well. Those things are altogether impertinent to the matter, because the Prophetes vnder this word, Water, ment nothing else thā the giftes of the holy Ghost, and abundant grace of God towarde the faithfull. And there was a certaine Papisticall preacher in these our daies, who commending vnto the people the vse of the holy water, taught that it serued to renewe the remembraunce of Baptisme: and he counselled all those which sprinkle themselues with the same, that they should say in themselues: Remember that thou art Baptised. Howbeit these things, besides that they be fonde, they haue not anie testimonie either of the Scriptures, or Canons, or Councels. Euer and besides we must weigh how frinolous and absurd it is, in that they would institute it to be either a Sacrament or (as they call it) a Sacramentall thing, because some one Prophet or Apostle did it once or twise. As, if so be God would once by Elizeus amend the waters by sling of salt, should therefore such a kinde of Rite be brought into the Church? Ieremie ware vpon his necke a wodden yoke, And Esay headed the sore of Ezechias with figges. Why did they not here make so manie sacramits?

Ezec.47.1.

Zach.13.1.

Ier.28.11.

4.King. 20.7.

Rhetoricall argument of the nun of Colen.

27 In like manner the men of Colen, haue offered themselues to be laughed at in their Antididagma, where they alleadged the exemple of Marcellus Bishoppe of Apamenis, as it is in the Tripartite Historie in the 9. booke the 34. Chapter, who, when the Temple of a certain Idol was to be burned, and þ the fire put therunto take no effect (for there was present an ill spirit which repressed the violence of the fire) then bee, perceiuing a danger least the people as yet weake, should take offense, and thinke that the ill spirit was stronger than Christ, did runne vnto the Church, and commaunded water to be brought vnto him, and lying prostrate before

before the altar, prayed with great spirite and faith. Further he signed that Water with the signe of the crosse, and commaunded Equitius his Deacon that he should call the same vppon the Temple of the Idol, and after that, be chearefully set it on fire, which, when he had done, both the Idoll and the Temple were verie easilie burned. They lying also that which Narcissus Bishoppe of Ierusalem did, As Eusebius reporteth in the 6. booke and eight Chapter. He vppon Easter daie at night (during which night the faithfull in times past were continuallie praying in the Temple) when there nowe wanted oyle in the Lampes, and that it semed that the lightes could no longer indure, and that the people were marueilous sad, he himselfe commaunded that water should be brought him for the of a well neere at hande. And when he had prayed earnestlie, he commaunded to fill the lampes, and the water did in a manner take vnto it the nature of oyle, and kept in light all the whole night. But to what purpose are these things alleadged? The Histories shewe not that those were holie Waters. Furthermore if it semed good vnto God to make those Bishoppes famous by the instrument of water, for confirming of their sounde Doctrine, ought therefore holie water to be instituted. Undoubtedlie, as a lawe is not wont to be made, vpon a particular example, so for the shewing forth of some certaine myracle, sacraments in the Church must not be inuented according to the will and pleasure of men. Where as I haue now spoken many things touching holie Water, namelie that the author thereof (as they will) was Alexander, and haue confuted the Argumentes whereby he commended the same, and haue declared the strength which they attribue vnto it, and haue shewed howe manie kindes there be, reprehending two sortes of their fond imitation, and lastlie haue set forth that an Ecclesiasticall Rite must not for enerie myracle sake bee instituted, I thinke I haue spoken enough of that matter: This onelie will I note at the last, that the end of the myracle shewed by Elizeus was, that the people of Iericho might by that benefit receiued be moze and moze allured to the true seruice of God: and that not only that Citie should be wonne vnto God, but that all other Cities to whose knowledge so great a myracle should come, might be brought to the knowledge of God.

To what end the myracle of Elizeus was shewed.

A Treatise of the Sacrament of

the Eucharist made openlie in Oxford by D. Peter *Martyr, the Kings publike Professor of Diuinitie in* the same Vniuersitie, when he had now finished the interpretation of the xi. Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Before which Treatise we haue placed an excellent Preface of his touching that matter dedicated by him with the same Treatise vnto the most Reuerend Father and victorious Martyr of Iesus Christ, THOMAS CRANMER Archbyshop of CANTERBVRIE.

Out of the Preface to Cranmer Byshop of Canterbu-rie.

NOw haue I determined in fewe words to declare certaine things, which if I should cōmit to silence, I might perhaps be accounted vnwise, a forger of new matters, a bold, rash, and an vngodlie man, as though I tooke from the sacrament of the Eucharist the honour and dignitie thereof, or that I would obtrude the holy Supper to the Church without Christ, or perswade such like things, as may tend vnto impietie and negligence of Religion. I had rather die or that I had neuer bin borne, or to suffer the greatest griefe in the world, than to scatter abrode such kinde of opinions. Verily I for my part, doe attribute so much to the sacrament of the Eucharist, as I say that the faithfull, by exercising of the same, doe obtaine the greatest benefites which can be hoped for of God in this life; so, that they themselues be not hindered either through vices or infidelitie

litie. And truely I affirme now, that there be three sortes of good things, which men doe earnestly desire. First, that the life which they receiued in their byrth may be giuen and preserued to them so long as is possible. Secondly, that they would haue God to be gratious and mercifull vnto them. For, since they that be wife, vnderstand that they be neuer without fault, and that by the iustice of God there is a certaine punishment due for euerie fault, vnlesse they haue in readinesse a sure satisfaction, they liue most miserably. Lastlie, this doe the wise sort wish for, to wit, that they may liue iustly, commodiously, merilie and peaceably one with another. For without these things men liue both miserably and most vnhappily. These in effect be the things which are chieflie desired euerie where of all those men which doe not deale foolishly.

And the chiefe and principall point of these three, is, that the life may be prolonged a verie great space of time, which we obtaine by a profitable and wholesome kinde of diet: this most certainlie we haue in the holy Supper, where, euen as the bread and wine which nourish the body, are giuen outwardly to the bodie, so is it truely graunted vnto their mindes, that by faith they eate the body and bloud of Christ giuen for our redemption: whereupon the whole man aswell inward as outward is restored to the high felicitie. And this is the onelie way that the scripture alloweth and knoweth of eating the bodie, and drinking the bloud of the Lorde, namelie, when we apprehend by a constant and firme faith, that Iesus the sonne of God our Lord and sauiour gaue his body vpon the Crosse, and shed his bloud for vs, and that he hath so imbraced vs, being giuen vnto him by the father, and so ioyned and incorporated vs vnto himselfe, as he is our head, and we flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, and that he dwelleth and liueth in vs and we in him. Herein standeth the whole power and reason of this meate and of this drinke; whereunto our faith is stirred vp and kindled three manner of wayes: sometime inwardly, that is to wit, while the holie Ghost by his secret, but yet mightie power, stirreth vp our mindes to record these things with our selues, and that they may be imbraced with a liuely and readie faith. To the selfe same thing are we many times mooued by helpe of the worde of God, which either by sound or writing doeth outwardly pearce vs. Finally, that there should want no reliefes to our infirmitie, Christ gaue in the supper, bread and wine for signes, the which by his institution and his wordes are made sacraments, that is to wit instruments, whereby the holy Ghost stirreth vp faith in our mindes, that by the same faith we may be spiritually, but yet truely nourished and sustained with his bodie and bloud. What then is there that can more further the faithfull vnto euerlasting life, than this kinde of meate? Doe we not by this maner of eating dwell in Christ, and Christ in vs? Can we require that so great a God shoulde more expressely be promised vs than when he himselfe said: *He that eateth me, he shall liue for*
Iohn.6.57. *me*, Moreouer in the 6. of *Iohn* the Lord taught this simple, bare, yet true, that is to wit, no sined eating of his bodie and drinking of his bloud, which the Lord would afterward to be holpen by the assistance of the outward word, and by the feele of the bread and wine when wee come to the holy table. Wherefore he that is no contemner of the diuine life, (I meane the eternall and most happie life) how can it be that he will not make singular account of the sacrament of the Lordes Supper? Howe can it bee, but that he will imbrace the same as a sweete pledge of his saluation? How is it possible, but that he will vse the same in the congregation, so often as it shall be deliuered him? Vndoubtedly no man, which will any thing earnestly weigh these things with himselfe.

And next vnto life, which all men chiefly desire to leade happily, all men for the most part couet to haue God well pleased with them. Whereof, if we be not perswaded, our minde is disquieted, our cogitations trouble vs, our conscience tormenteth vs, the creatures terrifie vs, as reuengers & most seuere Ministers of God, nothing is quiet either within vs or without vs, we feare heauen and hell both alike, the same hatred beare we to God, that we doe to the Diuell: for the one we feare as an executioner, and the other as a iudge. Wherefore the holie scriptures doe helpe in this behalfe, and teache vs. that the heauenly father is by no other meanes pacified with mankind than by the sacrifice of his onely begotten sonne; by which sacrifice God hath made an euerlasting couenant with his people, hath forgiuen our sinnes, hath adopted those that beleeue, to be his children, hath committed them to his first begotten sonne to be saued, and hath incorporated them, and made them heires of his heauenly kingdome. And in receiuing the sacrament of the Eucharist, wee are put in minde of the Lordes death, and of the whole mysterie of our redemption, by reason of the word of God which became flesh, thereby is renued the memorie of Gods testament: and therein is offered the participation of Christ and remission of sinnes through the sacrifice of Christ offered vpon the altar of the Crosse.

Wherefore in this sacrament, if it be receaued rightlie, and with faith, not by the power of

of the worke, but by the free benefite of Christ which in beleeuing we apprehend, we confesse our sinnes to be forgiuen, the testament or couenant betweene God and vs to be confirmed, and the very sonne of God hauing lyfe in him selfe for the father, to be so receaued, that whosoeuer with a true faith are partakers of his flesh and bloud, doe liue for him, and that the heauenly inheritance is possessed of the faithfull, so farre as the state of this lyfe will permit. We therefore doe challenge vnto vs not onely lyfe, but also a safe and quiet lyfe from the wrath of God: and we which haue God mercifull and fauourable vnto vs, and the sonne of God dwelling in vs, of what ioye, of what delightes, of what honest pleasures are we destitute? Without doubt of none, if wee seeke after those that be true and sound things, and not after phansies and shadowes. And of this commoditie did Christ make mention in the institution of this sacrament, when he gaue his body and bloud to be eaten and drunken by faith, namely to the maintenance and nourishing of lyfe by faith. For in the Gospell of
Luk.22.19. Luke he saith, *Doe this in the remembrance of me.* Which Paule expressed more plainly saying:
1.Co.11.26 *For so often as ye shall eate this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye shall declare the Lordes death till hee*
Luk.22.20. *come.* Finally in the end it is said of them both by Luke and Paule: *This cup is the new Testa-*
1.Co.11.25 *ment through my bloud which shall be shed for you.* So then as touching the reconciliation with God, the forgiueneſſe of sinnes, and the confirmation of the Testament, I haue fained nothing, I haue deuised nothing, I haue inuented nothing which I haue not doone out of the holy scriptures. Lastly because a man is not made to solitarinesse, but that he is desirous of fellowship and of a ciuill lyfe, therefore when he hath now assured himselfe that he hath God mercifull vnto him for Christ his sake, and that by the same his sinnes are forgiuen him, there is nothing else required towardes his perfect and absolute life so long as he liueth in this world, but that with other men which in the holy scriptures be called his neighbours, he liue together ioyntlie and with singular iustice and charitie. But this sacrament dooth most effectually and earnestlie admonish vs hereof. For while we in these mysteries become partakers of one Table: what else should we meditate in our minde than this, that we be one body, that we be members one of another vnder Christ our head, that we be one bread, that is, to be so ioyned one with another: euen as welneare an infinite number of wheate cornes are made vp together in that bread which we receaue? Those, without doubt, which, through these admonitions are not perswaded to maintaine mutuall concord and charitie betweene brethren, haue their heartes hardned like stone and Iron, and shall be accounted more sauage and beastlie, than Tygers and most cruell beastes, insomuch as they knowing that the sonne of God gaue his life for his enemies, are not mooued themselues to doe good, asmuch as in them lyeth, to their brethren and neighbours for whom Christ dyed. If a temporall Table doe reconcile men one to an other when they meete together, why should not rather the Table of Christ bring this to passe? Since the beastes which be most sauage are made tame by meate, why doe not men waxe meeke by this heauenly foode? If leagues and couenants were woont to be confirmed by meate and drinke, why doe not the children of God by communicating together, establish peace and friendship among themselues?

Of these things vndoubtedlie are they admonished by this diuine Rite, and by the wordes of the holy scripture recited therein. But and if the admonition (we being obstinate as wee are, and very vntoward vnto iust, honest, and holy thinges) be thought but slender, or not to be effectuall enough, yet vppon condition that faith be not wanting, the power of the holy Ghost is by the sacramentes and wordes of God ioyned vnto our heartes, the which dooth alwayes stirre vp vnto concord, peace and mutuall charitie, so as not onely an outward admonition is vsed, but the mindes also while we communicate together, doe feele the inward incouragement of diuine inspiration. Wherefore ye see what notable & excellent good things I teach to be giuen vnto vs by the Eucharist. Let now mine aduersaries goe and cry out as much as they will, that I doe violate the sacrament of the Lordes supper. Let them selues come foorth and shew by their monsterous and prodigious transubstantiations, what more sound fruite and iust commoditie they haue brought by this sacrament, either vnto communicants or vnto Churches than I haue verified. Will they speake of the benefit of our dwelling in Christ, and Christes dwelling in vs? That doe I also affirme. Will they speake of obtaining a diuine life, and a heauenly blessednesse? Euen that doe I also testifie. Will they boast of a receauing of the body and bloud of Christ? That doe I also proouе no lesse than they, but yet such a receauing as is by faith, and from the heart. But will they obiect the remission of sinnes, the confirmation of the testament, and the memoriall of the crosse and death of Christ? I thinke they will not. For all these thinges haue I oftentimes taught in great

assemblies

assemblies. Will they alledge against vs the incorporation, (as I may say) which we in communicating by faith, obtaine with Christ and betweene our selues which be his members? They cannot, for this also hath bin perpetually rehearsed of me. What doe they then say, since besides these, there is nothing else taught vs in the holy scriptures touching the Eucharist? I know now what they will say: Ye take away (say they) Transubstantiation, bodilie, fleshlie, reall, and substantiall presence: this doe we take in ill part: this doe we confesse ouer and aboue that which you affirme: herein doe we disagree from you. I heare them well enough: and as touching Transubstantiation, aswell for that it is a vaine thing, as because I haue dealt therein sufficientlie both in my disputations and also in the Treatise which is prefixed thereunto, I haue determined at this time to aunswere nothing.

But concerning the body of Christ, which ye so greatly mislike that I should deny to bee present: I will say somewhat for their satisfaction. If I should demaund of you to what purpose there ought to be affirmed any such presence as ye doe say, ye will (as I thinke) make me no other aunswere, but to the intent the body and bloud of Christ may be ioyned vnto vs. Howbeit, since the whole woorke of this coniunction is heauenly & spiritual, it is not required hereunto, that this presence of yours, for the which ye so earnestlie contend, should haue any place. What neede is there here either of any naturall touching, or of the neerenesse of places? Tell me (I pray ye) since the holy scriptures doe declare that not onely weare coupled together with Christ, but also that we be members together with our brethren, so as we are made all one bod y: will ye not confesse that those faithfull which are in *Spayne, Italie, Germanie*, and
Rom.12.4. *Fraunce*, are so ioyned together with vs, that as *Paul* said, *They be members one of an other with vs*? I know ye will not deny it. If then the distance of places, and naturall touching, which cannot be at all, doe nothing hinder this vnitie whereby through Christ we are ioyned together in one, why then doe yee deny that we are truely ioyned together vnto Christ without a reall and corporall presence? But if ye deny it not, why doe ye importunately vrge this presence? And to vse yet a plainer and more expresse similitude: Man and Wife in the holy Scriptures, as ye know, both are, and are called one flesh. For *Adam* or God by *Adam* saith: *This*
Gen.2.23. *is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: for this cause shall a man leaue father and mother, and*
Mark.10.8. *shall cle aue to his wife, and they shall become one flesh*. And so proper is this similitude to the thing which we haue in hande, that *Paul* to the *Ephesians*, maketh the bodie of Christ to be in such sorte the Church, as the wife is the bone and flesh of her husbande. And yet nothing hindereth this vnitie of the flesshe betweene husbande and wife, if (as it happeneth) a man shall sometime be at *London* for a time, and the wife shall remaine at *Cambridge* or at *Oxford*. The distance of place and naturall touching which now cannot be had, prooueth not but that the wife and the husband be betweene themselues one and the selfe same flesh. Wherefore there is no neede that for comming into vnitie with Christ, yee should so labour to tye his body and bloud, or, (as ye speake) to hide them vnder bread and wine. Wee are truely ioyned vnto Christ without these prodigious thinges. The Eucharist without these fained deuises is a whole and perfect sacrament, and no lesse true, without these delusions are
Mar.14.22. the words of Christ wherein he said, *This is my body*, wherein he deliuered bread to his Apo-
Luk.22.19. stles as in the Treatise following shall be more at large declared. Wherefore to the stablishing and confirming of all these thinges, the Church hath no neede of a corporall or substantiall presence of the body of Christ.

But neuertheless I would not haue it to be thought, that because of the similitudes which I haue alleadged, I doe but lightlie account or do too much attenuate the coniunction which wee haue and dailie enter into with Christ. For I knowe verie well, that the Scriptures, to shewe that the same coniunction is most firmelie knit, haue not onelie beene accustomed to declare that we are indued with the spirit, merite, and intercession of Iesus, and that both we are gouerned and doe liue by his inspiration and spirit, but also, that he him selfe is with vs, and dwelleth in our heartes by faith; that he is our head, and that he dwelleth in vs and we in him; that we are borne anewe in him, and that his flesh is both giuen and receiued, to the intent it maie be eaten and drunken. Howbeit I vnderstande these sayings to bee metaphoricall, sith that proper speaches cannot verie easilie be had for these things: For words according as they signifie this or that, so are they appointed to serue vnto mans purpose. For this cause when wee are to speake of heauenlie and diuine things, a naturall man which vnderstandeth not so great secretes, is not able so much as to name them. And therefore the holie Ghost, to remedie our weakenesse, hauing graunted vs a light and vnderstanding which should excell our owne nature, hath also humbled himselfe to these metaphors, namelie of abiding, dwelling, eating and drinking: to the intent that this diuine and heauenly coniunction

on which we haue with Christ might some manner of way be knowen vnto vs. And these formes of speaking, since we see they comprehend in them two manner of things, to wit, a singular efficacie, and a signification not proper, but translated, it is necessarie that we interprete them, not rashlie, but with prudent and spirituall circumscription. Which is then vsed if we doe not extenuate the sense of them more than is meete, especiallie when they bee applied vnto the Sacraments, nor yet doe attribute thereunto anie more than is requisite. The excessiue speaches of the fathers, and contempt of the Anabaptistes did maruellouslie obscure the Sacramentes, and especiallie this Sacrament whereof we intreate, whyle the one sort iudge it to bee but onelie a token of mutuall charitie: and a cold and a bare signe of the death of Christ: and the other attribute all manner of diuinitie vnto it, by meanes whereof, before they were aware they made a steppe vnto horrible Idolatrie. And no other way can that mediocritie which wee desire, bee retayned, but by interpreting the Phrases, which wee haue rehearsed, according to the analogie and agreeablenesse of the holie Scripture. Which although it require that we plucke not in sunder the hypostaticall (as they call it) or essentiall vnitie of Christ, for which the properties of the two natures, I meane the diuine and humane, are communicated the one with the other; yet doeth the same require of vs, that what wee haue made common by interchanging the proprietie of the words, we should by interpretation distinguish with a sound vnderstanding, that both the diuinitie be not made subiect to humane infirmities, and that the humanitie be not so much deified, as by leauing the bonds of his owne nature, it should be destroyed. Wherefore by a spirituall wisedome, such as is not elsewhere obtained thā in the holie scriptures, we must discerne what is agreeable vnto Christ as touching the one nature, and what is agreeable to him as touching the other. And thus the presence of the bodie of Christ, which I remooue from the Eucharist, is, in this respect, that they affirme it either to be spread ouer euerie place, or else that it is in manie places at one verie time, in such sort as it can be rid of quantitie and circumscription, which is proper & necessarie to a humane bodie.

Wherefore if *by Presence*, anie vnderstand the handfasting of our faith, whereby wee our selues ascend into heauen, and both the minde and the spirite imbrace Christ in his maiestie and glorie, to him will I easilie assent. But I vtterlie renounce their opinion which contend that the bodie is included and couered in the bread and wine, and affirme it to bee vnder the shewes of these things, and that they should therein worship and honour him, and briefliе to haue it erected for an Idol. This is the head and fountaine of all the variance; herein chiefliе standeth the state of all the present controuersie: concerning the which, if wee doe not well and syncerelie and plainelie determine, the aduersaries will alwaies haue somewhat whereby they maie with some maner of shewe tolerablie paint out, mayntaine, and with sophisticall arguments defend their superstitions and Idolatries which they obtrude vnto the Church. And to comprehend the whole in fewe wordes, these two things doe I earnestly affirme: The one that this Sacrament of the diuine supper, without vse is nothing. And how true this is, the other sacraments do giue a Testimonie. The other is, yͭ euen while we vse the same, we take hold of the bodie of Christ and of his bloud by faith onelie. And they which teach otherwise, speake that which them selues vnderstande not, neyther are they vnderstoode of others, and they cast themselues of their owne accord into such obscurities and labirinthes, when as the Scriptures constrayne them not thereunto. And this is the ground, strength, and foundation of the opinion which I haue declared, to wit, that it is proper and onely belonging to the diuine nature, to be euerywhere by substance, and to replenish all things; and on the otherside this is the state and condition of the humane nature, that it is contayned in a place definite, and with-in measures and spaces, and can not dispierse it selfe vnto many or vnto all places at one and the selfe same time. This doeth the sense testifie so to bee, mans reason confirmeth it, and no diuine Scripture doeth euer prooue it to be doone otherwise. This haue the fathers in manie places declared. And this, if it shall be inuerted, and otherwise taught, (as of many it is,) there cannot any commoditie arise thereby, but that we haue the very same already whyle we sticke to our opinion, euen the very same which wee haue nowe expressed.

They therefore which crie out against mee, that I teache that the Supper of the Lord is had without Christ, that is to wit, without his body and bloud, let them take this for an aunswere: that if they meane the presence of the bodie of Christ, to be an apprehending of him by faith which is offered vnto vs vnder the signification of words and signes, and is giuen by the benefite of the Lord, that presence as I haue saide, I gladlie and willingly admit. For euen as a light, a colour, a sound, and such like things, although they be distant from a place,

yet are they sayde to be present to the senses while they perceiue those things: so according to this signification of presence, maie the bodie of Christ be saide to be present, because we take holde thereof by faith. And if the matter shalbe disserned with a right and sound iudgement after such a manner as hath beene declared, it shall be said that the bodie of Christ is a great deale more present to them which beleeue than those qualities which are distant by place and neuertheleſſe receiued by the senses, are saide to be present. For the imbracing by faith is more assured, & much more firmely do we cleaue vnto the things which are beleeued, than ỹ sense or reason doth to those things which they comprehend by their naturall power. And as touching this presence of the bodie of Christ, I might seeme now manifeſtlie enough to haue expreſsed that which I doe holde, vnleſſe ye would perhappes maruell, while in the questions of these disputations, I haue vsed the words *Reallie, Substantially, Corporally*, and *Carnally*, since they be forayne words, and are altogether strange from the phrase of the holie scripture. Euen the selfe same haue I also thought: and for my part if I had beene suffered to speake mine owne will I should vtterlie haue abstained from these words, as being strange, yea and therwithal barbarous & ambiguous. Howbeit, partly the vse receiued in the schooles, and partlie the importunitie of the aduersaries hath driue me hereunto, who to the intent they might the more certainlie (as they thought) hinder me, and bring me in the greater discredit with the common people, and with the vnlearneder sort of Popish Priestes, as though I did vtterly ouerthrowe the Sacrament of the Eucharist, both they themselues vnder these grosse sort of words earnestlie affirmed the presence of the body of Christ, vnder the shewes, as they say of bread and wine, and contrariwise published by all meanes they couׄlde, that I did most hereticallie denie the same.

Here otherwhile they, which were present by chaunce and fauoured my doctrine and opinion, tooke vpon them the defence thereof: and because the conflict betweene vs and our aduersaries happened oftentimes to arise euen for these wordes, they instantly required mee that I would once perfectly and most plainly shew my opinion what is to bee determined, as touching the presence of the bodie of Christ according to the significations of these wordes. And hereupon doubtleſſe it happened that I sometimes vsed these aduerbs in the Schooles. These flourishes haue for their first authors the schoole Diuines. For vnto them, these wordes, although they be barbarous, haue seemed fit, and most commodious for the expreſsing of things more significantly. Howbeit least wee stand here in a doubt, it shall bee verie good to declare how I vnderstand these things. When I denie that the bodie of Christ is present *Really, Substantially, Corporally*, and *Carnally*, it must not thereof be inferred, that wee eate the body of Christ fainedly, falsely, or phantastically. For if by these wordes they vnderstand the trueth of the thing, I will not denie but that the body of Christ is truely receiued of vs. For that which we comprehend by faith, must not be accounted false nor fained, nor counterfeit, nor phantasticall: otherwise the death and resurrection of Christ which wee beleeue, since they be past and are not now present, should be fained and phantasticall, and the Fathers in olde time which receaued Christ, and had the selfe same meate and spirituall drinke that wee haue, since they might not haue his body and bloud which they did eate and drinke by faith *Really* and *Corporally* present with them. (for the sonne of God had not as yet taken them vpon him) should be said to haue had these things fainedly, phantastically and counterfeitly, which would be most absurde: forsomuch as faith is nothing else but a certaine power and faculׄtie giuen vnto our mindes by God, whereby wee assent vnto things, which be most true and most certaine: and therefore it cannot apprehend fained or counterfeit things.

* But if they contend by these particles, as in verie deede they doe, that the bodie of Christ is spred abrode in manie and diuerse places at one time, this sense doe I disallow, herein I am against them, and I would haue the readers to thinke that I vtterly denie it. I adde also, that in these words *Corporally* and *Carnally*, vnto them which iudge soundly, the receiuing with the senses, is signified. Wherfore since ỹ bodie of Christ is receiued, neither with the sense nor yet with ỹ reason, I refuse those words ỹ more willing. And hereupon it happened, ỹ when I was to come to an agreemẽt with ỹ aduersaries as touching these questions, I only offred these two words *Corporally* & *Carnally*, after which maner I denied the body & bloud of Christ to be present, not, ỹ I would willingly or gladly, but that, as I haue shewed, I was constrained to vse thẽ: yea and at the last, when we were to dispute, & that we should now expound the Questions, & that ỹ aduersaries fearing least I should cloake some subtiltie or shift in these aduerbes *Corporally* and *Carnally*, to the intent ỹ matter, as they thought, might be set forth more plainly, they would haue ỹ other two aduerbes *Really* & *Substantially* to be added. What soeuer offence therfore is committed on this behalfe, is not done by my will, but by the fault of others. And here-

of

of haue I for my witnesse, the reuerend man *D. Coxe*, the Kings Maiesties scholemaister, and Chauncellour of the Vniuersitie of *Oxenford*, of whose wisdome, learning and godlinesse, now the place serueth not to speake, which heuertheleſſe were so notable in him, as they are knowẽ farre and wide, that is to wit, both in the schoole, and in the Church, & in the Court. He when my aduersaries thus cauilled (as I haue said) about the questions, was not onely present, but by reason of the office which he there hath was the moderator of the disputations. And this also did my reuerend Lordes the Visitors know, being excellent men and adorned with all kinde of vertues: before whom the aduersaries once disputed with me, and that very contentiously, as touching the ambiguitie which they suspected to be in the questions propounded, neither could there be an agreement any other way betweene vs, vnleſſe I would graunt, that *Corporally* and *Carnally*, should be accounted for the selfe same, as if it were said, *Really* and *Substantially*.

Of this matter I thought to write the more at large, because I easilie thinke that many are offended with these wordes, forsomuch as I vnderstand that some, and those singular men for their godlinesse and learning, would be not willingly haue heard them. Who perhaps will be more inclined towardes mee, when they shall vnderstand both why I vsed them, and in what sense I affirme or denie the bodie and bloud of the Lord to be present in the supper. And that I may againe make this manifest in few wordes, I affirme, that this is truely giuen and offered vnto vs aswell by wordes as by signes, while they be mightily and most effectually signified by the same. And againe in communicating, wee truely receiue the selfe same things, when with a full and perfect consent of faith we imbrace those things which be deliuered by the signification of the wordes and signes. Wherupon it commeth, that wee are most neerely ioyned together with Christ: and whom we haue obtained in Baptisme by the benefite of regeneration, him doe we againe more and more put on by the sacrament of the supper: forsomuch as it is prouided by nature that we are nourished by the same things whereof we consist. And if we meane to be saued, we must take heede that Christ so long dwell in vs and we in him, vntill we be wholie conuerted into him, and so conuerted, as there be nothing left of ours, of death I meane which was borne together with vs, of corruption and of sinne. Nowe remaineth that I craue pardon for that fault in writing which I freely confesse my selfe to haue made: Namely that otherwhile it happeneth in this Treatise, that one and the same thing is twise or thrise repeated, which in verie deede is woont to discontent verie much those that be wise & learned men, who by themselues without admonition doe see many things, and thinke it superfluous that all shoulde bee declared vnto them, and doe not willingly suffer that the selfe same things should be often tolde. But it must bee considered that although these things breede a wearinesse to the learned, yet sometimes the repetition & double rehearsall therof is not without profit. For in this vnhappie time, the opinion of Transubstantiation, and corporall presence of Christ in the Eucharist, hath stucke so deepely in the mindes of men, and they commonly make so great an account thereof, and holde it so deare, as they are woonderfully hindered, and their mindes are called awaie from giuing eare vnto our reasons and to the trueth, which admonishe them to beleeue after another sort. And as one or two calles are not sufficient to awake them which be in a sound sleepe, so to haue tolde any thing but once is not sufficient to stirre vp these men from their olde receiued errour. Wherefore I shall thinke I haue brought no smal matter to passe, if I doe any good with this superstitious sort of men by often repeating the selfe same things. Nowe then Charitie towardes them that bee out of the waie perswadeth the learned and sound readers, that they will not bee agreeued here with.

The tenth Chapter.

ỹ whole Sacramental speach and namelie of the Supper of the Lord. Luke 22. 19. 1. Cor. 11. of the first to the Corinthi. The chiefe of the question.

THe contentions that bee sprung vp as touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist, tend doubtleſſe to this purpose, that we may vnderstand the maner of the communion of the bodie and bloud of the Lorde, with the signes of breade and wine, or (as others name them, with the sacramentall formes. Because it is manifest vnto all men that this Sacrament is called the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of the Lord, therefore it behoueth that these things be after some manner contained in the sacrament. But we in ỹ searching out of them will not rehearse al things which are alledged on both parts, least that which otherwise is obscure of it self, should be more intangled, and least the treatise grow to be infinite. But the order and disposing of the doctrine shalbee reduced

chyng the Eucharist.

This treatise deuided into foure principall poynts.

duced into foure principall poynts. First we will treate of that coniunction, wherby they say commonlie that the breade and wine is transubstantiated into the bodie and bloud of Christ, which seemeth to bee a full coupling together of the sacrament with the substance. Secondlie wee will examine the other opinion, which is, that bread and wine, as touching their perfect and true natures, are retained in the sacrament: and so retained, as they may haue the true bodie and bloud of Christ ioyned vnto them (as they speake) naturally, corporally, and really. Thirdly shalbe considered that which others say, that these thinges are not any other way ioyned one with an other, than sacramentally, that is, by a significancie and representation. Lastly shalbee declared out of the opinions pertaining to the second and third poynt so much as may most seeme to belong vnto godlinesse in this treatise of the sacrament.

The opinion which hath affirmed transubstantiation.

2 Wherefore we will begin with the opinion of transubstantiation, partly because it is the grosser, further because it is ye newer, and because the other two opinions doe ioynlie and without strife confute the same. Of that the Maker of the Sentences writeth in the 4. Booke in the 8. 9. 10. & 11. distinction. And to shewe it briefliest, it is on this wise. The Minister ordayned hereunto, when hee vttereth the words instituted by the Lord ouer due and meete matter, that is bread and wine, so he haue an intent (as they speake) to doe it, the substance of the bread and wine is turned into the substance of the bodie & bloud of Christ, and is so conuerted as the accidents of that substance which is changed or destroied, remaineth without a subiect: which neuertheless some would to cleaue to the bodie of Christ which succeded. But this is false, because in verie deed the bodie of Christ hath no such accidentes. Others haue indeuored to make the ayre a subiect for them as a naturall foundation. Which also (seing it cannot possibly be proued, welnere all the patrons of this opinion, agree, that they hang in the ayre, and remaine without a subiect. Further they will that these accidents which be seene and felt, doe signifie vnto vs the true bodie of Christ, which they haue couered and hidden in them. After ward they proceede further & say, ye this body of Christ lying hidden vnder these accidets, is a signe, alwel of ye verie body of Christ, which did hang vpon the crosse, as also of ye mysticall bodie, ye is of the fellowship of the elect & of men predestinate. Wherfore the Maister of the sentences saith, that here is some thing, which is but onelie a signe (and that he appointeth to be the visible formes:) and that there is another thing, that is both the substaunce and the signe: namely the bodie of Christ, which is hidden vnder the accidents: for that is a substance, if it be referred vnto the visible formes, and a signe, if thou haue respect to the the mysticall bodie. Another thing (saieth he) there is which thou maiest in no wise call a signe, but a substance onely, to wit, the mysticall bodie: because it is so signified, as it is no more a signe of any thing. Those things which are afterward mingled in the action of these mysteries, are not (saith he) matters of necessitie, but onely thanksgiuing and prayers interlaced. And if thou demand of them how so great a bodie maie be contained in that little cake, they saie, that this is not by the maner of quantitie, or locally, or as they speake definitely, but by the manner of substance, and as they say, sacramentally. Neither count they for abiurde things, that in this sacrament are contained two bodies in one and the selfe same place, because they are constrained thus to say: for betweene the accidents of bread there is a quantitie and that doubtlelle a corporal quantitie. Also they doe not mistake, that one and the selfe same body is truelie in manie places, and that a man of a iust largenesse and stature, as Christ was vpon the crosse, and as he shal come to iudgement, is truely, but inuisiblie contained not only in a small cake, but also in the least part thereof. Manie things else might be rehearsed as touching this opinion: but I minde that these shall be sufficient vnto our Treatise. Ye that desireth more, may reade the Maister of ỹ sentences in the place which we cited, together with a great manie of interpreters of him. And of the change or transubstantiation, these Arguments they bring.

Arguments for transubstantiation.

3 Firſt, the holy scripture perſwadeth it. For in the 6. of Iohn the Lord promised that he would giue his flesh, not onely for the life of the world, but also to be eaten: And he added: Vnleſſe a man ſhall eate my fleſh and drinke my bloud, he ſhall not haue life. He ſaide moreouer, that He is the bread from heauen, and that the liuely bread, whom the father had giuen. Where he manifeſtly promiſed, that he would giue himſelfe to be eaten after the maner of bread: and that which he promiſed, he in good earneſt performed, as the Euangeliſts teſtified was done in the laſt ſupper. And that the ſame which is giuen is the Lords bodie, Paul declareth, when he ſaieth: He that eateth and drinketh vnworthilie, ſhall bee guiltie of the bodie and bloud of the Lord. Againe, He eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he diſcerneth not the Lordes bodie. But they ſay, that the whole ſtrength of the argument conſiſteth,

ſiſteth, in thoſe words wherein it is ſaide: Ih. ver. 24. This is my bodie. Which they affirme to be manifeſt, and neuerthe no expoſitions. And it behoueth (ſay they) that we ſhoulde beleeue them, for the reuerence that we owe vnto the words of God. For the Euangeliſts as touching thoſe words haue conſpired together in one: namely, Matthew, Marke, and Luke: alſo Paul the Apoſtle, in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians: and vnleſſe the thing were of great importance, and ſo to be taken abſolutely as it ſoundeth, ỹ Apoſtles woulde not with ſo great vnitie haue conſented one with another. But and if it bee lawfull to ſhift off by tropes or figures, nothing (ſay they,) will be now ſafe from hereticks. Furthermore the propoſitions of ſuch a kind, as is this, This is my bodie, muſt be vnderſtood, as that the ſubiect and ỹ predicate do repreſent & ſignifie all one thing, & be, as it is ſaid in the ſcholes, a propoſition of one & the ſelfe ſame ſignification, vnleſſe there be found any thing before or after in the ioyning together of the ſpeche which may driue vs to a trope or allegorie, which in this place is not found. Nay rather if thou rightly looke vpon the words which follow, they reuoke vs to the plainneſſe of the propoſition: For it is ſaid: Which is giuen for you. But it is manifeſt, that the verie bodie it ſelfe of Chriſt was giuen for vs. Moreouer thoſe things which differ in nature and forme, and by the Logitians are commonly called *Diſparata*, as a man, a horſe, and a ſtone, be in that caſe as they can neuer be mutually verified one of another. For it will neuer be true, that a man is a ſtone, or elſe contrariwiſe. But that in this ſenſe the bodie of Chriſt and bread are to be vnderſtood, no man doubteth. Wherefore it will neuer be true to ſay of bread, that it is the bodie of Chriſt. So that when the Lorde pronounced, This is my bodie, it muſt of neceſſitie be that the ſubſtance of bread went away. It is added, that Chriſt did not without conſideration vſe the verbe ſubſtantiue of the preſent tence, ſo as he ſaid: This is my bodie. Doubtleſſe he might haue ſaid: This ſignifieth my bodie, This repreſenteth my bodie, This is the figure of my bodie, or the ſigne of my bodie: Or elſe thus: This bread is my bodie. All theſe things, ſeeing he refuſed, the ſaying is abſolutely to be vnderſtode, as he pronounced it. Beſides, if the ſubſtance of bread ſhould remaine, there ſhoulde bee two ſubſtances together at once, yea and thoſe corporall ſubſtances: and they ſhoulde one pearce another, which by ỹ doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is removed. Againe there would be an imminent danger leaſt the people ſhould fall into Idolatrie. For ſeeing the bodie of Chriſt muſt be worſhipped, if bread remaine there, that alſo ſhoulde be worſhipped. Neither doeth it appeare meete for the dignitie of Chriſt his bodie, that it ſhould after this manner be ioyned either vnto breade or vnto wine. They argue alſo from the maner of a ſacrifice. For if the bodie of Chriſt be offered by the miniſter, it behoueth that he haue the ſame, and that he there ſtand in the ſight of God, vnleſſe we will ſay, that he onely offereth a thing ſignified and ſhadowed.

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4 Afterward they crie out that the fathers are wholie on their ſide. Firſt thy cite Irenæus, who ſaith in the fifth booke: When the cuppe tempered and the bread broken, receiue the word of God, it is become the Euchariſt of the bloud and bodie of Chriſt. In the 4. booke he ſpake in a manner the ſame thing. Alſo Tertullian in ỹ 4. booke ſaith, that Chriſt taking bread and diſtributing the ſame to his Diſciples, made it his bodie. And Origen vppon Matthew the 26. Chapter ſaith: This bread which God being the word confeſſeth to be his bodie, and the reſt that followeth. Cyprian in his Sermon *de Cœna Domini*; This common bread, being chaunged into fleſh and bloud, procureth life. And againe in the ſame Sermon: This bread, which the Lord deliuered vnto his Diſciples being chaged not in forme but in nature, is by the omnipotencie of the word made fleſh. Ambroſe in the 4. booke *de Sacramentis*: It is bread before the words of the Sacraments; after conſecration, is of bread become the fleſh of Chriſt. And manie other like ſayings he hath in his bookes of the ſacraments. And to the ſame purpoſe Chryſoſtome in his 60. Homilie *de Euchariſtia*, which is in the 6. Tome, ſaith: This Sacrament is like vnto ware put vnto the fire, where nothing of the ſubſtaunce remaineth but whole becommeth like the fire: ſo ſaith he, the bread and wine is ſpent with the ſubſtance of Chriſt his bodie. Auguſtine vpon the Pſalogue of the 23. Pſalme, ſaith that Chriſt bare himſelfe in his owne handes, whenas in the ſupper he inſtituted the Sacrament. And in the 98. Pſalme expounding that ſentence, Fal yee downe before his footeſtoole, affirmeth that the fleſh of Chriſt muſt be worſhipped in the ſacrament: which would not be meete, if bread were yet remaining. And in his third booke *de Trinitate*, A ſacrament (ſaith he) cannot be made, but by ỹ power of the holie Ghoſt working together with vs. And Hilarius in his eight booke *de Trinitate*, ſaith, that Chriſt is in vs by the truth of nature, and not by an argument.

They cite for them ſelues the Fathers. Irenæus. Tertullian. Origen. Cyprian. Ambroſe. Chryſoſt. Auguſtine Hilarie.

of the will onelie: and he saith, that in the Lords meat, we truelie receiue the worde being flesh. Leo the Bishop of Rome in the tenth Epistle to the Clergie and people of Constantinople. We receiuing the vertue of the heauenlie meate, let vs passe into his flesh which was madeour flesh. They adde ẏ Damascenus is altogether on their side. Also Theophilact is brought in by them, who most plainelie made mention of the chaunging of elements. But as touching Anselm and Hugo *de Sancto victore*, which were in the latter age, there is no doubt but that they warrant Transubstantiation: And that therefore the fathers afweli olde as newe, they saie make of their side. And they bring in Councels: namelie ẏ Councel of Ephesus against Nestorius, where Cyrill was president: and he hath manie things of this matter and especiallie he saith, ẏ we being made partakers of the holie bodie and ẏtious blounde of Christ, receiue not common flesthe, nor as it were the flesh of a man sanctified, but that which is the true sanctifying flesh, & that which is become ẏoper to the worde it selfe. And they cite the Councell of Vercellensis vnder Leo the 9. wherein Berengarius was condemned, of whose recantation there is mention in the decrees *De Consecrat. dis. stinct. 2.* and in the fourth booke of Sentences. They cite also the Lateran Councel at Rome, vnder Innocentius 3. who mentioned Transubstantiation in the decretalles *De summa trinitate*, in the Chapter *Firmiter*: And *De celebratione Missarum* in the Chapter *Cum Martha*. Also in the Councell of Constance, where Wicklefe was condemned, who denied this transubstantiation. Further they cite for theselues, (as they say) the consent of the whole Church, wherewith Scotus was so greatlie moued in his 4. Booke, as when transubstantiation might not firmelie be shewed by the scriptures and by reasons, yet hee yeilded vnto it, least hee should bee against the consent of the Church.

Leo.

Theophilact.

10. The Councell of Ephesus.

The Councell of Vercellensis.

The Romane Councell called Lateranense.

The Councel of Constance.

11. Scotus.

12. 5 Furthermore they draw a most large & far fetcht argument from the power of God, because he can doe farre greater things than

13. these be. And they bring in many myracles which were doone for the testimonie of the trueth: as that this sacrament in the handes of Gregorie, was by his prayer turned into a finger of flesh. Sometime appeared therein a little childe: and the sacrament being pearced with small spéres yelded blod.

14. They speake many thinges also as touching the bodie of Christ glorified, (which Paul in the Epistle to the Corinthians calleth spirituall) to the intent they might shew, that it

1.Co.15.45

was verie lawfull for Christ to deliuer his bodie shadowed and couered with accidents. And they perswade that it is not simplie put in the Creede, This is my bodie, but ẏ article: Which is added, for as it is not said τοῦτο σῶμα bodie, but τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου This my bodie. And ẏ Cretians are then wont to adde articles, when they will make the speache verie proper and significant. To these things they adde: Christ promised to his Apostles: I wilbe with you vntil the end of the world, which must not onelie be vnderstood as touching the diuinitie, because this also they knewe well enough: but inasmuch as they were sadde for his corporal departure, he putteth them in comfort that hee would also be with them in bodie. Furthermore if transubstantiation should be taken away, and bread remaine, seeing that cannot be the bodie of Christ, there will be left onelie a signification, and then the newe sacraments should not haue any thing which would not be found in the olde sacraments. For thole also did signifie Christ: yea rather if thou haue respect to the outwarde thewe they did more expresse him than bread and wine. For there bynte beastes were slaine, and their bloud shed, which in bread and wine happeneth not. And it seemeth a maruell vnto them, that seeing Christ promised in Peter, that the faith of the Church should not faile, and that the same is the most deare spouse of Christ, howe it happeneth that he hath so long forsaken it in this idolatrie, and hath not shewed the trueth of the thing against so great an abuse. They argue also, that if the substance of bread and wine being preserued, the trueth of things cannot be present, as it is concluded, nothing shall bee had more in the sacrament than in common meates and banketes. For there also the faithfull will vnderstand a signification of bread and wine, and so the dignitie of sacraments shall perish. Lastly they say, that the worde of God must still retaine his power and force which remaineth not, if transubstantiation be taken away. Ambrose in his Treatise *De Sacramentis* saieth, that by the operation of the worde of God the breade and wine remain as they be, and yet be changed into an other thing. Which words Algerus a late writer, in the first book which he made of this sacrament, the 7. Chapter: expounded ẏ that breade and wine remaine as touching the accidents, but are changed into an other or into a better thing as touching the substance.

Ambrose.

6 But now let vs see by what arguments on ẏ other part this opinion is ouerthrowen. First the holy scripture teacheth that there

Argument against

transub stantiation.

is bread, therefore it is not true that the substance thereof is conuerted into an other thing. The Euangelists say, that Christ toke bread, brake it, and gaue it to his disciples. And Paul fiue times made mention of bread: Is not the bread which we breake, the participation of the bodie of Christ? And, We bee all one bread and one bodie, which doe participate of one bread. Also, Howe often soeuer ye eate of this bread, yee shall shew the Lordes death vntill his comming. Againe, Whosoeuer shall eate this bread and drinke this cup vnworthilie, shall be guiltie of the body and bloud of the Lord. Lastly: Let a man try himselfe, and so let him eate of that bread, and drinke of that cup. These thinges séeing they be plaine and manifest, therefore if an Angell from heauen shall preach otherwise, let him be accursed. Verily I might alledge that which is oftentimes saide as touching ẏ breaking of bread, but because I see that it may be otherwise vnderstod (as though it should be spoken of the vncleane and common meate: as in Esai ẏ 58. Chapter: Breake thy bread vnto him that is hungry. And Ieremy in his Lamentations the 4. Chapter. The little children desired their bread, and there was no man that would breake vnto them.) therefore I omit it and will bring nothing but that which is firme. And nowe seeing the places before cited be very plaine, they ought simply to be taken. But some cauill that it is called bread by reason of the natures which be conuerted, and to speake after their manner, this name is giuen of the end from which they haue [their nature] and they bring the like places. When a serpent was made of the rod of Aaron, it deuoured the serpentes of the Sorcerers, which they also made of their rods. It is said that the rod of Aaron deuoured the serpents of the Sorcerers. Further in the holy Scriptures man is sundry times called earth, because his body was made thereof. Woman also was by Adam called bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh, because she was framed thereof by God. But these thinges are vainely obiected, because in the holy scriptures there is plaine mention made of these changes: So then the necessitie of the historie & words driue vs vnto these figures, and therefore we admit the. Let these men in like manner shew vnto vs in the holy scriptures, that this change was made: namely of bread and wine into the body and bloud of Christ, and we will also graunt them these figures, to wit, that the bread should not be called the same which it is now, but which it was before. And thereunto belógeth that which they say: If a man would giue me wine, which straight way would turne to vineger, and I hauing that vineger in a potte, I might fitly say: This is thy wine: not that it is then wine, but because it was wine before. But here the sense iudgeth of changing the wine into vineger, which happeneth not in ẏ Eucharist, whereas neither the sense nor reason, nor yet the holy Scripture driueth vs to confesse such a changing as the other is.

Mat.14.22

Ioh.6.51.

1.Co.11.23

Mat.26.26.

1.Co.10.16

Ib.ver.17.

1.Co.11.25

Ib.ver.27.

Verse, 28.

Acts 2.46. To breake bread an vsuall phrase of speche.

Esa.58.7.

Verse.4.

Ambrose.

Exod.7.12.

Gen.3.19. Iob.4.19.

Gen.2.23.

An answer.

7 They obiect a place out of Iohn in the second Chapt. When the gouernour of the feast had tasted the water which was made wine: wherby they will shew, that the wine newly brought forth by the miracle of Christ, doth still retaine the name of water. But Christ said not simply, Water, but, Water which was made wine, But this declaration shall they not finde in the holy Scriptures, that bread is said to be turned into the body of Christ. They sye also sometimes to the 6. Chapter of Iohn, so as they say, that the Apostle calleth bread in this place: not bread, that is, of wheat, or common bread, but the body of the Lord, which in the 6. Chapter of Iohn is called bread, where Christ said: I am the bread of lyfe. But against them maketh that which Paul saith: The bread which we breake is it not the Communion of the body of Christ? because it cannot agrée with the body of Christ that it should be broken, séeing it is written: Thou shalt not breake a bone of him. But these so sharpe writted men, although they haue found in the 6. Chapter of Iohn, that Christ called him selfe bread, where I pray you shall they finde that he called himselfe wine? For somuch as in this supper, the other signe is called wine: namely in those words of the Euangelist: I wil not hereafter drinke of the fruite of this vine. But there is no doubt but that vines bring not forth accidentes, but wine. Further it is to no purpose which is spoken of the fathers with great consent, that the mysticall body is betokened by the signes of this sacrament, because bread is made of many graines, and wine runneth together of many grapes, which thinges in accidents haue no trueth. And of these men we maruel very much, who if at any time they heare vs bring similitudes, as for example: The rock, was Christ, The Lambe or beast for sacrifice, is the passouer, Circumcision is the couenant: they cry that these Allegories serue not for this place. And now these men heape vp euery where tropes and figures. They say also, that bread is here taken for all that which may be eaten, as Lehem in the Hebrew tongue, is taken for all kinde of meate. But

An answer.

Iohn.2.9. Anobiectio.

An answer.

An other obiection.

Verse.51.

An answer.

1.Cor.10.6

That the materiall bread of the Eucharist is not the bread spoken of in the 6. of Iohn. Mat.26.29

A confutation.

Certaine obiections and answeres.

againſt them make the Euangeliſt which reſtraine this kinde of meate vnto bread. Others faine that bread ſignifyeth accidentes, and the forme of bread, who as the Logitians terme it, doe *Petere principium*, and take as it were already graunted that which is in controuerſie: namely that accidentes be there without a ſubiect: which thing they ought firſt to proue. Neither muſt miracles be heaped together without neceſſitie.

a. 8 An other Argument is: that the olde Fathers had the ſame ſacraments which we haue: and yet there was no neede of Tranſubſtantiation, that the Rocke, or the water flowing out of the Rocke, or Manna ſhould be tranſubſtantiated, which might not then be done: wherefore neither is this to be required vnto our Sacramentes. The former propoſition we haue read in Paul, to wit, That the olde fathers and we had one and the ſelfe ſame meate. 1.Cor.10.4
Our aduerſaries deny it, and would haue that our Sacramentes ſhould altogether & many manner of wayes be diſtinguiſhed from the myſteries of the olde fathers: which we alſo graunt, aſwell in reſpect of diuers ſignes, as alſo for the difference of times and certaine other properties. But as touching the matter of the Sacramentes, which was receaued by the holy Patriarches, we ſay that the meate was altogether the ſelfe ſame, and the drinke the ſelfe ſame with the ſubſtance of our Sacramentes, Auguſtine vnto Marcellinus witneſeth of the difference of theſe Sacraments, that vnto a prudent man it may ſuffiſe that by ſome Sacramentes it was foreſhewed when Chriſt ſhould come, and that by others it ought to be ſhewed when he was come: where Auguſtine ſeemeth to haue onely a regard to the difference of the time. And in his little booke *De vtilitate vera penitentiæ agendæ*, he very plainely writeth, that the olde fathers when they had Manna did eate the very ſame thing that we doe eate. For (ſaith he) they did eate the very ſame ſpirituall meat. What elſe is the very ſame, but becauſe they did eate euen it that we doe? And becauſe vnto ſome man it might haue ſeemed an vnworthie thing, that we haue no more than the Iewes had, he vrgeth the teſtimonie of Paul, vnto whom (ſaith he) it was not enough to ſay that the old fathers had ſpirituall meate, but he would adde, that they had The very ſame: whereby we may vnderſtand, that they in their Manna did eate þ very ſame thing that we doe eate, therefore he added, The very ſame. Neither is it a let which ſome doe ſay: that he ſpake of ſpirituall eating, to wit, that the Patriarches beleeued in Chriſt to come. Firſt, becauſe theſe men are not able to confirme their fleſhly eating of Chriſt: Secondly, becauſe the old fathers not onely beleeued with their minde, but receaued a token of the thing beleeued, that is Manna or water, therefore the thing did not ſtand onely in faith: and the ſaying of Auguſtine ſtandeth faſte: that the meate of the fathers was not onely ſpirituall, but the ſelfe ſame. That the Sacraments of the olde fathers and ours be all one. Loth before cap.7. arti.7. Loth Trial. Of both natures in Chriſt.

9 It little alſo auaileth if thou obiect, out of the ſame Auguſtine vppon the pſalme 73. in the prologue, the differences betweene the neth and the old ſacramentes: which (as it ſeemeth) he maketh to be three. Firſt, that the ſauiour is there promiſed, but here giuē. Afterward he ſaith, that our ſacramentes be eaſier, fewer, nobler and happier: And laſtly, that thoſe were as thinges to play with in the handes of children: but that in ours there is ſome thing more profitable and ſubſtantiall. Theſe thinges as touching the firſt, muſt be vnderſtood of the promiſe of Chriſt that ſhould come: but notwithſtanding that he in very deede had not as yet taken fleſh vppon him, yet was he ſpiritually giuen for a meate vnto the fathers beleeuing in the promiſe. But ours are ſaid to giue Chriſt: namely, becauſe they teſtifie that he is come, ſo as he muſt be looked for no more. Further it is certaine that ours be fewer, & haue a greater facilitie, and they ſignify with greater magnificence, becauſe the wordes which are declared are more plaine than they were in the olde teſtament. Moreouer the felicitie is greater, for we be free from the yoke of ceremonies, and we line in the laſt houre, being vndoubtedlie more nigh vnto the kingdome of Chriſt. The ſpirit alſo is now more plentifull: and the Church extendeth more largely than it did at that time: Wherefore Many kings and Prophets deſired Mat.13.
to ſee thoſe thinges which you ſee. And the Sacramentes of the lawe were as thinges for paſtime in the handes of children, becauſe it behoued the age of the olde fathers to be exerciſed like children vnder many ceremonies, ſundry elementes, and diuers ſortes of inſtructions. But it is not proued by all theſe thinges that the Sacramentes of the olde fathers had not as touching the ſubſtance of a myſterie, thoſe thinges which our Sacramentes haue. For Cyprian hath in the 2 booke and 3. Epiſtle. Our Lord Ieſus Chriſt offered the ſelfe ſame thing which Melchizedeck offered, that is to ſay, bread and wine: to wit, his owne body and bloud. Auguſtine againſt Fauſtus the 19. booke chap. the 16. In what a doting erroꝛ be they which thinke,

thinke, that the ſignes and Sacramentes being chaunged, the thinges alſo be diuers. And in the ſame Treatiſe in the 20 booke the 21 Chapter: The fleſh and bloud of this Sacrifice, before the comming of Chriſt was promiſed vnder oblations of lykeneſſes. In the paſſion of Chriſt it was giuen according to the trueth it ſelfe: after the aſcenſion of Chriſt, it is celebrated by a ſacrament of remembraunce. The ſame father in the 26. Treatiſe vppon Iohn: Thoſe Sacramentes were in ſignes differing [from ours] but in the matter which is ſignified they be equall. Straightway he ſaith: therefore there was the ſelfe ſame meate, and the ſelfe ſame drinke, howbeit to them that vnderſtode and beleeued: but to them which vnderſtood it not, it was but onely Manna, and the other but onely water, but to him that beleeued, it was the ſelfe ſame thing that it is now. For then Chriſt was to come, now he is come: was to come, and is come he diuers wordes, but one and the ſame Chriſt. And Bertramus among the later men thus writeth: But that 1.Cor.15.3
our fathers did eate the ſelfe ſame ſpirituall meate, and drinke the ſelfe ſame ſpirituall drinke Saint Paul affirmeth. Perhaps thou demaundeſt, which ſelfe ſame? Euen the very ſame which at this day, the faithfull people doe eate and drinke in the Church. For we muſt not thinke that there is a difference ſeeing that he is one & the very ſame Chriſt, which with his fleſh feede the people, and with his bloud gaue them drinke when they were in the deſert, in the clowd, and were baptiſed in the ſea, and which now in the Church feedeth and giueth drinke vnto the beleeuing people with the breade of his body and water of his bloud. And ſtraightway againe the ſame father: A maruell doubtleſſe incomprehenſible and ineſtimable: he had not as yet taken the manhood vppon him: he had not as yet talked of death, for the ſalvation of the world: he had not as yet redeemed vs with his bloud, and yet euen now, our fathers in the deſert did eate his body & drinke his bloud by a ſpirituall foode and an inuiſible drinke, as the Apoſtle beareth witneſſe ſaying: The ſelfe ſame ſpirituall meate. And againe: For euen he alſo which by his omnipotent power in the Church ſpiritually conuerteth the breade and wine into the fleſh of his owne body and into the water of his owne bloud: euen he then inuiſibly wrought the Manna which was giuen from heauen to be his owne body, and the water which was powred from heauen to be his owne bloud.

3. 10 We ſee moreouer in the ſacrament of Baptiſme, that the holy Ghoſt and remiſſion of ſinnes is giuen: yet doe we not ſaie that theſe things lie hidden in the waters: yea and we put on Chriſt, yet doeth not any Gal.3.27.
man ſay, that water is tranſubſtantiated. Chriſt (they ſay) is after one ſoꝛt in the Euchariſt, and after another ſoꝛt in Baptiſme. Anabreticall obiection.
As touching the manner, I confeſſe that in An answere
Baptiſme Chriſt is giuen as a mediatour, Howe Chriſt is giuen in Baptiſme, and in the Euchariſt.
as a reconciler, and to ſpeake more properly, as a regeneratour: but in this he is diſtributed vnto vs as a meate and nourihment. Furthermore with this their Tranſubſtan- 4.
tiation, they come nere vnto a figure of the Marcionits: for they ſay: It ſeemes to be breade and is not: The verie which thing The errour of the Eutychetians.
Marcion affirmed of the fleſh and bodie of Chriſt, that it was not true fleſh, but that it onelie appeareth [to be fleſh]. Chriſt is no Chriſt is not iugler.
iugler, neither doeth he delude our ſenſes, but by the ſenſes he proued the Reſurrection. Feele (ſaieth he) and ſee, for a ſpirit hath Luk.24.39.
no fleſh and bones. The Apoſtles might 5.
haue ſaid: we feele & ſee, it appeareth to be fleſh and bodie, but it is not: and in daine had that proſe vſe, whereby Chriſt proued that he was not a phantaſticall bodie, but that he had a true bodie. And that he had receiued his owne proper bodie, and not an other, he ſhewed by the woundes of the nailes, Ib.ver.40.
and by the gap that was in his ſide. Which Argument of his, if place ſhould be giuen to theſe vngling knacks, it would be of no force. Yea and the Fathers argue from the pro- 6.
perties and accidentes of mans nature: to wit, that Chriſt was verie man, becauſe he hungred, ſlept, wondred and ſorrowed, and wept, and ſuffered: which Arguments are of none effect, if by theſe accidentes the ſubſtance be not truely ſhewed, ſo as it ſhoulde not be lawfull to ſaie: it is of the ſelfe ſame faſhion, it hath the ſame taſte, the ſame colour which breade is wont to haue, therefore it is verie breade. For Heretiches will confeſſe, that Chriſt hungred, ſlept, wondred, wept, & ſuffered, but when thou ſhalt therefore inferre: therefore he was verie man, they will denie þ conſequence. For they will ſay, that theſe properties might haue place in Chriſt although the ſubſtance of them namely, the nature of man be not preſent. They 7.
ſay, as touching the Argument of Marcion, An obiectiō.
that it may be, he toke the occaſion of his errour out of the Goſpell, where it is written of Chriſt that he walked drie foote vpon the Mat.14.25.
water, that he was lifted vp into heauen, Acts.1.9.
and that hee eſcaped out of the handes Luke.4.30.
of the Iewes, for as they ſawe him not, and yet that theſe things ought not to be taken out of the Goſpell by reaſon of the daunger of

An answere

of the Marcionits. Whereunto we answere, that in ꝑ Gospels it is described, that Christ once or twise did these myracles, but ye appoint that these things be perpetuall. And that which is in the Scriptures, wee our selues haue not feigned, therefore we ought not to be accused of giuing occasion. Howbeit in those things which we haue deuised, which we doe expound and teach as doctrine without the expresse word of God, we must beware least we set open a windowe to Heretikes.

The nature of a sacrament.

11 Furthermore, the nature of a sacrament is corrupted, of which Augustine vpon 8. John saieth, The woorde commeth vnto the element, and it is made a sacrament. The nature thereof is, that it should be made of these two things: but as these men appoint the elements, that is, the bread and wine are taken awaie: And then Augustine ought not to haue said: The woorde commeth vnto the element, but, It taketh awaie the element. And

What answere is to be there to the figures or to the things in this sacrament.

while they remoue the natures of the elements, ꝑ proportion of the significatiō perisheth. Wherefore the bread signifieth the bodie of Christ, because it nourisheth, strengtheneth, and sustaineth: which we cannot attribute vnto accidents. It is also a significatiō of many graines gathered in one, which representeth the mysticall bodie, and that cannot be attributed vnto accidents. Wherefore Paul said: We that are manie, are one bread and one bodie, because we are partakers of one bread. In baptisme, water is said to be the fountaine of regeneration, and because the substaunce thereof is preserued, that doeth verie well agree, for the accidents of water would not be conuenient. And in taking awaie of the substance of bread and wine in the proposition, This is my bodie, they abuse the verbe substantiue Is, for it is transsubstantiated, turned or changed from one to another. For while they vtter those woordes of the Lorde, the bread is not yet the bodie of Christ. Wherefore if they would vnderstand Is in his own true significatiō, they should vtter that which is false. Therefore among the schoolemen, some graunt that the verb Is should be taken for, To be made, To be changed, or turned. Moreouer they attribute this power or efficacie vnto those fewe woordes of the Lord, that so often as they be repeated, this changing is made, and yet haue they not in the holie Scriptures any woorde thereof. And if a man should speake those woordes which Paul, Matthew, Marke, or Luke hath, they would thinke that there is no consecration: for they ascribe all the vertue vnto the woordes of their owne Canon. But we knowe that then the sacrament is, when we doe those things which Christ did and commanded to be done: but he not onely spake those woordes, but he also gaue thankes, he brake the breade, he did eate, and he reached it vnto others to eate. And where as there be manie things here, all doe concurre with the truethe of the sacrament, neither must anie of these things be intermitted. I passe ouer that they be ignorant whether consecration be had in the woordes of Christ or in prayers. Further they set them selues in great perill. For it may be that an vll sacrificer or false worker doeth not speake the woordes, doth change or inuert them. Moreouer, hauing an intent (as they speake) of him that consecrateth is required: it might be, that he in doing of these things thinketh nothing at all of consecration, and perhaps that he is minded not to haue it done.

12 They fall into many absurdities, and those inexplicable: for therein they affirme that there maie be a bodie, and that in infinite places together and at one verie time. But they saie, that this is no hinderaunce vnto them, because though the body of Christ be there, yet is it not by the waie of quantitie. And this is to be wondred at how they place a body and a quantitie, and to be true ꝑsent: and yet not by the way of quantitie. And seeing they affirme him to be true ꝑsent, and corporallie, and carnallie as they say, but not localliie, who perceiueth not that these bee arguentes inuented to deceiue? They obiect that this was giuen to Ambrose, the humane bodie of Saint Ambrose, who being at Millaine was ꝑsent at Turon in the funerals of Saint Martin, and there was same: Why (say they) shall not this which Ambrose had, be rather granted to the bodie of Christ? But they take as graunted, which we graunt not. For it might be, that it was reuealed vnto Ambrose, and that it semed vnto him he was ꝑsent at those funerals, and by the help of Angels he was perhappes represented in them and vnto the sight of the people, but that his bodie was verily in both places together, we will not graunt. Further we might leaue it to the author of the myracle recited, to consider whether it be true or no. They oppose againe as touching the soules, that whereas they be creatures, yet eache one of them is in the head, and in al the members of our bodie. But they deale verie vnwiselie, which compare a spirite with a bodie, and that they would haue to bee giuen vnto bodies which they may lawfullie doe vnto a spirit. Christ saide plainelie: A spirit hath no flesh and boanes, whereby hee

put no small difference betweene them. Further if we should graunt, that that is to be giuen vnto the bodie which our soule hath, it followeth not that the bodie of Christ can bee in diuers places, because our soule and the Angels cannot be in diuers places at one and the selfe same time: for they be creatures, and therefore of a power limited and definite.

13 There followe also many other inconueniences: because if the myce haue gnawen these sacred holts, they will say, that they eate accidents. And if they be filled and satisfied, this also shall be a worke of Accidents. And if it happen that a sacrificing Priest, doe vtter those woordes ouer a great vessell of wine, and ouer a great chest full of bread, and that thou demand what filleth the vessell, what the chest, or what also filled the bellies of them which did eate and drinke thereof: they would answere, Accidents. And because those that eate, are sustained, some of them dare to saie, that God createth in the bellies of the eaters and drinkers, either fleame or some other humor, which may be conuerted into blond whereby they should be nourished. But and if that that sacrament be burned, as it was done in the time of Hesychius (which thing he himself testifieth vpon Leuiticus, and the very same hath Origen vpon the same booke,) vndoubtedly ashes will remaine, and by that meanes shall a substance be procreated out of accidents. In like maner woormes may arise of the bread consecrated, & there also they will say that substance is brought forth of accidents. Albeit, (as they be bold felowes,) some of them faine that ꝑ former matter is by myracle brought againe, by reason whereof these things may happen. But if it be lawfull after this manner to braede and feine myracles, euerie diuine may escape as he will. For to euery intricate matter he will apply a myracle, and so will he vnwinde himselfe out of all Arguments which shall be obiected against him.

17. These things they affirme not onely by myracles, but also by subtill sophisticall arguments. As Scotus when he is vrged in the vttering of those woordes: This is my bodie, that he should tell vs what is shewed in the subiect of the proposition, at length answereth, that there is demonstration made of some singular or particular thing of a more generall substance, which together with that which is affirmed thereof doeth shewe the selfe same thing or (as the schoolemen said) is of the selfe same suppositiō: neither do those things differ one from another which are signified by the subiect and that which thereof is affirmed, except it be by a diuers manner of conceiuing. See whereinto they ruth and yet for all that they escape not. For it is not yet answered by them what is shewed, when it is said, This is my bodie. The Bishop of Rochester saieth in these propositions, that when any thing is changed into an other thing, it is not absurde that that which was before should bee shewed: And so he admitteth, that in This is my bodie should be shewed the bread which was before, and is chaunged into the bodie of Christ while those woordes be spoken. But then (saie I) the proposition is not well framed: For it should haue bin said: This is made my bodie, or, This is turned into my bodie: otherwise, being said, This is my bodie, the speech is vnproper.

14 They which say, that the body of Christ is really ioyned with the signes, the natures I meane of bread and wine being preserued, doe thus argue against Transubstantiation: What dignitie or priuiledge haue Accidentes, that they can be ioyned with the body of Christ, which ought to be denyed to the substance and nature of bread? And if the Accidentes can remaine, why shall not also the substance of bread be retained? Yea rather, many of the fathers suppose, that this may be done. And thence they take a similitude, that the humane and diuine natures in Christ doe verily remaine, and so remaine, as one palleth not into another: whose opinions we will bring in when time shall serue. They fall also into an other absurditie: for while they breake the Sacrament, we demaund of them what they breake there. Here they stagger and some haue said, as testifyeth the maister of the sentences in the 4. booke, that the essence or substance of the bodie of Christ is broken: but this opinion is by him confuted: because the bodie of Christ is immortall, and therefore it is not subiect to these things, and to new chaunces. There were others which said that the same is no true breaking, but that it onely appeareth to be, and so semeth vnto our senses. And this is also reiected, least we should establish here a perpetuall illusion. At length they say, that they be accidents which be broken. And when as they after a sort appoint a Mathematicall quantitie, that is, a quantitie separated from matter, which if it be diuided, it is onely done by the power of the minde and by the promptnesse of the vnderstanding. These men also diuide in very deede, so as the partes diuided may most manifestly be seene. In Ieremy we reade, Let vs cast wood vppon his bread; which place is cited

Absurdities which follow vpon transubstantiation.

The one and ꝑ same bodie is in many places at once.

What answere is to be giuen to the obiection of Ambrose.

Luke 24.39.

What Scotus doth and doeth not affirme to be shewed in the proposition, Christ is my bodie.

Ieremy 11.19.

cited by Tertullian and Lactantius, and they interpret that this was spoken of putting the wod of the crosse into the body of Christ: and they will that mention was made of bread, because through bread Christ was to giue himselfe vnto vs. And that which the Prophet speaketh, they will haue to be a figure of the bread of the Sacrament: which seeing these men take away, and onely leaue a figure vnto vs, they affirme a figure of a figure, so as no sound thing remaineth. The very which may be gathered by that which is oftentimes alledged by the fathers as concerning Melchizedeck, who brought the bread and the wine, the figure whereof is not by these men obserued, when they remoue away the bread and the wine. And the selfe same thing followeth as touching the Shewbread.

The Transubstantiators take away the figure of the old Testament.

Gen.14.18

21. 15 Againe we will bring a reason taken frō baptisme. A little before we argued from thence, that for the trueth of that Sacrament it was not requisite that water should be transubstantiated: now we reason from ſ men themselues which be baptised, of whom the Scripture plainely saith that they lay away the olde man, and are againe begotten: and yet is there no Transubstantiation imagined in them, neuertheless generation is described to be a motion whereby a new substance is gotten. Wherefore it is no maruell that Nichodemus take offence at the wordes of the Lord, wherein it was shewed him that he should be borne againe. For while he thought with himselfe that a new generation was preached vnto man already brought forth and well in yeares, he stood in a doubt. But and if we interpret that generation to be new, and the natiuitie to be spiritual, why doe we not vouchsafe to doe the same in the Eucharist? And why doe we not transferre all thinges vnto spirituall eating? Gladly ioyne together these two Sacramentes, Baptisme and the Eucharist, because Paul in the 1. Epistle to the Corinthians the 12. Chap. knitteth them together, when he saith: All wee by one spirit are baptised into one body, and haue bin all made to drinke with one spirit. Neither is it of any force, if thou shalt say, that we be baptised into one body, to wit, the mysticall body, because from the mysticall body Christ is not absent, seeing he is the head thereof. And elſe where Paul most plainely saith, that We in baptisme put on Christ. Wee see moreouer, that the holy writers bring out of the 6. Chapter of Iohn many thinges as touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Yea rather, there is none of the fathers which in the interpreting of that

The change of bus in Baptisme.

Iohn.3.5.

Verse.13.

How Paul knitteth together the two Sacramentes.

Gal.3. 27.

22.

chapter, writeth not plētifully of the Eucharist. Whereupon we conclude a reason after this manner: The thinges which be there spoken, either serue vnto this sacrament or they serue not: if they belong not vnto this, what nede is there to cite them, or by those places to dispute of the Eucharist? But if they haue respect vnto this, seeing there is onely a spirituall eating, that is by faith, whereby is receaued the true body and blood of Christ, what nede is there to bring in an other new receauing, and to imagin a carnal eating, whereby the same thing should be receaued againe? For if we graunt that there commeth some godly and faithfull man, then these men shall be constrained to admit, that twise he doth receaue the body of Christ: First by a spirituall eating through faith, afterward by their carnall eating which they haue neuer prowed. And thus thou seest that these men doe stop vp their owne way, so as they cannot truely cite those testimonies which are vppon the 6. Chapter of Iohn. And while they affirme Transubstātiation, they are found to be in the same errour that the Capernaites were. Euen they also reuolued in their mind I know not what corporal eating of the flesh of Christ, from which corgitation, Christ straightway reuoked them, when he said: that his wordes were spirit and life: and that the flesh profiteth nothing. And he obiected vnto them the memory of his ascension into heauen, saying: What if ye see the sonne of man ascend into heauen where he was at the first? But these men say, that they are not of the same minde that the Capernaites were: for say they: they thought that the flesh of Christ should be cut into peeces, and should be eaten with the teeth, and therefore they haue vtterly millyked thereof: but as touching the speciall imagination of the Capernaites, what soeuer it was they know not, but very lyke it is, that they thought carnally, therefore they were troubled with the mention made of ascending into heauen. Why doe not these men teach themselues thereby, who are bound to say that they eate Christ both carnally and corporally? What difference is there whether thou receaue him by partes, or if thou swallow him all at once?

Whether the wordes in the 6. of Iohn belong to the Eucharist.

Iohn.6.29.

Iohn.6.52.

Verse.62.

Iohn.6.63.

If Transubstantiation were true there would be some abomination of the Capernaites, as was of the mysteries of the incarnation Verse.52.

16 Vnto whom it seemeth, that Christ said vnto his Apostles about the ende of his life, that he would leaue the world and would depart from them: which should not be true, if he were with vs by transubstantiation as these men would. They haue vsed to auoyde this worde, aritie and bodilie conuersation. These inconueniences are subtile shifts, but they serue not to the purpose. For when Christ spake these wordes, Philip answered; Beholde nowe thou speakest plainelie, and without parables. Howbeit if it were so to be vnderstood, the speech had bene obscure and like a parable. Further if Christ remaine with vs so corporallie in the Eucharist, he might by the same reason remaine both in our hearts, & also in our selues. Therefore hee might still after his ascension rule the Church by his owne selfe, and bee present with his Apostles. But he saieth, that hee would leaue a vicar in his stead: namelie the holie Ghost, who had not bene necessarie, if whole Christ as touching diuinitie & humanitie (as these men will) were present. For seeing the flesh and bodie of him is by participation in cache one of vs (according to their doctrine) and that his godhead is present, hee might deale by his owne selfe without the holie Ghost to be ỹ prompter. Marie the mother of the Lord, the most blessed virgin, when thee had heard of the Angel, that the word of God should take flesh vpon him, and that she was chosen to conceiue & bring forth the sonne of God, she iudged these to be straunge and wonderfull thinges, and demaunded howe these things should be, & so forth. But this translation of the bread into the bodie of Christ, seeing it is no lesse matter than is that mysterie of his incarnation and natiuitie of the Virgin, it is a wonder that in the holy scriptures there is founde neither admiration nor question demaunded of that matter: and that in none of the writings of the Euangelists or Apostles, this beliefe of Transubstantiation is commended vnto vs, being a thing of so great importance. Neither doe we hearken vnto some that say, in the 6. Chapter of Iohn there went a question before: because the answere that was there giuen of spirituall eating, they will now transferre vnto this sacramentall eating, which neuertheleſſe they assigne to be another than that was. For vs there-fore doeth that question and answere serue, but it nothing at all profiteth these men, who faine another eating differing from that spirituall eating, to wit, this eating which wee nowe haue in hand.

The holie Ghost is Christs Vicar.

Luke.1.34.

The coming of the Comforter.

Iohn.16.7.

Verse.62.

An answere to the same.

Iohn.14. and 16. Christ as touching his humanitie is gone from vs.

26.

17 Other inconueniences and absurdities doe follow the faining of these things. For Christ said: I will that where I am, there also my minister should be: and he spake the same often times to his Apostles. And in the Apocalips wee reade of certaine Martyrs: They follow him whereſoeuer he shall goe. Whereupon would be concluded, that in the Eucharist, not onely should be affirmed Transubstantiation into the bodie of Christ, but into all the Saints. Which if it displease them, let them leaue Christ in heauen with his saints, other wise they shall follow him together for companie. But they say: We suffer him also to be in heauen, visible and in his Maiestie and glorie, but yet herein the sacrament wee affirme him to be inuisible: and those things which be obiected as touching the fellowship of the Saints and Martyrs, they be true as touching Christ, according as he is visible in heauen in his glorie and Maiestie. This answere leaneth vppon a false grounde: for it admitteth that one and the same bodie of Christ is in many places at once: which the fathers denie. It admitteth that Christ is with vs as touching his bodie and flesh; whereas he said, that as touching these things, he would send another in his place, namely, the holy Ghost. Neither can they auoide it that Christ had two bodies, seeing in the supper when he had taken bread into his hands, if it had bin trāsubstantiated into his bodie, yet he himselfe had borne his owne bodie with his bodie, and it should be necessarie to graunt both the bodie bearing and the bodie borne to be both one, when as neuertheleſſe one and the same agent and patient in respect of one and the selfe same thing in one verie time cannot be. And thus we see into what absurdities they cast themselues. They are wont to bring Augustine vppon the Psalmes, who said that Christ bare himselfe in his owne handes. But if the place which is written vppon the 73. Psalme be considered, that he, After a sort, bare himselfe in his owne handes: that also doe we graunt, because he bare in his owne handes the sacrament of his owne body, and not properly and really his owne body. Adde that because Christ communicated with his Apostles, it followeth that he did eate his owne selfe. But they haue bene accustomed to answere, that these things be exercises of our faith. But we replie, that we haue sentences of the scripture, in which our faith may exercise it selfe farre otherwise than in these which men haue deuised. We beleeue that the sonne of God, is incarnate of the virgin, that he was borne, that he died for vs, that he was raised vp from the dead, and that he was taken by into heauen, and many of these kinde of things, wherein our faith doth abundantly ynough exercise it selfe. And seeing the sense toucheth not, the reason vnderstandeth not, nor experience teacheth this Transubstantiation, how shall it be knowē? I know, thou wilt say, by faith: but if we are

Iohn.14.16 27.

Howe Christ with his bodie could beare his owne bodie.

Manifest absurdities.

Augustine Anobrensis.

An answere

True exercises of our faith.

28.

to deale by faith, that without the worde of God can not be had, and thereof ye be vtterly destitute.

18 Furthermore, seeing Christ made this sacrament of two parts, namelie, of the bodie and blood, thereby it sufficientlie appeareth, that the thing cannot be receiued by this transubstantiation, because these things in the reall and carnall bodie of Christ are not diuided: But they haue a shift, and they say that it is contained in one of these parts alone or in two. Indeede we heare them affirme this, but the wordes of the Scripture teache it not: but about the breade onelie there is mention made of the bodie and about the cuppe onelie is the blood sperified. They answere as touching the breade, that by the power of the wordes transubstantiation is made into the bodie of Christ or into the flesche of Christ properlie and by it selfe, and that the bloud and the soule & diuinitie followeth by concomitancie. And in like maner do they speake of the cup, that by an efficacie of the wordes, first and properlie there is a transubstantiation made into the bloud, but by a concomitancie or a kind of coniunction there is had both the bodie & the soule & ỹ diuinitie. And by this their subtile reason, they make Christ lesse prouident, as he that hath giuen no more vnto the two parts than is seuerallie contained in one of them. And of this their fancie hath growen, that afterward they diuided the sacrament, and in giuing onely one part vnto the Laitie, they haue perswaded them, that they haue euen as much as if they receiued both parts. Adde that by this their fained deuise, they set open a windowe vnto many counterfaite opinions: because there is no opinion whereunto they by their concomitancie may not tie infinite things. And it would follow as we aboue saide, that all the Saints are present in this sacrament, seeing they alwayes followe Christ. But the only reason whereby we refell them, is this, that they teache, but the scripture doeth not speake.

19 There hath an other false & absurd opinion followed this transubstantiation: in that they haue thought that after receiuing of the sacramentes, there remaineth still a sacrament, and that the breade or thew of bread doth really and verily containe in it the bodie of Christ. That this is false wee will shewe by other sacraments, where the whole consisteth in action, which being taken away, it is no more a sacrament. It appeareth in baptisme that when a man is dipped or sprinkled with water by the wordes of the Lord, then it ceaseth to be a sacrament. The

Obiections

Answeres.

Theis sayned benifit of concomitancie.

Against the concomitance of Transubstantiation.

30.

That there is no sacrament but where there is an actio.

verie which thing was in circumcision: so that sacrament also consisted in action. Neyther will I disdaine to take those which bee called sacraments by them, as is confirmation, extreme vnction, penance, and other such like: all which wee se haue place in action onelie. But they are wont to say, that this sacrament of the Eucharist must be receyued. But howe logicallie our aduersaries speake this, it may be easilie perceiued. When as all the partes of the induction are graunted, and that there is only an instance put of the thing in controuersie, who seeth not that it is lewdly done, and onely to dally with the argument, for that is after a sort to graunt the premisses, and to deny the conclution? And by reason of these straunge wonders of this Metamorphosis, we are hindered from the end, which is chiefest, and is commended vnto vs by Christ in the holy scriptures: namelye the remembrance of Christ and his death. For here all the minde and meaning of these men is occupied in beleeuing of transubstantiation, yea thou maist se some sacrificers, who when they are come to the Communion onlie vrge and thrust this vpon vs, to bee beleeued, passing ouer other thinges more necessarie. And by the meanes of this fained deuise, the Communion is the lesse frequented, because men being perswaded in that, began to thinke with themselues: If Christ bee there corporallie and carnallie couered with accidents, surelie we will goe vnto the Temple: we will see, we will worship, we will call vpon, we will light candels, and such other like things, whereby they thought they might gratifie Christ. Which if they had not thought, but had iudged, as truth it is, that it is onlie a sacrament, they would thereby haue vnderstode that they should haue no cõmoditie vnlesse they had communicated, and their mindes would haue bene more stirred vp vnto the Communion, which is, truelie to satisfie the institution of Christ.

20 Ouer this we ought to call to minde, that the time of humilitie and submission of Christ is passed away, & that he now raigneth in heauen, and ỹ he hath a name which is aboue euerie name. Wherefore then should it be requisite by transubstantiation to send him downe againe communicated as touching the bodie into our iawes and bellies? I knowe that they say hee is not hurt, hee beareth no vncleanesse. I will grant it, but yet it is not very decent, that, as they say, he should be detained vnder those accidentes so long as they remaine sound: which thinges when they shalbe dissolued, they say that the bodie of Christ fleeth away. Whereby it

Anobiectio

Answere

Anobiectio

Answere

Anobiectio

Answere

Sanctification begun neither at the soule, nor at the bodie.

The chiefe end of the Sacrament set by Christes Institution.

By the fame of fained deuises the frequenting of the Communion

Anobiectio

An bodilye by facrifice.

Answere

Anobiectio

Answere

A thing not beliefed for the glor pased bodie of Christ.

commeth

commeth to passe that they dailie and especiallie until nonetide constraine him perpetuallie to depart and flie away. But they say, that we must let these cogitations passe, and yet they themselues by their carnall Transubstantiation doe suggest the same. If they might be brought that wee shoulde doe all things there spiritually, there would bee no such cogitation. And while they appoint this his naturall and carnall bodie to be present, doe they it to the intent that he should penetrate our soule? Or else that he may conueigh himselfe into our bodie? Into the soule they cannot say, because nothing is there taken carnally or corporally. But and if they would that the bodie should be penetrated by him, we demaund why he will doe this vnto it? They will answer, to the intent that man may be sanctified. But it is meete that sanctification should begin at the soule, not at the bodie. They say that a certaine power and efficacie is imprinted by the water, and that the soule is made the better, and the bodie also confirmed. But if we speake of ỹ power, it is not of necessitie ỹ this should be by transubstantiation, seeing it maie haue it without the same. And the auncient Fathers, when they taught the nature of this Sacrament, saide, that an vnbloudie sacrifice is here sacrificed, which will not well agree, if wee should determine that there is true and corporall bloud. Neither doeth it suffice that they say: it is an vnbloudie sacrifice, because Christ is not here slaine, nor yet his bloud violently drawne forth. For although that these things be not done, yet without bloud (according to the grosse imagination of these men) the thing is not done. Whereforse it appeareth that the fathers so spake, because they woulde onely haue a memorie here of the true sacrifice, and a spirituall receiuing therof, which is done by faith. Moreouer they are wont to say that the bodie and bloud of Christ is shadowed and couered with the accidents of bread and wine, least we should seeme to eate rawe flesh and to drinke bloud. But I doe not thinke that these men will say, howsoeuer they paint and colour ỹ matter, if their Transubstantiation be true, but ỹ we doe eate rawe flesh: inso much as no reason is brought either by them or by the scriptures that it should be sodden. And yet it is written of the Paschall lambe, which was a figure of this sacrament, that nothing thereof should be eaten rawe.

37. This more doe in Sacramentes

21 Besides forth we see, that Christ in the Eucharist instituted a sacrament, whereby it commeth to passe that all thinges be done there sacramentally. Neither is it required, that in Sacramentes more should be giuen or desired than the reason of a Sacrament shall require. Further, if we weigh what Christ did in that last supper, we may easilie perceiue the thing, it is proued, that he gaue his owne body. If we demaund further, what manner of one he gaue, they cannot determine with themselues. Some seeme to say, that he gaue such as he had, namely a passible and mortall body. Howbeit such a body with those conditions which it then had, might not carnally, as these men dreame, be contained in small peeces of bread. But others which thinke themselues wiser, say that Christ in himselfe had a body mortall and passible: but that in bread he gaue a glorified and spirituall body. Then doth that make against them, which we read in the wordes of the Lord: This is my body which is giuen for you, and my bloud which shall be shed for you: Where he plainely extendeth his speach both vnto the body which he then had, and vnto the bloud which he at the same houre possessed. For these glorified and impassible thinges he receaued not vntill the resurrection was past. But admit it as they say: We argue, the conditions of the body passible and glorified are contrary one to an other, so as they cannot both together at one time be in one subiect. Whereupon it followeth that if ye will haue them put into the body of Christ at one very time, ye make Christes body to be twaine. Experience and the histories teach vs, that we must not allow of Transubstantiation, because they write that Victor the Pope of Rome dyed by drinking of poyson out of the challice. And Henry the Emperor was poysoned by a king of bread in the Eucharist. If all things be there transubstantiated, and that only accidentes are remaining, how may these thinges be? We know that euery of the Sacramentes (as the aduersaries themselues speake) consist of matter and forme. The matter, they say, is the signes or elements, but the forme they say is that which is added by the word. But that which is compounded of the two, must not call away the one, so as nothing thereof should remaine but accidentes: otherwise the nature of composition and coniunction would not be kept. Therefore it is concluded that the substances of bread and wine doe remaine. And before they be aware, the bodie of Christ is by them depriued of quantitie, place, and distance of partes, so as his whole body is constrained to be in the least peece thereof.

22 This Sacrament is not onely called

All things would be receiued sacramentally.

38.

Whether Christ gaue his passible bodie or whether his glorified bodie.

39.

40.

An Emperour and a Pope poysoned by a king of the Eucharist.

That the matter of a sacrament cannot be call away.

41.

What the matter and forme of the Sacrament are.

42.

43.

uiour, but also of the mysticall bodie: where-
1. Co. 12. 27 fore Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthi-
1. Co. 10. 17 ans sayd: Ye be the body of Christ: and again, We that are many, be one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread. And Augustine in his 22. booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, the 10. Chapter, saith that Christians doe not offer sacrifice vnto Martyrs. The sacrifice vndoubtedlie is the body of Christ, which is not offered vnto Martyrs, because they thē selues be the same, to wit, the body of Christ. Wherefore seing this Sacrament is of both the bodies, euen as they appoint not that the bread should be transubstantiated into the bodie mysticall: so it may not be required that it should be truely and properlie conuerted into the bodie of the Lord, seing it is declared to be the Sacrament aswell of the one as of the other. And of this opinion it would follow, that aswell the faithfull as the vnfaithfull doe receaue the bodie of the Lord, which I haue elsewhere disproued by two reasons. First, that seing the bodie of Christ is not plucked away from the spirit of Christ, it would follow that the wicked should receaue the spirit of Christ. Secondly, seing infidels be dead as touching ỳ inward man, they altogether want the instrument whereby they should receaue spirituall things. And Augustine plainelie said: that none doe eate the bodie of Christ, but they which be of his bodie. And Ierom in the 4. booke vppon Ieremy the 22. Chapter: And whereas he interpreth: They shall not eate and drinke, he vnderstandeth the bodie and bloud of our Sauiour. And he spake of the Heretickes. And the same Father vppon Esay the 66. Chapter: While they be not holy in bodie & in spirit, neither doe they eate the flesh of Iesus nor doe drinke his bloud. And manie such like places are had out of the Fathers.

That bread is not transubstantiated into the bodie mystically, neuertheles it is turned the bodie of Christ.

The vnfaithfull doe not receiue the verie bodie of Christ.

45. And whereas here they so very often pretend vnto vs manie miracles, we must not so easilie giue credit, because miracles ere not wont to be brought in, vnlesse it be in respect that they be strange and wonderfull thinges, by whose vnaccustomed happening, a weight may be added vnto the word of God. For then men be stricken with admiration, and may be easily led to imbrace the doctrine of Christ. But here is no visible thing changed, and there is nothing that can stirre vp men to admiration, wherefore they seme in vaine to craue helpe of miracles. The virgin in deede conceaued of the holy Ghost, but this the sensiblie perceaued to be done. And if any at any time haue bin conuerted vnto Christ, they perceaued that their minde and their lyfe was changed from the former conuersation. But here is nothing perceiued of these miracles which they imagin. Onely they be talked of, but can be prooued by no reason, nor experience, nor scripture. Vnto these thinges that haue beene alreadie said, adde, that the breaking of bread is after the same manner vnto the death and passion of Christ, as bread is vnto the bodie. But breaking, as they themselues also affirme, is a Sacrament and signe of the passion of Christ, and yet for all that it is not so to be transubstantiated, as it maketh the same to be truely and reallie present: therefore neither shall the bread be so changed into the body, as it may make the same to be present reallie. And then forasmuch as this opinion hath naught else but contention of wordes and inexplicable difficulties, it further-
46. thereth not vnto godlynesse.

How they craue in vaine the help of miracles.

23 But now let vs consider of the Fathers 47.
whether they so iudge or no. Irenæus against the Valentinian hereticks: The earthly bread (saith he) when it hath receaued that facul- Irenæus.
tie from the word of God, it is no more common bread, but is made the Eucharist, which consisteth of two thinges, to wit, earthlie and heauenlie. First of all he denieth not the Eucharist to be bread, except then make it cōmon bread. Afterward he saith ỳ it consisteth of two thinges, whereof the one is terrestriall as bread, the other celestiall, as the bodie of Christ. And as on the one part is retained the trueth, to wit, as touching the bodie of the Lord: so in the other part it is to be preserued, namely as touching bread. And he addeth by a similitude: euen so our bodies receauing the same be no more corruptible. Tertullian in his first booke a- Tertullian
gainst Marcion saith, that God cast not away bread being his creature, seing in it he represented his bodie. And in the 4. booke against ỳ same Marcion, He receiuing bread & distributing to his disciples made ỳ same to be his bodie, saying, This is my body, that is, a figure of my body. But a figure it should not be, vnlesse it were a bodie of the trueth. Origen vppon the booke of Numbers, Homilie Origen.
16. We are said to drinke the bloud of Christ, not onely by the rite of the Sacramentes, but also when we receaue his word. The very which thing Ierom also wrote sometimes vppon Ecclesiast. the 3. Chapter. The same Origen vppon Matthew the 26. Chapter: This bread which God, being ỳ word, confesseth to be his body, is a nourishing word of soules. Vppon Leuiticus the 7. Homilie: For there is in the Gospell also a letter ỳ killeth, & not in the olde Testament onelie. For if according to ỳ letter, thou followe ỳ which is said: Vnlesse ye shal eate my flesh, & so forth. And in the same booke, homilie the 9. Doe not

not thou stand in a doubt in the bloud of the flesh, but learne rather the bloud of the word, and heare him speaking vnto thee. For this is my bloud which is shed for you. Origen vppon Matthew the 15. Chapter: The bread sanctified as touching that which it hath materiall passeth into the bellie and is cast out into the draught. And straightway after: Not the matter of the bread but the word spoken ouer the same is it that profiteth, yet not him that vnworthilie eateth it vnto the Lord. The same father against Celsus the 8. booke: When as we haue giuen thankes for the benefites bestowed vppon vs, we eate the loaues that be offered.

24 Cyprian in the first Epistle of the first booke vnto Magnus saith: The Lord called his body, bread, which is kneaded together by the vniting of many graines, and he calleth his bloud wine that is pressed out of clusters and many grapes. And when he interpreteth the Lordes prayer, he calleth the bodie of the Lorde, bread. And in his sermon *de cœna Domini*, he saith, that we do not sharpen the teeth, but onely we breake and eate that breade with a syncere faith. And in his sermon *de Chrismate*, he saith manifestly, that Sacraments haue names of those thinges which they signifie. Which two sayings it seemeth that Augustine followed of him. The later in his epistle to Bonifacius. But when he saith the other, Why preparest thou thy teeth and belie? beleeue and thou hast eaten: that he hath in the 25. treatise vpon Iohn. But the same Cyprian in the thirde epistle and second booke vnto Cœcilius: In wine he saith is shewed the bloud of the Lord. And against the Aquarii he saith, that the bloud of Christ cannot seme to be present in the cup, if the wine cease to be therin, which by these mens transubstantiation doth come to passe. And in his sermon *de cœna Domini*, he writeth, that the signes are changed into the body of Christ, but so as he taketh a similitude of Christ himselfe in whom the humane nature appered, and the diuine nature lay hidden. By which similitude thou seest that he would that as in Christ remained the two natures, so they are preserued in this sacrament. And Cyprian in his third Epistle and second booke: By this reason, neither can the body of the Lord be in meale alone or in water alone, vnlesse both of them thalbe united and coupled together, and made firme into a lumpe of one loafe, wherby also in the sacrament it selfe our people is saide to be united.

Athanasius. And Athanasius expounding those wordes, If any man shall speake a worde against the Sonne of man, it is forgiuen him: but he that shal speake against the holy Ghost, it shal not be forgiuen him neither in this world nor yet in the world to come: he writeth: And how great a booke should be needful vnto this, ỳ the world should eate of it? But he inferreth that the thing must be vnderstood spiritually, and that therfore the Lorde in that place against the Capernaits made mention of his ascension. Basil in his Liturgie calleth bread ἀντίτυπον, that is, an example of ỳ like forme of the body of Christ, and that after the wordes of consecration. Dionysius *de Hierarchia Eccle-* Basil.
siastica the thirde chapter: The Bishop openeth the bread hidden and vndiuided, and cutteth it into morsels. Dionysius.

25 Ambrose in his exposition of the first Ambrose.
Epistle to the Corinthians, when he speaketh of doing this in remembrance of Christ and his death, saith that we in eating and drinking of the flesh and bloud of Christ, doe signifie the things that be offred. And again, about the selfe same place he saith: that we take it into the mysticall cup for a figure of Christ his bloud. And in the fourth booke the fourth chapter, where he putteth a changing of the signes, he intreateth also of our changing into Christ: and yet it is not affirmed that they which receiue the Sacrament be transubstantiated. And the same Father in the same fourth booke *de Sacramentis* ỳ fourth chapter: This we adde moreouer: How can it be that that which is bread should by consecration be the body of Christ? And straight way: If there be so great a strength in the worde of the Lorde, as things should begin to be which were not, how much rather is the worde so effectuous, that the things which were may remaine, and yet be changed into an other thing? Ierome vppon Matthew saith plainly, that in breade and wine are represented the body and bloud of the Lord. Chry- Chrysost.
sostome vppon the later Epistle vnto the Corinthians saith, that not alonely that which is set before vs vpon the table is the body of Christ, but also the poore people vnto whom we are bound to do good: because euen he that saith, This is my body, said also by his word, that he receiueth almes and is needie in the poore. In his eleuenth homily vpon Matthew in his worke which is called vnperfect: he saith that in the holy vessels there is not the body of Christ and the bloud of Christ, but a mysterie of the body and bloud of Christ. Also vpon the twelfth chapter of the seconde Epistle to the Corinthians the 27. homilie: Euen as Christ, both in the breade and in the cup said, Do this in the remembrance of me. The same father vpon the 22. psalme, vpon these wordes, Thou hast prepared a table in my

sight. As it is shewed vnto vs that there is euery day in the sacrament bread and wine according to the order of Melchisedech, vnto the similitude of the body and blood of Christ.

Emisenus. Emisenus whom they cite *de Consecratione distinct. 2.* And he seemeth to put a change of the signes: euen the selfesame man maketh mention of our changing into Christ.

Augustine. 26 Augustine hath many testimonies of this matter vpon the 82. psalme: This that ye see, ye that not eate, neither shall ye drinke this blood which they wil powre out: it is a mysterie that I speake vnto you, which if it be spiritually vnderstood, it will quicken you. *De Trinitate* the thirde booke and tenth chapter: The bread for this purpose made, is eaten vp in receiuing of the sacrament. Neither is there any cause why the Bishop of Rochester should go about to draw this saying vnto the Shewbreade: for we haue shewed elsewhere by diuers arguments that his interpretation is not right. First bicause, if thou follow the plaine sense, and that sense, which at the first view offereth it selfe vnto thee, and which the wordes make shew of, thou shalt manifestly perceiue that the speech is of the Eucharist. And Erasmus in the books of Augustine which he mended, wrote in the margēt *Eucharist.* Further a litle after in the same chapter, & while he treateth of the same thing, he maketh so euident mention of the Eucharist, as euen ỳ aduersarie cannot deny it. And of the same Eucharist, he had written before in the fourth chapter of that booke, when he began the same treatise. Adde herewithall: that expressly in these wordes which we haue in hande, it is plainly called a sacrament, which if he had meant, that it should be vnderstoode in common, it had bene no lesse agreeable vnto those things that he had reckened before, namelie vnto the brasen serpent, and to the stone erected by Iacob, and vnto the Shewbreade. But in those wordes he expressed not this worde Sacrament, which afterward (that we may vnderstande hee speaketh of the Eucharist,) hee would not suppresse. Lastly he saith: The bread made for this purpose is eaten vp in the sacrament, which agreeth not with the Shewbreade: for that was not made to this ende, that it should be eaten, but that they being set vpon the table, should remaine before the Lord: wherefore they be called in the Hebrew Panim, Afterward it came to passe, ỳ without regarde or by hap, they were eaten, least happily it should putrifie before the Lord. For therefore it was changed euery weeke. And when it had been once dedicated vnto God, he would haue this honor to be giuen vnto it, that it should be eaten of the Priests. But the breade of our Eucharist was verily made to this purpose, that in receauing of the sacrament it should be eaten. And vnto the arguments already said, I ad one more strong than the rest. For Augustine saith in the present tence: It is eaten, and not, Iwas eaten: which it behoued to haue been, if he had spoken of a figure and ceremonie of the olde testament. *De Fide ad Petrum* the 19. chapter, he calleth it a sacrament of breade and wine. As touching the memory and death of Christ he aboundantly instructed the same Peter in the faith: but of this transubstantiatiō which these men so greatly vrge at this day, he speaketh not one worde. Against Faustus in the 20. booke & the 21. chapter he saith, that the flesh and blood of Christ was promised to vs in the olde testament, vnder the similitude of sacrificed beastes: but he saith, that in the sacrament it was celebrated by a memorial. And in the 21. booke *De Ciuitate dei* the 25. chapter he plainely affirmeth, that the wicked doe not eate the matter of the sacrament, that is, the bodie of Christ. For he is not to be accompted (saith he) to eate ỳ bodie of Christ, which is not in the bodie of Christ. And he, in whom Christ abideth not, neither doeth he abide in Christ. And the like wordes he hath, in the 20. treatise vpō Iohn: but in the 30. treatise he saith: ỳ the body of Christ is in some certaine place in heauen, but that his truth is euery where spread, which he therfore speaketh, bicause truth is spirituall, and is alwaies present with the faithfull. And communicants wheresoeuer they be, do confesse Christ, and beleeue that he had a true body, & no feined body as the heretikes thought.

27 Against Adamantus the Maniche the 12. Chapter he writeth: The Lord doubted not to say, This is my bodie, when as yet he gaue a signe of his bodie. Neither maketh it any matter if thou say: he gaue both the signe and the thing signified: for Augustine had not respect vnto this, but he would shew that the saying is figuratiue, and like vnto another which he alleageth out of Deuteronomie, The bloud is the life. Wherefore he said: the Lord doubted not, because in tropes or figures we dare doe something. In his 3. Booke of Christian doctrine the 16. Chapter, he shewed that it was a figuratiue kinde of speeche which wee haue in the 6. of Iohn, to wit: Vnlesse yee shall eate the flesh of the sonne of man, &c. because a wicked thing seemeth to be commanded. For it is more haynous to eate the flesh of man, than to kil him: and to drinke bloud, than to shed it. Therefore

fore (saieth he) it is a commaunding figure, namely, that we should kindely & profitably lay vp in memorie ỳ flesh of Christ, that was crucified and wounded for vs. In an Epistle vnto Boniface he saith most plainely, that sacramentes take their name of those things whereof they should be sacraments: and he expressed by name the sacrament of the bodie of Christ. And he addeth that the sacrament of the bloud of Christ, is the bloud of Christ. And all this he wrote to shew that baptisme is the Sacrament of faith, and that therefore it may be said that it is faith, and that young children being baptized haue faith, because they receiue this sacrament. And leall that any should say, ỳ these be signes substantially (as these men speake) of the thing present, let them consider of the similitudes which these men haue alleaged: to wit, that we say, when we be nere vnto Easter, that to morrow or the next day after shal be the Passion of the Lord, and vpon Sundaie the Lord rose againe, when as yet these things are not nowe present but were done long before. Further, he here affirmeth, that ỳ baptisme of young children is faith; which neuerthelesse yong children presently haue not. Yea and the same father, as we haue it *De Consecratione distinct. 2.* in the Chapter *Interrogo vos*, faieth, that it is as sinfull a negligence, to suffer the word which is preached, to slip out of our mindes, as it is for a part of the sacrament to fall vpon the earth. Which if it were graunted, this Transubstantiation would take but small place. For it would seeme to be farre more absurd, that the bodie it selfe of Christ should fall or be troden vnder foote, than if any part of the holy wordes should be heard with small regard. Moreouer vpon the 8. Psalme he saieth, that Christ admitted Iudas in the supper, when he commended vnto vs the figure of his bodie. They are accustomed to say, that the figure or signe in this sacrament, which is the bodie of Christ, being hidden with accidents, is his owne dead and vnbloudie bodie as he hung vpon the Crosse, and that the bloud hidden vnder the accidents of wine is the figure of ỳ bloud shed vpon the Aultar of the Crosse. But who perceiueth not that the deuises of these men be vaine? For there ought to be put a signe and figure, which is sensible & more knowen than the thing signified. Therefore the Maister of the Sentences out of Augustine defined a sacrament to be a visible signe of an inuisible grace. But the bodie of Christ being hidden vnder accidents, as themselues affirme, is no lesse obscure than is that which hung vpon the Crosse: yea and if I may say the truth, more vnknowen and obscure than the thing signified. Which is against the nature of a signe and figure. For more easily is the bodie knowen and considered of vs how it hung vpon the Crosse, than as they make it in the Eucharist.

Deut.12.

Transubstantiation of the Eucharist. Verse.28.

28 Leo the Pope in an Epistle vnto the Clergie & people of Constantinople, wrote, that this is a mysticall distribution, a spirituall foode, and a heauenly vertue: That here we receiue it, to the intent we may be made the flesh of Christ, who for our sakes take our flesh vpon him. Cyrillus in the 4. Booke and 14. Chapter vpon Iohn: On this wise he gaue vnto the beleeuing Disciples peeces of bread, saying: Take ye. The same Father in an Epistle to Calosyrius: Wherefore it became him after a sort to be vnited vnto our bodies, by his holy flesh, and by his precious bloud, which we receiue in the liuely blessing in bread and wine. Now will we alleage Theodoritus, Bishop of Cyrus: he liued in the time of Cyrillus, and was in the Synode of Ephesus, and Chalcedone: and he was accounted most learned and eloquent. And when in the Synode of Ephesus, there had happened a discension betweene Iohn the Patriarche of Antioch, and Cyrillus the Patriarche of Alexandria, it seemed good to Theodoritus to cleaue vnto the Patriarche of Antioch: howbeit the matter came to an agreement, and in the Synode of Chalcedone Theodoritus was knowen for a verie learned man, and holy member of the Church of Christ, yea and in the bookes which he wrote, he purposely withstandeth Nestor, and by expresse wordes dealeth against him. The Booke was printed at Rome. And the Papistes perceiued that he is most manifestly against Transubstantiation, and they haue excused him for two causes. First for that the Church had not as yet pronounced as concerning that matter: as though we should seeke what the Pope with his Cardinals decreed either at Constance, or in the Synode where Berengarius was condemned, and not rather what hath bin preached and beleeued in the olde Church. Further they saide, that this man in writing against Heretickes, whe he intreated of those mysteries, did ouermuch leane vnto the other part, and so was against Transubstantiation, to the intent the aduersaries might be the easilier confuted. But how vainy an excuse this is, it may appeare by the discourse of the writer, where thou maiest perceiue that not one word hath escaped him, but that the whole Argument and strength thereof is drawen from the nature of a sacrament; so as if thou mingle there-

Leo.

Cyril.

Theodoritus.

withall Transubstantiation, there can be nothing concluded. Yea rather ỳ Heretickes will carrie away the victorie. They adde, that he in the selfe same boke speaketh sometime more reuerently of the Eucharist: but all things being considered, he speaketh no where so reuerently that he is against our opinion, which we haue now affirmed. He disputeth against them which denied that Christ had a true bodie, and said that his bodie at the time of his Ascension was wholy turned into the diuine nature. First he alleageth the prophesie of the Patriarch Iacob that he may prepare himselfe a waie to deriue an argument from the sacraments. The wordes be these.

29 *ORTH.* Doest thou know that God called bread his owne bodie? *SOD.* I know it. *ORTH.* And againe that at another time his flesh was called Corne? *SOD.* This also I know: for I haue heard him say that The houre commeth wherein the sonne of man
Ioh.12.23. shall be glorified: and vnlesse the graine of Corne be cast into the earth and die, it remaineth alone, but if it be dead, it will bring foorth much fruite. *ORTH.* He vndoubtedly in the deliuerie of the mysteries, called bread, his bodie, & the Cup mixed, his bloud. *SOD.* So in deede he named it. *ORTH.* But it might also accordingly to nature bee called a bodie, yea euen his owne bodie and bloud. *SOD.* It is graunted. *ORTH.* Yea verilie our Sauiour himselfe chaunged the names, and to the bodie, he gaue the name of the signe, and to the signe the name of the bodie. After the same manner also, when he
Ioh.15.1. said that he himselfe is the vine, he called his bloud, the signe. *SOD.* This in deed is true: but I would also learne the cause of ỳ chaunging of the names. *ORTH.* The ende why it is so called is manifest vnto them which be instructed in Religion. For he woulde that they which be partakers of those diuine mysteries, should not haue regard vnto the nature of those things which be seene, but that by the changing of names they shoulde beleeue that transmutation which is done by grace. For he that called his owne naturall bodie Corne, and bread, and also called himselfe a vine; euen he himselfe also honoured those things, which seeme to be signes, with the name of his bodie and bloud: not forsaith changing nature it selfe, but vnto nature adding grace. *SOD.* Truelie the mysticall things are spoken mystically, & those things which are not knowen vnto al men are made cleare and manifest. *ORTH.* Wherefore seeing he confesseth that the robe and garment is by the Patriarch called the Lordes bodie, and that we be entred into the talke of diuine mysteries, tel me in verie deede, whose signe and figure thou thinkest that most holy meate to be? Was it the signe of the verie diuinitie of Christ, or else of his owne bodie and bloud? *SOD.* Doubtlesse euen of those things whereof also they receiued their names. *ORTH.* Doest thou meane, of the bodie & bloud? *SOD.* So I meane. *ORTH.* Thou hast truely spoken: For the Lorde taking the signe saieth not: This is my diuinitie: but, This is my bodie: And againe, This is my bloud. And in another place: But the
John.6.51. bread which I will giue for the life of the world. *SOD.* In verie deede al these things be true, for they bee the wordes of GOD. *ORTH.* Certainely if these things be true, the Lord had a bodie in deede. *SOD.* But I say that he is without bodie. *ORTH.* But thou confessest that he had a bodie, &c.

30 Out of the second Dialogue we haue these wordes. *SOD.* We must doubtlesse (according to the prouerbe) remoue euery stone that we may attaine vnto the trueth, especiallie in setting forth the doctrine of God. *ORTH* Shew me then: whereof the signes (which be offered vnto God by the ministers of holy things) be mysticall signes. *SOD.* Of the bodie and bloud of the Lord. *ORTH.* Of the true bodie or not? *SOD.* Of the true bodie. *ORTH.* Very wel said: for they must be a principall patterne of the Image. For the painters doe followe nature, and they paint the Images of those thinges that be seene. *SOD.* Thou sayst true. *ORTH.* If then those diuine mysteries be examples of a bodie being, then is the Lordes bodie now also a bodie, and is not changed into the nature of diuinitie, but is replenished with diuine glory. *SOD.* In good time hast thou moued this speach of diuine mysteries: for thereby will I shew thee a changing of the Lordes bodie into an other nature: answere therefore vnto my questions. *ORTH.* I will answere. *SOD.* What callest thou that gift which is offered before the priestes inuocation? *ORTH.* We must not speake openly: for it is very lykelie that some here present be not yet throughlie instructed. *SOD.* This is a diffuse answere. *ORTH.* Loke what seede it was, such meate it is. *SOD.* But how doe we name the other signe? *ORTH.* This name also is common betokening a figure of the cup. *SOD.* How doost thou call those thinges after sanctification? *ORTH.* The bodie of Christ, and the bloud of Christ. *SOD.* And doest thou beleeue, that thou receiuest the bodie and

and bloud of Christ? *ORTH.* Yea verily I beleeue it. *SOD.* Therefore euen as the signes of the bodie and bloud of the Lord, be one thing vndoubtedlie before the inuocation of the priest, but after the very inuocation be changed from one to an other, and become other thinges: so likewise the bodie of the Lord, after it is receaued, is changed into diuine substance. *ORTH.* Thou art caught in the same nettes which thou hast layd. For those mysticall signes, after sanctification doe not change their owne proper nature: for they in very deede remaine in their former substance, both in figure and forme, and are euen so seene and handled as before: and the thinges that are done, are vnderstood and beleeued & honored, as though they were such as they are beleeued to be. Compare therefore the Image with the principall figure, and thou shalt see the similitude. For a figure must agree with the trueth. For that very bodie it selfe hath his first figure, and forme, and circumscription, and (to speake plainlie) the very substance also of a bodie. But after the resurrection it became immortall, and it is accounted worthie of the seate which is at the right hand of God, and is worshipped of all creatures, as a bodie being of the Lordes owne nature. *SOD.* Howbeit that mysticall signe changeth his first name, and is not afterward named by that name which it was first called, but is called a bodie. Wherefore the trueth it selfe, must now be called God, and not any more a bodie. *ORTH.* Thou appearest ignorant vnto me: it is not onely called a bodie, but also the bread of life: for so the Lord called it. Yea and we also call this a diuine bodie and a quickening bodie, and the maisters bodie, and the Lordes bodie, teaching, that it is no common bodie of euerie man, but the bodie of our Lord Iesus Christ, who is God and man: euen Iesu Christ, yesterday and to day, and the same for euer.

31 There is extant an Epistle in the Lybarie of Florence (albeit not imprinted) of Chrysostome to Cæsarius the Monke in the time of his second banishment, written against Appolinaris and others which confounded the diuinitie and humanitie of Christ. Christ is both God and man: God because he cannot suffer; Man, because of his passion and suffering: One sonne, one Lord, one and the selfe same doubtlesse possessing one dominion, and one power of the natures vnited (although they be not together of one substance) and each one of them being vnmingled keepeth an acknowledgement of his owne propertie: for this cause that they be

Note that the figures do not cast away their old natures.

Chrysost.

An example of that Epistle is extant with the Bishop of Canterbury.

two things not confounded. For like as before the bread be sanctified, we name it bread, and the same being sanctified, by the diuine grace by meanes of the priest is vndoubtedlie deliuered from the name of bread, and is accounted worthie to be called the Lords bodie, although the nature of bread haue remained in it, and is declared not to be two bodies but one bodie of the sonne: euen so this diuine ἐνδιαφορώσης, that is to say, the nature of an ouerflowing bodie, hath made both these one sonne and one person. Hesychius in the 20. booke vppon Leuiticus the 8. Chapter: Therefore be commaunded that the flesh should be eaten with bread, to the intent we might vnderstand the same to be called a mysterie of him, because it is flesh and bread together. Gelasius against Eutiches wrote that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist the substance and nature of bread and wine doe not cease to be: and he maketh a comparison of this Sacrament with Christ, in whom both the natures aswell diuine as humane remains whole, euen as in this Sacrament both the nature of bread and of the bodie of Christ. Gregorie in the register: while we take aswell the fwete bread as the leauened bread, we are made one bodie of the Lord our Sauiour. Bertram in his little booke *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, saith as touching the natures of the signes, that according to the substance of the creatures like what they were before consecration, the same they remaine afterward. Bernard in his Sermon *De Cœna Domini*, manifestlie setteth forth a similitude of a King, whereby any man receaueth either the faith of wedlock or the possession of some dignitie: as it commeth to passe in the consecration of Bysshops, where the King, or the Crosiers staffe, or the labels of the Miter, be signes of thinges giuen and graunted, and yet no paine signes. For the thinges which they signifie are most certainelie giuen. The very which I haue shewed to be done in Sacramentes.

Hesychius

Gelasius.

Gregorie.

Bertram.

Bernard.

32 Now let vs confute the Argumentes of these men wherby they indeuour to proue their Trãsubstantiation. As touching ỳ first, we answere that Christ promised his flesh to his bodie or bloud for to be meate and drinke, and that in the 6. of Iohn: which he perfourmeth so often as we beleeue that he truelie dyed for vs. He also perfourmed it whẽ in the supper he instituted this Sacrament: For vnto that spirituall eating, he added signes. But speciallie they obiected, This is my bodie: about the trueth of which saying standeth the Controuersie; howbeit onely as

A confutation of the argument of Transubstantiation.

Verse. 51.

The meaning of the proposition, This is my bodie.

fou-

touching the manner: for both alwell they as we affirme the propolition to be true, and we contend onely about the lenle. They affirme the propolition to be plaine, and wee
uguſtine. on the other ſide ſay, that Auguſtine *De doctrina Chriſtiana* teacheth, that wee muſt not to interpret one place as it ſhould be againſt many other, but ſo as it may agree with the reſt. Neither muſt they alwayes obiect a plainneſſe of the ſenſe, other-
Gen. 1.6. wiſe when it is ſaid: Let vs make man to our owne Image and likeneſſe [the heretickes
The Heretikes called Anthropomorphitæ. named] *Anthropomorphitæ* ariſe and inferre, that God hath a bodie and a ſoule and other members as we ſee them to be framed in man. Thou ſayeſt that this Similitude muſt be referred vnto the ſoule, becauſe thorough it man beareth rule ouer other creatures as God doth: but they ſay, that theſe thinges be there written of man, and that thou fainteſt the goeſt about to attribute to a part, namely to the ſoule, that which is pronounced of the
Ioh. 4.24. Luk. 24.39. whole. Thou againe obiecteſt, That God is a ſpirit, and that a ſpirit hath not fleſh and bones, and ſo by other places of the Scriptures, thou gatherest the ſenſe of this oneplace.
The Arrians. So ſaid the Arrians that they had a plaine ſenſe of that place: The father is greater than
Ioh. 14.28. I. Thou reſtraineſt this vnto the nature of man, becauſe in other places, the diuinitie of Chriſt is declared vnto thee: as in the firſt
Ioh. 1.1. Rom. 9.5. 9. Chapter: and in the 5. Chapter of Iohns
1. Ioh. 5.20. Epiſtle Chriſt ſaith: He that hath not a ſword
Luk. 22.36. let him buy himſelfe one. Whereby he ſeemeth to ſtirre vp vnto reuenge: but and if
Interpreting of one place, we muſt haue reſpect vnto other places. thou haue reſpect vnto other places, thou ſhalt perceiue it is ſpoken figuratiuely. Paul
1. Theſſ. 5. 17. ſayth: Pray you without intermiſſion. Vp
The Heretikes called ἀγύπνοι. roſe the [heretickes called] ἀγύπνοι, who thought that we ſhould apply our ſelues to perpetuall and cloſe whiſpering prayers, when as neuertheleſſe it is ſaid elſewhere:
1. Tim. 5.8 He that prouideth not for his owne, and eſpecially for his houſhold, renounceth his faith, and is woorſe than an infidell. And againe:
7. Co. 14.40 Let all thinges be doone by order: And a-
2. Theſſ. 3. 10. gaine: He that labooreth not let him not eate. The [heretickes called] *Chiliaſtæ*, that is the *Mellenarij*, thought that they had a moſt
The Millenarij. plaine word in the Apocalips the 20. Chap-
Apo. 20.7. ter as touching a thouſand yeares, wherein Chriſt ſhall raigne with his Saintes. And
The Sabellians. the Sabellian heretickes ſayd: There is no difference betweene the father and the ſonne, by reaſon of that place: I & the father be one,
Ioh. 10.30. Iohn. 14.9. Ioh. 10.38. Alſo Philip: He that ſeeth me, ſeeth alſo the father: and as I am in the father, ſo likewiſe the father abideth in me, Theſe thinges the heretickes ſaid were plaine, and made for them. The Ebionites affirmed Chriſt to
The Ebionites. be a meere creature, and they ſaid that theſe wordes, My God, my God, why haſt thou
Mat. 27.46 forſaken me, might not otherwiſe be vnderſtood, ſeeing that God neuer forſaketh himſelfe. And becauſe that it is written in the 6. Verſe. 54. of Iohn: He that ſhall eate my fleſh, and drinke my bloud ſhall not dye at any time: ſome haue ſaid, that it followeth that they which haue lawfully communicated once cannot periſh euerlaſtingly. Which erro; Auguſtine *De Ciuitate Dei* both manifeſtlie repreue.
The Canticles of Salomon. And the wordes of the Canticles of Salomon; if thou receaue them as they appeare at the firſt ſhew, be no other than verſes of loue or a wedding ſong. It is not meete therefore to pretend alwayes a perſpicuitie of wordes.
Chriſt ſaid: He that hath eares to heare, let Mat. 13.9. him heare, and he that readeth, let him vnderſtand. Neither is it conuenient forthwith to take quicke holde of the firſt ſenſe, neglecting and not conſidering other places. Chriſt ſaid vnto the Apoſtles, Beware ye of the Leuen of Mat. 16.6. the Phariſes. They ſtraightway thought he ſpake of bread, when he ſpake as concerning doctrine. He ſaid alſo, Lazarus our friend Ioh. 11. 11. ſleepeth. There lykewiſe the Apoſtles miſvnderſtood him: If he ſleepe he ſhall be ſafe, when as he ſpake of death. Againe, the Lord ſaid: Deſtroy this Temple, and in three dayes Ioh. 2.19. I will raiſe it vp againe: Neither vnderſtood they, that he meant as touching his bodie. He that ſhall keepe my commaundements, ſhall not dye for euer. Here alſo the Iewes thought that he ſpake of the common death. Groſſely did Nicodemus vnderſtand the new Ioh. 3.4. &c. byrth. No leſſe did that woman of Samaria Ioh. 4.11. erre, as concerning that water which Chriſt promiſed her. And the Hebrewes erred when Chriſt ſaid vnto them: That Abraham ſawe Ioh. 8.56. his day, and reioyced. Wherefore, let them not alwayes ſay vnto vs, that this ſcripture, This is my bodie, is plaine: for we will anſwere them: it is playne, as touching the ſignification of the wordes. But the ſenſe of them is not plaine, as in the lyke ſentences it both appeare; Chriſt is the Rock, Chriſt is the 1. Cor. 10.4 Lambe, Ye be the bodie of Chriſt, We that Ioh. 1.29. be many are one bread. All theſe be the wordes 1. Co. 10.17 of God, and we may pronounce of them that they be plaine, that they be manifeſt: yet for all that, none of them inferre Tranſubſtantiation.

33 Wherefore there is a cauſe why a faithfull perſpicuitie ſhould be ſo much pretended. It behoueth by other places and circumſtances of the ſcripture to regard well what is here ment. Wherefore wee will expound this propo-

propoſition in ſcanning of it more deeply. God meant to drawe man vnto him by ample promiſes, becauſe he would bleſſe him and make him happie: and becauſe we haue vnbeleeuing hearts, he would haue manie benefites to appeare towardes mankinde, whereby he might allure the ſame vnto him. Wherefore, he not onely gaue vs freely all creatures, but alſo in the time of the flood, deliuered mankind (which otherwiſe had yll deſerued) from the deſtruction of the waters. He declared himſelfe verie mercifull vnto Abraham: alſo he gaue god ſucceſſe vnto the ſtocke of Iſaac and to his ſeede Iacob, that it ſhould be increaſed in Egypt. And when they were there oppreſſed, he deliuered them, he gaue them a verie happie land, and he exalted them to the dignitie of a kingdome and Prieſthood: but yet they were alwaies vnbeleeuing men, and ſmally perſwaded themſelues of the good will of God towards them. Wherefore becauſe of their infidelitie he caſt them into diuerſe captiuities, and afterward he deliuered them. Finally that there ſhould be no place left to doubt of his goodneſſe, he beſtowed the chiefeſt of all benefites vppon vs, namely his owne ſonne indued with mans fleſh, that he ſhould die vpon the Croſſe for our ſaluation. Which benefite
Rom. 5.11. was ſuch, that (as Paule ſaide vnto the Romans) howe could it be, but that he gaue all things together with him? And leaſt it ſhould be forgotten he would haue it renued in the memorie by the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, that we ſhould reuolue in our minde by faith, that Chriſt by him was deliuered vnto death for vs: and that in beleeuing we ſhould eate his fleſh, and drinke his bloud. Which that it might the more effectually be done, the tokens both of bread & wine were added, which might moue vs more earneſtly than bare wordes could doe.

Mat. 26.26 Iohn. 6.55. 34 Therefore when he ſaieth: This is my bodie; he meant no otherwiſe than he promiſed in the 6. of Iohn: I am the bread of life. He ſpake of himſelfe, as touching the bodie and fleſh deliuered vnto death, or rather to be deliuered, as by his wordes it is manifeſt. Neither would he any other thing but that theſe things ſhoulde be vnto vs breade and meate, whereby our mindes ſhoulde be confirmed and cherished: and by the minde, the bodie: and finally the whole man. Wherefore in the Supper Chriſt did nothing elſe, but that he tranſpoſed the propoſition, and as before he had ſaid that his bodie and fleſh is bread, ſo nowe on the otherſide he ſaieth (in the ſwing bread) that the verie ſame is his bodie: and while he pronounced, This is my bodie, it was euen as if he had ſaid: My bodie being receiued by faith, ſhall be vnto you in the ſtead of bread, or as it were bread, whereby you ſhall bee ſpiritually fed. Wherefore let the ſenſe be: I giue vnto you bread to eate, and in the meane time, I ſet forth vnto you my bodie which ſhall be faſtened vnto the Croſſe, that with a faithfull memorie, and attentiue minde, ye may eate it ſpiritually with your ſelues: and as ye with the bodie eate bread, ſo with the minde, ye may feede vpon my fleſh. What is more eaſie & plaine than this interpretation? And that doeth more better agree with the promiſe which the Lord maketh vnto vs in the 6. Chapter of Iohn? But and if any man will contende, that that firſt ſaying of Chriſt: I am the liuely bread, is taken for the diuine nature, as Chryſoſtome ſeemeth to take it: firſt we ſay that this doeth not well agree, becauſe Chriſt had ordered his ſpeech concerning the eating of his bodie, & in the ſtead of earthly bread, he offered to the Capernaites his fleſh to be eaten, which thing by the courſe of his ſpeech doeth plainely appeare, although he ſay that the bread came downe from heauen: becauſe oftentimes that which is of the Godhead, is alſo communicated with the humanitie. But if this expoſition of Chryſoſtome be of ſo great force with them, let that alſo preuaile with them when he ſaieth afterwarde, that the ſaying of Chriſt: The bread which I will Verſe. 51. giue is my fleſh, which I will giue for the lyfe of the world, doeth belong vnto the Euchariſt. Neither hath he alone affirmed this, but the reſt of the Interpretors doe alſo conſent vnto him. Wherefore when as the Lord ſaieth there, that The bread is his fleſh, he nowe teſtifieth the ſame in the ſupper: for the bread being ſhewed, he ſaid, This is my bodie. He pronounceth both in the one place, and the other, that his bodie or his fleſh is breade, namely, of the ſoule, and of our regenerated ſubſtance, which [bread] is ſpiritually eaten. And ſo there ſhal be no conuerſion of the propoſition, but it ſhall be vnderſtoode after the ſelfe ſame manner both in the one place and in the other. But if thou vnderſtand the whole together, to wit the bread and the thing offered by the bread, that is, the bodie of Chriſt, we admit the figure Synecdoche: for it is ſpoken of the whole or of the one part which is vnderſtoode of the other. But if thou referre the ſaying vnto bread, which both ſignifieth, and offereth vnto vs the bodie of Chriſt to be eaten, it ſhall be the figure of Denomination, to wit, when the name of the thing ſignified is attributed vnto the ſigne. In this interpretation alſo all thinges are eaſie,

What ſignifies is attributed vnto this propoſition. This is my bodie

eaſie, abſurdities are ſhamed, and one place of the ſcripture is not contrarie to the other ſcriptures.

35 They ſaid, if place be thus giuen vnto figures, the Heretickes will peruert all things. Jon the other part ſay, that vnleſſe wee vſe figures, as it appeareth in thoſe things which we haue cited a little before, the Heretickes haue the ouer hand. For they alſo will vrge the proper ſenſe, that ſenſe I meane which ſtraightwaie offereth it ſelfe. Onely this remaineth to ſhewe that ſuch a phraſe and figuratiue ſpeeche is verie often in the holy ſcriptures: and this will eaſilie be done, Wee reade that The ſeede is the word of God: The rocke was Chriſt. Albeit I know ſome doe cauill, and would no figure to be here alſo, becauſe Paul tended his ſpeeche vnto the ſpirituall rocke, which they ſay is Chriſt verilie, and not figuratiuelie. Howbeit Auguſtine and Origen bee on our ſide, who plainely ſay that the ſame outward Rocke ſignified Chriſt. But leaſt we might ſeeme to ſhift off that which is obiected, wee ſay, that if they will vnderſtand, The ſpirituall Rocke, let them alſo in this place vnderſtand ſpirituall and allegoricall bread: and as touching the ſame wee ſhall truely and without figure confeſſe it to be Chriſt. Moreouer ỹ Lord ſaid: I haue choſen you twelue, and one of you is a Diuell, yet was not Judas therefore tranſubſtantiated into a diuell. Of Circumciſion it is written: My Couenant ſhall be in your fleſh: whereas the Circumciſion is not the couenant, but onely a ſigne of the Couenant. In the 33. Chapter of Geneſis, it is ſhewed that Iacob builded an Aultar, which he called the mightie God of Iſracel. And Moſes in Exodus, after the victorie againſt Amaleck, called the Aultar which he builded Iehouahneſi, God my banner: and Ieremie maketh mention of a Citie that was called Iehouah Zidkenu, God our righteouſneſſe, becauſe theſe ſhoulde bee monuments of thoſe things which they expreſſed in names. Of Iohn Baptiſt it is written, that he was a burning and a ſhining Candle: alſo, he is Helias, if ye will receiue him. Chriſt ſaieth of himſelfe: I am the vine and ye bee the branches, I am the doore. Of himſelfe alſo it is written, that Hee is a ſtone ſet for a ruine and reſurrection. In Deuteronomie The bloud is the life. Whereas it is that wherewith the life is preſerued and ſignified. Of Ioſeph, his brother Iudas ſaide: Let him not be ſlaine, he is our fleſh. By which phraſe of ſpeech was ſignified, the naturall coniunction of kindred. Paul ſaieth That maie be one bread, which we muſt vnderſtand figuratiuelie. And Chriſt breathed vpon his Diſciples and ſaide: Receiue ye the holie Ghoſt. Yet is not the breathing tranſubſtantiated into the holie Ghoſt. In Geneſis: My ſpirit ſhall not abide in man becauſe he is fleſh. And in Iohn: The word became fleſh, wherein is the figure Synecdoche: for the whole man is vnderſtoode vnder the name of fleſh. And the Lorde vppon the Croſſe ſaide: Woman, behold thy ſonne: and to the Diſciple, Behold thy mother: yet were they not tranſubſtantiated: they remained the ſame that they were before: but there was appointed a new order, a new relation and reſpect to be had betweene them. Of Chriſt it is ſaid: That he is our peace, whereas he is our life cauſe of our peace. Againe, My words be ſpirit and life, whereas they only ſignified or brought theſe things vnto the beleeuers. Iohn ſaid of Chriſt, Behold the lamb of God, yet was not his nature changed into the nature of a Lambe.

Vnleſſe we vſe figures, we cannot ouerthrowe heretickes.

Such figuratiue ſpeeches as this, are moſt frauntfat in the ſcriptures. Luke.8.11. 1.Cor.10.4

John.6.70.

Ioh.17.13.

Verſe.20.

Exo.17.15.

Ier.23.6.

Iohn.5.35.

Mat.17.12

Iohn.15.1.

Iohn.10.7.

1.Pet.2.6.

Deu.12.23.

Gen.37.37

1.Co.10.17

Iohn.20.22.

Gen.6.3.

Iohn.1.14.

Iohn.19.26.

Ephe.2.14.

Iohn.6.62.

Iohn.1.29.

36 We reade euerie where in the holie ſcriptures, that the wordes of the Lorde are iudgement, trueth, & rightcouſneſſe: where as theſe things be therein onely ſignified and expreſſed. And this ſimilitude doeth excellently well agree with the ſacraments which are ſaid to be viſible wordes. Wee haue in the Apocalips: I am Alpha and Omega, that is, the beginning and ende of all things. And Paul ſaieth of his Goſpell which he preached: It is the power of God to ſaluation vnto euerie one that beleeueth: whereas it is onelie the inſtrument whereby the power of God declareth it ſelfe vnto men that ſhall bee ſaued. And as touching the Goſpell of ỹ croſſe, he ſaieth, That vnto the vngodly it is fooliſhneſſe, that is, it ſignifieth a fooliſh thing vnto that kinde of men. But he addeth, That vnto the godlie it is the power and wiſedome of God, becauſe it repreſenteth theſe things vnto them. And as touching the latter it is ſaid, that He ſet before the Hebrewes life & death, bleſſing and curſing, that is, by ſignification of the lawe, by the promiſes & threatenings which were expreſſed in the ſame. In the Booke of Geneſis the vij. kine and the vij. eares of corne are ſaide to bee the vij. yeares, and this was as touching the ſignification. Ahia the Prophet of Silo gaue vnto Ieroboam ten peeces of his toorne mantell, & ſaid that he gaue him the kingdome of the x. Tribes. In the firſt Epiſtle to ỹ Corinthians the xj. Chapter Paul wrote that the woman ought to haue on her head power, τὸν ἐξουσίαν, that is, a couer, whereby the power of the husband is ſignified. And in the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians it is written, That God

Pſal.19.10. & 118.13

Apoc.1.8

Rom.1.16

1.Cor.1.18.

Ibid.24.

Deu.30.15

Gen.41.26

1.Kings. 11.31.

Verſe.10.

2.Cor.5.21

God made Chriſt to bee ſinne, namely as touching the ſimilitude and repreſentation of the fleſh. Yea and the ſacrifice which was offered for ſinnes, is called ſinne. And the Prieſts were faine to eate the ſinnes of the people, that is, the ſacrifices which were offered for the ſinnes of the people. In Ezechiel it is written, I will poure vpon you pure water: and by water, he ſignifieth ỹ holy Ghoſt. The verie which thing we reade of Chriſt when he ſaieth: He that ſhall drinke of this water, and the reſt that followeth: where the Euangeliſt calleth to minde, ỹ he ſpake of the ſpirit which they were to receiue. Of the Lambe, we read that it was called the Paſſeouer, although ſome indeuour to denie it. But in the Hebrowe it is, *Zebah peſah hu*: The ſacrifice is the Paſſouer. By ſacrifice cannot otherwiſe be vnderſtoode, but eyther the beaſt ſlaine for ſacrifice, or elſe the ſame action of offering the ſlaine beaſt. Euen ſo we haue the bodie of Chriſt, expreſſed both in the bread, and in the wine, and in the action alwell of eating as of drinking. The Lambe was not that Paſſouer of the Angel, but onely a monument and ſignification therof. Chriſt fought a place where he might eate the Paſſouer with his Apoſtles. And by the Paſſouer he vnderſtood thoſe meates, and thoſe things conſecrated which did betoken the paſſing ouer. Paul alſo ſaid: Chriſt our Paſſouer is offered. In which place he called Chriſt himſelfe our ſolemnitie and our paſſing ouer. Which wordes cannot otherwiſe be vnderſtoode than by a figure. And that Lambe was not that paſſing ouer of the Angell which then ſhould be, but was alreadie bone of old, ỹ memorie whereof was repreſented by thoſe outwarde ſignes. Here alſo we haue ỹ bodie of Chriſt, which before time ſuffered; not that it is now deliuered to be crucifyed, or whoſe bloud is now to be ſhed.

Leuit.7. v.15.&17. Oſee.4.8.

Exe.36.25

Iohn.4.14.

Exo.12.27.

Mat.26.17

1.Cor.5.7.

37 And if they would expound theſe wordes of Chriſt rightly, when he ſaith, This is my bodie which is giuen for you, it ſhould be needefull for them to ſay that the bread was to be crucified, or at the leaſt wiſe Chriſt hidden vnder accidentes, as they appoint in the Sacrament. For Chriſt ſhewing that which he had in his handes, ſaid that the ſame ſhould be deliuered and ſhed for them. But if they ſhall ſay: it was in deed the ſame that was deliuered, but not after the ſelfe ſame manner, or in that forme, then they forſake interpretations and ſhiftes, and take not the propoſition ſimply. The very which thou maiſt perceiue in theſe wordes, Is deliuered and is ſhed. The which, if (while we vtter the wordes of conſecration, they be vnderſtood of vs as they ſound, the bodie of

Where as ſo many ſhould be, therefore the ſacramentes haue not names, and is there a thirde not the other they muſt haue one.

1.Co.11.27

Chriſt will be ſignified, that it is preſentlie crucified, and his bloud preſentlie ſhed, or within a while to be ſhed. But they would haue theſe wordes to be conuerted into the preterperfectence, that we may vnderſtand that the bodie is deliuered, & that the bloud is ſhed: and this is to deale figuratiuelie when as one tence is taken for another. And whereas Paul ſaid, That they which eate vnworthilie, are guiltie of the bodie and bloud of the Lord: alſo they eate their owne condemnation, becauſe they put no difference of the Lordes bodie: it is nothing. For Ambroſe anſwereth, as touching the firſt, while he interpreteth that place: They that be punished for the Lorde death, becauſe he was ſlaine for them, who make no account at all of his benefit. Wherefore (as we haue heard) he interpreteth them to be guiltie of the Lordes bodie: yet is not Tranſubſtantiation required herevnto. And they which receaue vnworthilie are ſaid not to put a difference, that is, to haue the Lordes bodie in no eſtimation: becauſe ſo great is the coniunction betweene the ſignes and the thinges ſignified, as the reproch of the one redoundeth vnto the other. On this wiſe ſpake Paul, when he ſaid: A man praying or propheſying with his head couered diſhonoreth Chriſt: where plainelie he would haue that redownd vnto Chriſt which was done about the head of the man, becauſe it ſhould be the ſigne of Chriſt. It is alſo to be conſidered that Paul wrote vnto the Corinthians, who were not altogether voide of faith, but mē troubled with ſome infirmities. And we ſaid not that this kinde of men onelie doe receaue the ſignes, and haue not the bodie of Chriſt, but this we affirme of the Infidels, Epicures, Atheiſtes, and ſtrangers from the Church. Wherefore it might rightlie be ſaid vnto them, not onely as touching the ſignes, but alſo as touching the matter of the ſacrament, that they were guiltie of the bodie and bloud, becauſe they made no difference of the Lordes bodie, ſeeing they receaued them without faith, and expreſſed them not in lyfe. And in this place this alſo is to be conſidered, that Paul when he intreateth of the ſacramentall action, that is to wit, of the eating and drinking, maketh mention of bread, and ſaith: He that eateth this bread. But afterward when he would exaggerat the fault, hee maketh mention of the Lords bodie: and if we make an account and iuſt reckoning, [we ſhall finde] that in the whole Treatiſe of this Sacrament, the Apoſtle more often expreſſed bread, than he made mention of the bodie of the Lord. For thou maiſt very well finde

The cotten moſte of the Sacramente redoundeth to the bodie of Chriſt. which ſeethe tything of the Sacramentes

Ibid.v.27.

that he mentioned bread fiue times and one lie foure times, the bodie of the Lord.

The reasons that proue a figure to be in these words, This is my body.

38 But now muſt we ſée, what thoſe things be that moue vs to vnderſtand this ſpeach This is my bodie, figuratiuelie. Firſt let vs conſider, that Chriſt was preſent at the ſupper, wherefore there was no néede that he ſhould ſhewe his bodie vnto his Apoſtles: For they ſawe him. Further how might it be that he could eate himſelfe really and corporally? That he in very déede communicated with his Apoſtles, not onelie the fathers affirme, but Chriſt himſelfe ſaith it, Mat.26.29. as thou haſt in Matthewe: I will not hereafter drinke of this fruit of the vine. Moreouer we haue regard to that which is heere ſpoken, of Remembrance, wherein the figure is ſhewed. And we ſée, that theſe men change the tences, and ꝓ which is pronounced by the future or by the preſent tence, as touching the deliuerie of the bodie and ſhedding of the bloud, they interpret it by the preterperfect tence. We conſider afterward, that they cannot be without ſignes in their conſecration, becauſe they vnderſtand this verbe Is, for, It is changed, it is tranſubſtantiated, or it is made. And Chriſt ſéeing he inſtituted a Sacrament, it is méete that by ſignifications, and figuratiuelie the ſignes ſhould be vnderſtood, according to the nature of a Sacrament, which is that it ſhould be a ſigne. Wee haue alſo reſpect vnto the aſcenſion of Chriſt into heauen, vnto the trueth of the humane nature which he toke vppon him: and alſo vnto that which is written in Iohn, when it is ſaid vnto the Capernaites: My Iohn.6.63. wordes be ſpirit and life, the fleſh profiteth nothing, namely being carnally eaten: it is the ſpirit which quickeneth. And againe we 1.Cor.10. & 11. doe conſider Paul who here moſt manifeſtly nameth it bread: where notwithſtanding theſe men would haue it to be a figure, who are ſo greatly againſt our figure. Alſo we 1.Cor.10.1 heare Paul teſtifie, that the forefathers had the ſelfeſame Sacrament that we haue. For by the iudgement of Auguſtine, it was not ſufficient for him to ſay, that they had ſpirituall meate and drinke, but he added, The Ibidem. ſelfe ſame. And againe leaſt thou ſhouldeſt doubt, the Apoſtle alſo expreſſed, Baptiſme: which he ſaith, that they obtained in the ſea, and in the cloud, whereby it appeareth, that they not onely among themſelues, but euen with vs alſo had the ſelfe ſame Sacramentes. We ſée likewiſe that the ſpeaches adioyning are vnderſtood figuratiuelie. For 1.Co.10.16 in theſe it is ſaid: The bread which we break, is the communion of the bodie of Chriſt. And 1.Co.11.25 againe: This cup is the new Testament. The

which thinges we haue oftentimes rehearſed. Moreouer it doth not well agrée with the bodie of Chriſt, to be eaten. And by theſe thinges it appeareth at large what ought to be ſaid to the ſecond Argument, in the which they obiected, that the ſentence muſt not be vnderſtood by a figure, vnleſſe that there were ſome other thing before or after, which ſhould moue vs to the ſame. And they braged that particle: Which ſhall be giuen for you, that we rather retaine it in the proper ſenſe: but this is manifeſtly falſe, ſéeing we there change the tences. Neither doe we take it to be the bodie that was deliuered, ſo ſomuch as that was viſible and paſſible. Neither can both the conditions of a corruptible bodie, and the qualities of a glorified bodie, be in one and the ſelfe ſame ſubſtance or ſubiect, ſo as one and the ſame bodie may be paſſible and impaſſible, together at one time. Further we haue ſhewed what other places leade vs to admit theſe kinde of figures, I meane Synecdoche, or Denomination.

39 We will anſwere to an other Argument as touching thinges diſtinct, or as the ſchoolemen call them *Disparata*, different, among which no mutuall predication can be. Thoſe things which be ſo ſeuerall or differſt, if an Analogie or ſignification doe happen, may now be ſo ioyned together, as they ſhall be of ſtrength to make a propoſition. And this we perceiue to be done, not onely when it is ſaid by the Lord: The ſeede is the worde of God. Againe: I am the vine: but alſo euen Luke.8.11. of Paul, when he pronounceth that we bis Iohn.15.1. one bread. And againe he ſaith: The bread which we breake is the communion of the 1.Co.10.18. bodie of Chriſt. And againe: This cup is the Ibyer.17. new Testament in my bloud. Neither doe 1.Co.11.25 we much paſſe that ſome ſay that Matthew Mat.26.28 and Marke did plainelie and manifeſtlie vt- Mar.14.24. ter: This is my bloud of the new Testament. For we deny not, but that theſe Euangeliſtes thus wrote, but in the meane time we ſay that the wordes alſo which Luke and Paul haue muſt be receaued: And we ſay that thoſe, euen as other ſentences, which we did now cite, conſiſt of wordes that doe much differ and that after the manner of the Logitians may be called *Disparata*, that is, differing one from an other. But by Analogie and ſignification, they be very wel and fitlie ioyned together.

40 In an other Argument it was ſaid: that Chriſt whē he vttered This is my bodie, ſaide not, this ſignifieth my bodie, or repreſenteth my bodie, this bread is a figure or ſigne of my bodie. Againſt theſe we reply that Chriſt ſaid not that his bodie lyeth hid-

den in thoſe accidentes without a ſubiect, neither affirmed, that the ſubſtance of bread ceaſeth to be, or is changed or tranſubſtantiated into his bodie. Furthermore I marueil that theſe thinges be obiected, ſéeing among the fathers theſe expoſitiõs are found. For they oftentimes ſay, that the bodie and bloud of Chriſt is repreſented, is ſignified, is notified, is ſhewed: and the ſignes of bread and wine they call, a ſcale, a figure, and a type, and an example of lyke forme. Neither is there cauſe why any ſhould cauill that Teſtimonies of the Fathers, by which they call the Sacraments ſignes and figures. they referre theſe ſignes or figures vnto the death, and not vnto the bodie of Chriſt, becauſe the fathers manifeſtlie ſay, that the bodie and bloud is ſignified, and that ſignes and figures are giuen of the bodie and bloud of the Lord. Which that thou maiſt know to be true, among many places of the fathers we will here ſet forth theſe few. Auguſtine Auguſtine *De Catechiſ. rudib.* As touching the Sacrament which he receiued, he ſaith in déed that there be viſible ſcales of diuine thinges, but that the very inuiſible thinges be honored in them. The ſame father *De Ciuitate Dei* the The ſame Auguſtine 10 booke and 5 Chapter: Wherefore the viſible ſacrifice is a Sacrament of the inuiſible ſacrifice, that is, it is a holy ſigne. Ierom in Ierom, his 4 booke vppon Matthew Chap. the 26. That euen as in the preſiguration of him, Melchiſedeck the prieſt of the high God did in the offering of bread and wine, ſo he himſelfe alſo repreſented the trueth of his owne bodie and bloud. And to ſet aſide the teſtimonies of ꝓ holy ſcriptures & the ſayings of the holy fathers, Bertrã ſaith that that bread which is called the bodie of Chriſt, and the Cuppe which is called the bloud of Chriſt, is a figure, becauſe it is a myſterie. Tertullian againſt Martion the 4 boke: he hauing receaued bread and diſtributed it vnto his diſciples made it his bodie, ſaying: This is my bodie, that is, A figure of my bodie. Cyprian in his 2 Epiſtle the 2. boke: We ſée that in the water the people be vnderſtood: in the wine, the bloud of Chriſt is ſhewed. Ambroſe in his boke *De his qui initiantur Myſteriis*: Before the bleſſing of the heauēly wordes an other kinde is named, after conſecration the bodie of Chriſt is ſignified. The ſame father *De Sacramentis* the 4. boke and 5 Chapter: Doe thou this oblation for vs, being recorded in writing to be a reaſonableand acceptable oblation, becauſe it is the figure of the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. The ſame father vppon the 11. Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth. We being mindfull hereof, doe in eating and drinking, ſignifie the fleſh and bloud which are offered for vs. And ſtraightway after: According to the figure, whereof we receaue the cup, being the myſticall bodie, for the deſence of our bodie & ſoule. Bernard in his Sermon *De Cœna Domini*: To this end therefore the Lord drawing towardes his paſſion, prouided to adorne his owne people with his grace, that the inuiſible grace might be giuen by a viſible ſigne. Chryſoſtome vppon the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth. the 11. Chapter: For what doe I call the Communion? We be euen one and the ſelfe ſame bodie. And what ſignifieth bread? The bodie of Chriſt. And what become they that doe receaue it? The bodie of Chriſt. Baſil in his Liturgie calleth it an ex- Baſilius. ample of like forme and that after baptiſme. Auguſtine *De Trinitate* the 3. boke and 4. Auguſtine. Chapter: The Apoſtle might in ſignifying ꝓeach the Lord Ieſus Chriſt by the tongue, otherwiſe by an Epiſtle, otherwiſe by a Sacrament of his bodie and bloud. The ſame father againſt Adamantus: The Lord doubted not to ſay: This is my bodie, when he gaue the ſigne of his bodie. Againe, vppon the 3. Pſalme: He admitted Iudas vnto the feaſt in which he commended and deliuered his diſciples the figure of his bodie and bloud. Alſo againſt Maximinus in the 3. boke & 22. Chapter: In the Sacramentes is conſidered not what they be, but what they ſhew, becauſe they are ſignes of thinges which being one thing doe ſignifie an other. Hereby thou ſeeſt that the fathers doe not miſlike: nay rather they appoint a ſignification of the bodie in this Sacrament. Furthermore we haue ſhewed out of the holy ſcriptures, that ſuch manner of ſpeaches there be, where the verb ſubſtantiue is, is taken, for, It ſignifieth. And ſo this is become a ſlender Argument. Therefore whereas they obiect, that Chriſt ſayd not, It either ſignifieth, or it repreſenteth: we anſwere that it may be ſo vnderſtood out of the holy ſcriptures, and this we haue plentifullie ſhewed before. Neither as they thinke doe we argue on this wiſe: This ſaying is elſewhere had after this manner, therefore it muſt be ſo vnderſtood alſo in this place: but we onely preuent them, who whē they ought to proue their Tranſubſtantiation, doe bring This is my bodie, which place is in controuerſie, and the ſenſe doubted of. They obiect vnto vs an abſolute ſenſe, and they obſtinately ſtand therein, which by other places of the ſcripture appeareth not to be firme, ſéeing this ſaying is very often-times to be vnderſtood otherwiſe in the holy ſcriptures. We for our opinion of the Euchariſt haue many other reaſons. Neither doe we bring this as our owne Argument,

but onelie we aunswere them when they obtrude such a phrase, that it most often signifieth otherwise, and that therefore of the same it is weakely concluded by them.

41 Afterward they argue as touching adoration, that if there remained bread, it should be adored in the Sacrament. I maruell that these men are so mindefull of true adoration, when as otherwise both pictures & images are worshipped among them. But they say that they worship not these things, but those which be represented by the same. But how commeth it to passe that they will not graunt the selfe same thing of bread if it remaine, that it shall not be worshipped, but that which is signified thereby? Further why did they not with the like reason remoue from thence accidentes, least those peraduenture should be worshipped? Perhappes they will make this excuse, that none will there worship accidentes, when as we know neuertheleste that the pictures and figures which they suffer in the Temples be accidents, before which men doe fall downe. For if they would worship the substances of wood or stones, they should haue euery where in the woods and in the streates which they might worship. Againe, rude and simple men cannot distinguish or put a difference betweene accidentes and substance. And they that feine themselues to be moued with so great a zeale, ought to transubstantiate the cup, least perhaps when it is shewed it should be worshipped. And certainlie this hath alwayes seemed vnto me to be a very light Argument, although it be obiected by the Schoolemen, yea & those of no small account. If it mooued obiected, that vnleste Transubstantiation be appointed, then in this Sacrament, two natures or bodilie substances shall be put both together and in one and the selfe same place. Who will not here maruell, that these men haue so great religion and reuerence towardes nature, as though they would not violate the lawes thereof: where neuertheleste they appoint accidentes to be thinges hanging without a subiect: which is most of all against the decrees of nature? And though their absurd deuise they escape not that which they feare: because when they affirme the accidents to remaine, among those accidentes there is a bodie that hath quantitie, & doth occupy a place, where as also they would haue the flesh of Christ to be corporally present, which hath a quantitie, and that it lyeth hidden vnder accidets, they must of necessitie graunt that there are two quantities and two bodies together. But according to the opinion which we af-

That by affirming bread to remaine after consecration, there is no Idolatrie committed.

The aduersaries are compelled to put two quantities and two bodies together.

firme, there is no perill of this absurditie.

42 They laide moreouer that it agreeth not with the dignitie of Christ, that his bodie should be layned to the substance of bread; which is a verie vaine thing: For it is not affirmed, that of the bodie of Christ and the nature of bread, is made one subiect, as of the diuine nature and humane nature in Christ. Neither yet doe we see what greater dignitie there is of the Accidents, than there is of the bread; that if the bodie of Christ bee affigned to be with them, it might not aswel remaine with the substance of bread. And seing the diuine nature is said to be euen in hell without abridging the worthinesse therof: and this bodie (as they iudge) is deliuered to be eaten truely and substantially euen of the wicked, who be most vnpure, and most vnworthy of the same: why are they afrayde onely in respect of dignitie to ioyne the body and bloud of the Lord vnto bread and wine, especially when there must be a coniunction of the significations? Moreouer they had a consideration of the sacrifice: for they say, that the bodie and bloud of the Lord are offered in Masses, and if this alteration be not then, we shall offer nothing but onely the thing signified and shadowed. Here thall Cyprian answere for vs, who vnto Cœcilius the 3. Epistle and second Booke saieth, that it is the Passion of the Lord which wee offer. And who knoweth not that the Passion of Christ is not present in the hands of the sacrificer, sith it is a thing that was done in times past: whereof there is made a memorial, and for the which thankes are giuen vnto God. But all this that they pretend in this Argument is a fained deuise, whereby they imagine that the sonne of God himselfe is by the Priest properly and truely offered vnto the father. Wherein how greatly they erre, the place now serueth not to declare.

Cyprian. What is a sacrifice in the Supper of the Lord.

43 Now must we shewe that which they afterward obiected, that as touching the opinions of the Fathers which seeme to be against our purpose, they make not against vs. But before I come to the expounding of them, I am minded to lay some what before which may be vsed as certaine rules for vnderstanding of the Fathers, seing they speake most loftily, and deale most earnestlie of this matter of the Sacrament. First it must be considered that the holie Scripture hath bin accustomed as it were by turnes to attribute that which is of the signes vnto the things: and againe which be of the things to ascribe them vnto the signes. The selfe same manner also doe the fathers vse, so as thou shalt oftentimes perceiue them to intreate

Certaine rules for vnderstanding of the Fathers, when they speake of the Sacrament.

treate of the things, as though they spake of the signes: and on the other side so to write of the signes as though they intreated of the things, and of that which is signified. This mate verie well accord by reason of the great likenesse which is betweene them by the appointment of the Lord. Hereof Augustine vnto Boniface, gaue a plaine admertisement, that in Sacraments the names be changed.

2. Another rule is: that if thou diligently consider, those things which are spoken before & after, thou shalt alwaies perceiue the fathers to tellike that this foode is spirituallaud not meate of the throte, bellie, or teeth. A thirde rule is, that if they at any time saie, that we communicate with Christ carnally, so as the bodie also is nourished in the Eucharist: these things must be so taken euen as wee vnderstand that the sonne of God (when he was conceiued of the virgin and toke vpon him the nature of man) did then take part of our flesh. Further we abide in him & he likewise abideth in vs, when as we beleeue his wordes, and when by faith wee receiue the sacraments: because in so communicating, there is added vnto vs the spirit: And our flesh and bodie, which were alreadie of the selfe same nature with Christ, are become of the selfe same conditions with him, they are made capable of immortalitie and resurrection, and when they obey and serue the spirit, they are truelie nourished vnto life euerlasting. And so is our bodie two manner of wayes fed in the Eucharist: first it is fedde by signes, secondly by this renuing vnto life euerlasting. And thus is Christ said to dwel in vs by this sacrament. And as touching the first communicating that we haue with him by natiuitie and incarnation, thou hast a testimonie out of the Epistle to the Hebrewes the 2. Chapter. Forsomuch then as children are partakers of flesh and bloud, he himselfe likewise was partaker with them. Moreouer, consider that the word of consecrating, signifieth nothing else among the Fathers than to dedicate a thing common and prophane vnto a holie vse: and this is to make it holy. Wherefore if there is no cause, that when we meete in the Fathers with the word Consecration, we should straight waie fasne vnto our selues Transubstantiation. But that there is some alteration made there, we denie it not; namely in that those things are now made sacraments, to signifie vnto vs effectuallie that by the power of the holie Ghost as touching the minde and faith, wee must offer and exhibite the bodie and bloud of the Lord. Further it must be knowen, that betweene vs and the Capernaites, as

What the Fathers meane of dignitie when they say that we communicate with Christ carnallie.

Vers. 14.

How the fathers vnderstand this word To Consecrate.

The bodie remembred.

touching the matter it selfe, there is no difference. They thought that they shoulde eate the verie bodie and the verie flesh of Christ: which also we graunt to be done. But the difference is in the manner and waie of eating. That which they thought shoulde bee carnally done, we teache to bee spiritually done. Otherwise the true bodie and the true bloud is exhibited, because faith comprehendeth not feigned things but true things. Also when it is read in the Fathers, that the bodie of Christ is contained or had in these mysteries: by these words is nothing else to be vnderstood, than is betokened, shewed, declared and signified.

6.

44 And when thou hearest the Fathers say, that bread and wine is nothing more in the sacrament, this thou must not absolutely vnderstand, but as touching thy self, when thou doest faithfully communicate. For there thou must not thinke either of the bread or of the wine: It behoueth that thy minde and thy sense doe onely cleaue vnto the things which are represented vnto thee. Thereforee it is said, Lift vp your hearts, when as thou liftest vp thy minde from the signes vnto things inuisible which be offered vnto thee. Also the holy scriptures shun not this kinde of figure. Paul saieth, Our wrestling is not against flesh and bloud, who neuertheleste denied not that the bodie and flesh doe grieue the soule and must be byided seeing he witneth in another place: The flesh lusteth against the spirit. Neither yet was he ignorant, that there be manie euill men who be called flesh and bloud, by whom yet we bee troubled, and with them wee haue dayly wrestling. But Paul meant of that chiefe and principal contention, from whence these other haue their originall. He said also that In Christ there is neither male nor female, neither bond nor free: when as neuertheleste these offices and these persons, are not removed from Christ and his Church: nay rather there be precepts particularly described of them. But Paul vnderstoode that these, things are not in Christ as concerning the obtainement of regeneration, forgiuenesse of sinnes, and life euerlasting, which are the chiefest of all in Christianitie. And in the distributing of these mysteries Christ respecteth not these states and conditions. The same Apostle writeth, that The kingdome of God is not in worde, and yet woulde he not therefore that Sermons, Admonitions, and Readings which be done by the word should be removed from the Church, which is the kingdome of God, but he onely respected that high power and efficasie of the spirit, where-

7. What the Fathers meane, when they say that the bread or wine remaine not &c.

Ephe. 6. 12.

Gal. 5. 17.

Gal. 3. 28.

1. Cor. 4. 20

by all things ought to be ruled in ỹ Church. Thus the Fathers speake when they denie that the nature of the signes doe remaine: which must not (as we haue said) be simplie vnderstode, [but that is meant] as touching our faith and cogitation, which ought not to staie vpon them. Hereunto thou maist adde, that faith is of so great efficacie, as it maketh things to be present, not so[r]soth reallie or substantially, but spiritually: for it truely comprehendeth them. And on this wise did the Apostle say, That Christ was crucified euen before the eyes of the Galathians. And so was Abraham saide to haue seene the daie of the Lorde. And after this maner, the olde Fathers had in their sacramentes the selfe same Christ, which we also doe inioye. And thus thou seest that vnto this presence is not required that the matter of the sacrament as touching naturall constitution doe change place or be present with vs with all the materiall & naturall conditions thereof. It is also to be vnderstood by interchange and participation of properties, that because the diuine nature of Christ, is most truely present with vs, the selfe same may be communicated with his humanitie. As Christ, when he spake vpon the earth: said that the sonne of man is in heauen: and so he attributed vnto the humanitie that which belonged vnto ỹ diuinitie. And after this maner I might graunt, that the humane nature of Christ is present with vs in the Communion, if it should be expounded by communicating of properties one with another. Lastly, if thou demaund why the fathers vsed these figures and exceaue speeches: wee say, partly to follow the phrase of the Scripture, partly to pearce more vehemently the mindes of men. Further to the intent they might shew that this signification of Sacraments is not as if were Comical or Tragical. For in those each player may represent Hector or Priamus, & there followeth nothing besides of any great importance. But here the thing represented, is by the power of the holy Ghost, both giuen and imprinted in our mindes by faith, and there followe manie giftes and graces, and especially a secrete and vnspeakable vnion with Christ, so as we truly become one with him.

Aduouching our owne faith and cogitation, the natures of bread and wine remaine not. Faith maketh things present. Gal.3.1.

John.8.56.

John.3.13.

After what maner the humane nature may be saide to be present in ỹ Sacramente.

Why the fathers vsed excellent speeches as touching these matters.

1. 45 But the first obiection was out of Irenæus, who saieth that the earthly bread being consecrate, is not common bread, but is become the Eucharist. This doe we willingly admit, affirming that it is not here common bread, but holy, and which now, as he said is become the Eucharist. But that which followeth, makes more on our side. For he writeth that the Eucharist consisteth of two things, that is to wit, heauenly and earthly, and saieth not, of the Accidents of an earthly thing. He added afterward: Euen so our bodies receiuing the Eucharist, are not corruptible, hauing the hope of the Resurrection. And if so great a chaunge in our bodies be set forth by him, as he maketh it equall to the change of the bread (for he saith: euen as that bread is no more common bread, so our bodies are no more corruptible,) what nede shall there be of Transubstantiation, seeing he maketh these changes to be equall a[l]well in the one as in the other? Next of all was Tertullian alleaged: and he also expoundeth his owne selfe: He not onely saith: The Lorde hauing receiued the bread, made it his bodie when he said, This is my bodie, but he added: That is, a signe of my bodie. They obiected out of Origen, that he wrote that the Lord confesseth the bread to be his bodie. This doe not we denie, but all the strife is as touching the maner how it is become the bodie of the Lorde: and hereof he himselfe plainely teacheth elsewhere that there lyeth a figure, and that this bread is called the nourishing word of the soule, & he teacheth that we must not holde our selues vnto the blood of the flesh, but vnto the blood of the word. Cyprian seemeth to speake more hardlie, when he saieth that this bread is changed not in shape but in nature. Howbeit we must haue regarde what he wrote vnto Cecilius, namely that with the wine, is shewed the bloud of the Lord: and that if the wine cease to be in the cup, it cannot appeare that the bloud of the Lord is there. And whereas he nowe speaketh of changing, that also we graunt. Howbeit a sacramentall changing, & then we confesse, not that the shape, or the forme and accidents of bread haue this gift to become sacraments, but that the nature and substance it selfe of bread and wine is chaunged into the sacraments of the bodie and bloud of the Lord. And as the substance it self of bread, and not the forme nourisheth, euen so the bodie of Christ both nourisheth our soule and it softereth the bodie and renneth it. And as the substance it selfe of bread consisteth of many graines, so the mysticall bodie which it representeth hath many members ioyned together. Whereupon aswell we as our aduersaries say that the forme, (that is the appearaunce and shewe of the bread) is not changed, but that it is the substance which is chaunged. And they would haue a change to be by calling awaie of the nature of bread, but we onelie affirme a sacramentall change. And Cyprian himselfe maketh

Interpretations of names.

To Tertullian.

To Origen.

To Cyprian.

maketh against our aduersaries: for they change not the substance of bread, but they take it vtterly awaie. We say, that it is changed, as that which is become the bodie of Christ, that is a sacrament of Christes bodie which before it was not. Besides these things, Nature among the authors of the Latine tongue, doeth not alwaies signifie substance, but power, wit and propertie. Wherefore *Cicero de Somnio Scipionis*: The proper nature and power of the soule is, that it selfe should be moued by it selfe. And vnto Lentulus: That is the nature and Religion of thy Prouince. And when it is saide the Nature of Herbes, the nature of stones, and such like. Which signification doeth well agree with the saying of Cyprian.

To Anabaptists.

46 They obiect Ambrose, and especiallie in his bookes *De Sacramentis*, which bookes some haue thought to be none of Ambroses workes. The Bishop of Rochester is earnest against them that so thinke: And he saith, that we must in any wise giue credite to Augustine, who ascribeth these bookes vnto Ambrose: And he openly testifieth, that Ambrose wrote the bookes *de Sacramentis*, and he citeth the prologue vppon the Bookes of Christian doctrine which I haue oftentimes read, and neuer finde that which this man writeth. Vnlesse perhaps he meane that which he wrote in his books of Retractatiõs, when he maketh mention of his writings of Christian doctrine, there perhaps he hath some such thing. Moreouer, this I know very well, that Augustine against Iulian the Pelagian cited Ambrose *De Sacramento Regenerationis vel de Philosophia*, yet not these Bookes *De Mysterijs vel de Sacramentis*. And the things which be there cited are not found in those bookes *De Sacramentis*. But I passe not hereof. Admit that they be the bookes of Ambrose. They do not altogether disagree with vs. For he oftentimes maketh mention of signifying, and that these sacraments are named and called the bodie of Christ, the which we denie not. And if at any time he make mention of changing or conuersion, these words must be vnderstode of sacramentall changing. Further the selfe same father must be peruled what he saith in an other place. First in his Treatise *De Officijs* the 4. booke the 28. Chapter: Here is the shadow, here is the Image, there is the truth: A shadow in the Lawe, an Image in the Gospell, the truth in the heauenlie places. Before time a Lambe was offered, a Caulfe was offered: nowe Christ is offered, but he is offered as a man, as it were receiuing passion, but he offereth himselfe as a priest, that he may for giue our sinnes: here, in an Image, there in trueth: where as an aduocate with the father, he maketh intercession for vs. And vpon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, as we haue alreadie cited, he saieth: In eating and drinking wee signifie the flesh and bloud of Christ which are offered. And when he speaketh of the bloud, he saieth, that we receiue a figure thereof, that is, the mysticall Cup. Againe the same father in these Bookes *De Sacramentis* in the 4. Booke and 4. Chapter manifestlie affirmeth our changing into Christ. The which wee haue oftentimes noted in other Fathers.

Certaine bookes ascribed to Ambrose concerning Sacraments.

Certaine speeches of Ambrose.

47 Now there remaineth that we consider of Chrysostom. They alledged this similitude of waxe, the which being put into the fire, as touching the substance there is destroyed, so as nothing remaineth: so (saith he) thou maist think that the mysteries be consumed by the substance of Christs bodie. What (say they) can be more manifest for Transubstantiation? But here I thinke it good to examin Chrysostom himself, whereby ye may plainelie perceaue how rightlie those things are noted, whereof we spake before, as touching the sayinges of the fathers. He in the 83 Homilie vpon Matthew saith: Many say that they would, and doe couet to see the forme and shape of Christ, also to behold his garments and shoes. But he giueth himselfe vnto thee, not only ỹ thou maiest see him but also ỹ thou maist touch him. Do we not here vnderstand ỹ he attributeth vnto ỹ matter of the sacrament that which belongeth vnto the signes: namely, that the bodie of Christ may be touched and seene, which who seeth not to be true onely as touching the signes? Again in the same Homilie, He reduceth vs, (as I may say) into one lumpe together with him, and that not alonely by faith, but he maketh vs in very deede his bodie. And the same he wrote in the 60. Homilie, and in the 61. vnto the people of Antioch: That we I say not onelie by faith and loue, but also in very deede are made and mixed with the bodie of Christ, and if this be so, that we be not transubstantiated, and yet neuertheless so nere lie ioyned with Christ, what nede is it for the bread to be transubstantiated, that it may bee made the bodie of Christ? But there might arise a doubt, as though Chrysostom maketh against vs which affirme this receauing by faith: seeing he saith that we not onely by faith, but in verie deede also are mingled with him and changed into him. But here it must be vnderstood, that although we haue sayd, that the bodie of Christ and his bloud be eaten and drunke by faith, yet after

An exposition of Christ sodome.

The excellent speeches of Chrysostome.

We are not onely in faith but in verie deede mixed with the bodie of Christ.

this receauing by faith there followeth not a feined but a true coniunction betweene vs and Chriſt: whereby not onelie our minde is united with him but alſo our bodie and fleſh hath his renewing from thence, and we are truelie made the members of the Lord and doe receaue him to be our head, from whence we perpetuallie dzawe both ſpirit and life. And this is it that Chryſoſtom ſaid, that we are in very deede ioyned with Chriſt. And againe in the ſame Homilie vppon Matthew he ſaith, that theſe be ſignes of the Lord Ieſus whereby we ſtoppe the mouthes of the heretickes which demaund how Chriſt ſuffered. For if he had not had true fleſh and had truely ſuffered, in vaine ſhould theſe ſignes be. In the ſame Homilie he ſaith, that our tongue is made bloudy in receauing of the Sacraments. And leaſt thou ſhouldeſt cauil that the bloudinelle, wᵗ which together with the wine or the accidentes of the wine, (as they terme it) our tongue is made bloudy ſhould be vnderſtood to be inuiſible, in the 60 Homilie which ẏ ſame father had to the people of Antioch, he wziteth that our tongue wareth redde with this bloud: where euery man may ſee that it is Hyperbole or an exceſſiue ſpeach. And in Encæniis he ſaith, that the bloud in the cup is dzawne out of the ſide of the Lord: which cannot be beleeued as it is ſpoken, ſeeing the ſide of the Lord is not at this day open, and from thence the bloud is not dzawne.

Chryſoſtom declareth his owne creede in theſe ſpeaches.

48 He wziteth mozeouer in the ſame Homilie: Doeſt thou ſee the bread or the wine? he aunſwereth God forbid. Certainlie if he ſhould here alke the ſenſes, they would aunſwere, that it is not true that he ſaith. For by the iudgement of our ſenſe, the bzead and the wine is preſent: but he ſpeaketh truelie when he addeth: Thinke not ſo, becauſe in reſpect of our iudgement, bzead and wine doe ceaſe to be there. The ſame father wziteth: Thinke not thou that thou receaueſt of man the bodie of Chriſt, but of the Seraphin that is preſent, and with a payze of tongs he deliuereth vnto thee a fierie cole. Here I thinke not, that they would haue the Miniſter or Paſtor to be tranſubſtantiated which deliuereth the Sacramentes vnto vs. And he added, Let vs runne together to ſucke forth the bloud which floweth out of the ſide of the Lord. Theſe things the Scholemen themſelues dare not ſpeake. For they wzite that the bzead and wine is changed into the ſubſtance of the bodie and bloud, yet not ſo, as to the true ſubſtance of the bodie of Chriſt any thing either commeth or departeth away. And in the 61. Homilie vnto the people of Antioch he ſaith, that Chriſt not onely gaue himſelfe vnto vs to be ſeene, but alſo to be touched and felt, vppon whoſe fleſhall ſo we faſten our teeth. In which place thou ſeeſt, that that which appertaineth to the ſignes, is attributed vnto the thing ſignified by the Sacramentes. For our teeth reacheth not vnto the ſubſtance of the bodie of Chriſt, but onely vnto the bzead and ſignes and Sacramentes. The ſelfe ſame father in the 60. Homilie vnto the people of Antioch ſaith, that we ought not to thinke that the hand of the prieſt reacheth the Sacramẽt, but muſt iudge that the hand of Chriſt ſtretched forth doth deliuer the ſame. And that he himſelfe alſo in baptiſme executeth the office, namelie of baptiſing. And in the 61. he admoniſheth that we ſhould conſider that in this Sacrament we leaue Chriſt ſitting in heauen, who is wozſhipped of the Angels. By all this it is plaine, that this father of ours pzouided by all meanes, to call forth the mindes of the communicantes from the groſſer ſoꝛt of ſignes and from outward tokens to the meditation of diuine and heauenlie thinges. And it is a wonder, that theſe men, who ſo diligentlie examine places of the Fathers, bzing not that forth which is in the 61. Homilie vnto the people of Antioch: That they are both impudent and obſtinate, which ſtand by at the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and doe not communicate. Wherein he affirmeth, that they doe many, yea iniuries vnto Chriſt. But leaſt we ſhould ſwarue from that which is propounded in the Argument, namelie in the Homilie in Encæniis, as touching the ware which in ẏ fyze runneth all abzoad: we aunſwere that Chryſoſtom eſtſoones in that place bath this verbe, Thinke thou: that we may vnderſtand that theſe thinges muſt not be vnderſtood but as touching our faith and cogitation whereby in communicating we compzehend not bzead and wine by themſelues, but we ſeeke the thinges, which by a ſignificatiõ and that effectuall are ioyned hereunto. Cyril. We mozeouer bzing forth a like ſimilitude out of Cyrill the 10. booke the 13. Chapter vppon Iohn, where he ſaith, that ware being molten, and mingled with other ware, ſo that of two is altogether made one both reſemble that which is done in the receauing of this Sacrament: which is, that we ſhould in very deede be made one with Chriſt. The ſelfeſame he bath in the 4. boke and 17. chapter. And if ſo be ẏ this ſimilitude of ware betweene Chriſt and vs, haue place without tranſubſtantiation of our bodie, ẏ very ſame may be affirmed of the ſimilitude of Chryſoſtome,

That which belongeth vnto the ſignes is attributed vnto the thinges ſignified.

The ſimilitude of ware which is vſed by Chryſoſtome and Cyril.

ſtom, which he putteth betweene ware and the ſignes or myſteries. Further our aduerſaries ſhould be demaunded whether they will haue theſe ſimilitudes to be made alike in all reſpects. Which if they wil graunt, they muſt alſo take away the accidents out of this Sacrament. For the ware which is applyed to the fyze is not onlie deſtroyed as touching ẏ ſubſtance, but as touching the accidentes. But ẹ if they will not haue the ſimilitude to take place in this behalfe, then that it alſo be ſeene vnto vs to vnderſtand all this, as touching our cogitations of ẏ minde ẹ compzehenſion of faith: and we will confeſſe that as touching ẏ thing it ſelfe, ẏ nature of bzead ẹ wine goeth away, and that our minde onely cleaueth vnto the things ſignified, ẹ to that which by the ſignes is offered vnto vs: ẏ is, vnto the bodie ẹ bloud of Chriſt. And of Chryſoſtom thus much bath bin ſaid, wherein we may ſee how truelie thoſe things haue place, which we ſpake before of the fathers.

To Scripture.

49 Auguſtine was afterward obiected, who ſhould lay vppon the 33. Pſalme, that Chriſt bare himſelfe in his owne hands, and that verilie in the laſt ſupper, when he diſtributed the Sacrament to his Apoſtles: And this doe not we denie. For what ſhould let Chriſt to beare his bodie in his owne handes, if by Bodie, thou vnderſtande the Sacrament of his bodie? And this is it that Auguſtine addeth in the end of this place. After a certaine manner: as if he ſhould ſay: He did not abſolutelie beare himſelfe, but after a ſoꝛt he is vndoubtedlie the verie ſame who we nowe ſaide him to be. They oppoſe vnto vs the ſame Auguſtine, in the third boke *De Trinitate*, where he ſaith, ẏ bzead, is bzought vnto this viſible fozme by the hands of men, but that it cannot be made ſo great a Sacrament, without the inuiſible wozking of the holie Ghoſt. It is much to be maruelled at, why theſe men acknowledge not in this ſacrament anie other wozke of the holy Ghoſt beſides tranſubſtantiation. For the name of the wozking of the holie Ghoſt in this ſacrament being heard, they ſtraightway inferre tranſubſtantiation: whenas notwithſtanding theſe ſignes cannot be aduanced, or tranſlated to the ſtate and condition of Sacramentes, but by the helpe of God: to wit, by the inſtitution of the Lord, by holy wozdes, and by ſtrength of the holy Ghoſt. Becauſe theſe holie thinges doe no longer poſſeſſe our minde after an ordinarie and common manner, but by an effectuall and moſt vehement foꝛze of the ſpirite: and by the ſtrength and operation of the ſelfeſame holie ſpirit, our mindes and ſoules are ſurthered to imbzace the matter of the Sacramentes. Nowe come we to Auguſtine, who vppon the 99. Pſalme, vppon that ſaying, Worſhippe ye his footeſtoole: doth inquire diligentlie, what manner of footeſtoole that ſhoulde bee; And at the length he findeth that it is ſaide in the Scriptures: that the earth is his footſtoole. But howe ſaith he ſhall we wozſhippe the earth? Is it not wzitten: Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue? And is it not commanded that we ſhould not wozſhippe thoſe thinges, which be in heauen, or vpon the earth, or in ẏ waters, or vnder the earth? But he ſaith afterwarde, that there is a certaine earth, which inſtlie maie and ought to be wozſhipped: For the ſonne of God (ſaith he) toke ẏ nature of man vppon him, that is fleſhe of the virgine: and that in the holie Scriptures is called earth: foꝛſomuch as our bodie is taken out of the earth. But that the fleſh of Chriſt ought to be wozſhipped, hereby it appeareth, becauſe when he gaue ẏ ſame to be eaten, none did eate it but he firſt wozſhipped. Theſe wozds of Auguſtine can make nothing againſt vs, becauſe we denie not but ẏ the fleſh of Chriſt muſt be wozſhipped by reaſon of the coniunction that it hath with the diuine nature. Here the contention is whether the ſame fleſhe lie cloſe hidden vnder the Accidents, not whether it ſhoulde be wozſhipped. But they ſay: if it were not there in the Sacrament, and that bzeade ſhould be there, it would be Idolatrie. Vnto which we aunſwere, that they fall into as great a perill, foꝛ they ought to remoue the accidentes leaſt thoſe ſhould be wozſhipped, and to tranſubſtantiate the verie cup it ſelfe. But in a Sacrament wee diſtinguiſhe the ſignes from the things, and vnto the ſignes we giue ſome honoz, to wit, that they ſhould be decentlie handled, and ſhoulde not be deſpiſed: For they be holy things once dedicated vnto GOD. And as concerning the things ſignified, namelie the bodie ẹ bloud of Chriſt, we graunt that thoſe ſhould bee readily and cheerefully wozſhipped. For Auguſtine in this place ſaith: We ſinne not in wozſhipping the fleſh of Chriſt, but we ſinne in not wozſhipping of the ſame. But he aduiſeth in the meane time that we ſhould not cleaue vnto the fleſhe of Chriſt, but lift vp our minde vnto the diuine nature, where vnto the fleſhe is ioyned by a knot not poſſible to be vndone. Otherwiſe he ſaith: the fleſh profiteth nothing, but it is the ſpirite that quickeneth. Wherein thou maiſt note that this ſaying of our Sauiour which is in the 6. of Iohn, is vnderſtoode by Auguſtine

Pſal. 99. 5.

Eſay. 66. 1.

There is rather of the holie Ghoſt in making theſe Elementes to be Sacramentes.

To the ſignes is ſome honoz giuen, but without adoration.

After what maner we ſhould wozſhippe ẏ fleſh of Chriſt.

as

as touching the flesh of Christ, but not of the carnall vnderstanding as some will haue it.

50 And as touching adoration, I will knit vp in few words, ẏ will rehearse what I haue elsewhere spoken, in my exposition of the Epistle vnto the Corinthians: namelie, that the same consisteth in inuocation and confession, which is of two sortes: aswell of the heart as of the mouth, and in thanksgiuing. And those things are due both vnto God and vnto Christ, whereseuer they shewe themselues vnto vs. And this is done three manner of wayes: First by the internall worde when as by the power of the spirit of God anie vehement cogitation of God and of Christ, entereth into our mindes. Then followeth worshipping: because wee either confesse or inuocate, or else giue thankes. Sometime these thinges declare themselues vnto vs by the outward worde, when as we our selues reade the holie scriptures, or else heare godlie sermons: Then are we oftentimes stirred vp to inuocation or else to other things which belong to ẏ order of seruing God. Finallie Christ and GOD other while declareth him selfe by outwarde signes, as vppon mount Syna; Vnto Esay vnder the forme of a king sitting vppon his royall seate, in the Arke of the Couenaunt, in the Sacraments: and there also worshipping is giuen vnto him. But euen as Augustine admonished that we must not settle our minde vppon the flesh, but wee must haue accesse vnto the Godhead: So I here admonish that in worshipping, when we receiue the Eucharist, wee must not staie in the signes, but must worship in spirite and trueth Christ sitting in heauen at the right hande of his father. And this because the simple sort doe not vnderstande, by reason of the confirmed and grounded errour of transsubstantiation, therfore I thinke it not vnprofitable if we woulde forbeare from outward worshipping, namelie from prostrating or kneeling, vntill such time as these might be instructed. Inwarde worshipping mais be vsed without danger: neither would outward worshipping in his owne nature be euill: for manie doe kneele and worship deuoutlie, at the hearing of those wordes: And the word was made flesh, and yet is it not to be saide that those words be worshipped, but the things signified. And why may not the same be done here, so that the signes be not worshipped, but that which is signified by them: Howbeit in these dayes for the cause aforesaide, perhappes outwarde Adoration is not mete, vnlelle that oftentimes mention shoulde bee made hereof in Sermons.

In what things adoration consisteth.

God and Christ must be worshipped where soeuer they declare themselues vnto vs. Looke the Dialogue of both natures in Christ. and in the treatise against Gardiner.

Whether in receiuing ẏ Eucharist, it be lawful to vse adoration only ẏ outward signes.

51 Neither let anie man take an occasion of my sayings, that it should be lawfull to worshippe either Images or pictures, because God and Christ seeme other while to declare themselues there effectuallie. For we haue the plaine worde: Let vs not make vnto our selues Images for to worship. But as touching the words of the holie scripture and the Sacramentes, nothing letteth that we should adore in the hearing or receauing of them, because those things are instituted by the worde, will, and commaundement of God, that we maie be prouoked to the seruice of GOD which consisteth in adoration. Neither ought eth thou to gather hereby, that the remnantes of the Eucharist must bee worshipped. For whatsoeuer strength the signes haue, that they haue by the holie Ghost, by the words of the Lord, and by his institution, which thinges without the vse of the sacrament are not extant. And whyle we eate ẏ drinke, there is a promise. Wherefore that opinion of consecration was not vniuersall, because in the time of Hesychius (as hee himselfe testifieth vpon Leuiticus) the remnantes of the Eucharist were burned. And euen this thou hast in Origen vpon Leuiticus: although it bee the same booke which is ascribed vnto two. And Clement the Bishop of Rome, (as appeareth by his decree, which is *de Consecratione, distinct.* 2.) ordained that the remnantes of this sacrament shoulde be eaten by the Ecclesiastik call persons. We denie not that they were sometime kept, but this was done without adoration and superstitious worshippinges. They were giuen vnto children and vnto Women, to be caried vnto the sicke, as appeareth out of the Historie of Eusebius Cæsariensis and out of Ierom. And I would not willinglie saie, that the receauing of these remnants after that manner out of the holie congregation and besides the rite appointed by the Lorde was a iuste communion, which neuertheleſſe I graunt the sicke might haue so that they repeated the holie wordes, and that some faithfull men did there communicate among themselues. For where manie doe not communicate, the nature of the sacrament is not retayned. Christ saide: Take ye, eate ye, and drinke ye. The breade is broken which pertaineth vnto distribution. And in their Canon they saie manie thinges, the which vnleſſe manie doe communicate, be lies. Moreouer it is called a supper, a Communion, a gathering together. Which names little agree with priuate

Whether pictures & Images are to be worshipped

Of the remnants of the Eucharist.

till were the vse of the Sacrament ceased.

Of the Eucharist sent from bishop to bishop.

uate action. Neither doe we at anie time read of priuate masses among the olde Fathers. Honorius ẏ Bishop of Rome, brought in a decree, that the Eucharist shoulde be kept: and he added, that honour and reuerence should bee done vnto it when it shall be caried about. Which if it had beene done before his time, it shoulde haue beene needleſſe for him to make such a decree. And to speake briefelie we affirme that this Sacrament, (as before hath beene sayde) hath not his force or efficacie, except when it is exercised and receaued: which also thou seekst to come to passe in all other Sacramentes.

Papistes

52 Hilarius is obiected against vs. But he had verie great controuersies with ẏ Arrians, against whom he dealeth, because they thought that betweene the father and the sonne there is no coniunction, vnleſſe it bee by a consent of will. Against these Hilarie saith: I demaunde of you whether betweene vs and Christ, there be a coniunction by the propertie of nature or by an agreement of the will? For the Arrians woulde lay holde of that place wherein Christ prayed, that we might be one together with him, euen as he and the father be one betweene themselues.

Verfeus.

There is a place in Iohn the 17. Chapter, where it is saide, Euen as thou father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may bee one in vs. The Heretikes added that wee haue no coniunction with Christ, vnleſſe it be as touching the consent and will: and by this they inferred that betweene the sonne of God and the father, there happeneth no other vnion or conjunction than this. Wherefore it was the part of Hilarie to shew that we be naturallie vnited with Christ, to the intent he might conclude, that the sonne also is naturally ioyned to the Father. His proofe is on this wise: If the word of GOD did truelie take vppon it the nature of man, hee doeth naturallie communicate in his flesh with vs, and we are said to remaine in him, because he hath in himselfe our nature. And semblablie in the Lords supper, if we truelie receaue his flesh, we doe participate naturallie with him, and he doth truelie dwel in vs. And thus Hilarie argueth from the truth of Sacraments, which we denie not. And this was the vse of the old fathers, that they brewe their Arguments from Sacramentes as from thinges best knowen. But there is none of these things against our opinion. For Hilarie contendeth not that the flesh of Christ is hidden and couered vnder Accidentes or in this Sacrament; but hee onelie affirmeth, that we in communicating are truelie ioyned to ẏ flesh of Christ, the which we denie not. But consider with mee ẏ selfe same father, not much before those words which he speaketh of the Eucharist saith the same of Baptisme, that by it we are ioyned vnto Christ and one with an other, not onelie in the vnitie of assent and will, but also in the vnitie of nature. So that ye shall be constrayned there also to appoint Transubstantiation, if for that cause yee bring it into the Sacrament. Chrysostome is not farre from this vse of taking Arguments from Sacramentes: who in the 83. Homilie vppon Matthew saith (as we cited before) that these be signes of the Lord Iesus, whereby we both bridle and stoppe the mouthes of Heretikes. For they saie berie often: Howe did Christ suffer? And wee on the other side obiect: If Christ had not true flesh, these signes be in vayne. And this both rightlie follow, because they shoulde else represent vnto vs fained things. And thus were the Manichees, Marcionites, and such like pestilent sectes, put to silence by them.

To Leo.

53 As touching Leo the Bishop of Rome, there is no cause why we should trouble our selues much, because he in the sentence obiected against vs both affirmeth a mysticall distribution, and setteth downe a spirituall sustenance and a vertue celestiall, and sayth that we doe passe into the flesh of Christ, euen as he take our flesh vpon him. They cite Emisenus, whose wordes are read, *De Consecratione*, distinct. the first: but there, if thou looke well vppon it, thou shalt finde these wordes: Touch thou with thy minde, and with the hand of thy heart take hold of the bodie of Christ. By which wordes it is plain, that he affirmeth vs to eate the bodie of the Lorde spirituallie. Further he vehementlie vrgeth (as other of the fathers doe) our changing into Christ, the wich neuertheleſſe (as we see) is without Transubstantiation.

To Emisen.

Why we so often make mention of the disagreing of our selues in receiuing of the Sacraments.

I Why we know that some may wonder why we so oftentimes oppose the changing of our selues against the changing that the fathers seeme to affirme to be in the signes which they constantlie say are all one: and some imagine that there is a farre other coiunction betweene the bodie of Christ and the signes, than is betweene vs and the bodie of Christ, and that therefore the Analogie and proportion holdeth not, although the fathers doe appoint both the one and the other. To this we answer and say, that our Argument is most strong because it is from the greater to the lesse by a negatiue. For the ioyning together of Christ vnto vs and with them which com-

communicate, is greater than it can be with the signes. Seeing therefore in respect of vs transubstātiation is not required, much lesse shall it be in signes. But that we be more ioyned together vnto Christ than ẏ signes be it thereby appeareth, inasmuch as that coniunctiō was inuēted bicause of this. Further the wordes and the spirit whereby the signes are consecrated, do much lesse belong vnto other things than vnto men.

The communicantes are more ioyned vnto Christ, than are ẏ signes

Vnto Theophilact.

54 Of Theophilact we say that he is a late writer, and who perhappes liued in those times when as many questions were begunne to be mooued touching Transubstantiation vnder Nicholas the Bishop of Rome in the time of Lanfranck and Berengarius. Further he was a man of no great iudgement, as it may appeare by his interpretation of Iohn the 3. Chapter at the ende: where he blameth the Church of the Latins by name, as touching the procēding of the holy Ghost, that it procedeth from the father and the sonne. So as we will not thinke his authoritie to be so great, as it ought to preiudice the trueth: yet neuertheless we will examine his sayings. He affirmeth bread not to be the figure of the bodie of Christ: and that in his treatise vppon Matthew. But and if he meane a bodi and paine figure, he saith rightlie, neither doe we appoint such a figure: And we doubt not, but that this is his interpretation, because vpon Marke he saith that it is not a figure onelie: other wise if he should vtterlie denie it to be a figure, he should be against the rest of the fathers, whom we haue manifestlie proued to affirme that it is both a signe and a figure. He saith that bread is transformed, that it is chaunged, and transelementated: which speaches, if hee vnderstand sacramentally, we mislike them not. For bread and wine be sacraments, and doe passe into the Elements of diuine things, & they put on a signifying forme. But they say that this Father writeth: Therfore the flesh and bloud is not seene, least we should abhorre it. But if thou wilt sharply vrge these wordes, we will obiect that which hee writeth vpon Marke, to wit, that the kinds of bread and wine are chaunged into the vertue of the bodie and bloud of the Lord. And if thou wilt say that he in an other place saieth not: Into the vertue, but into the bodie & bloud of the Lord: we answere, that this is the interpretation of those wordes, that these signes take vnto them the vertue of the things, by which vertue the Sacramentes haue no lesse than if the things themselues were there, and (as I haue saide) the abhorring is taken away if wee appoint the signes to be chaunged, not into the thing, but into the vertue. More violent semeth an other saying of his, which he hath vpon the 6. Chapter of Iohn, where he writeth: Euen as while Christ liued vpon the earth, the bread was chaunged into his flesshe by an vsuall way of nourishment, through naturall transmutation, so this bread is chaunged into the bodie of Christ. Yet neuertheless wee graunt that this comparison is generallie taken. For we denie not, but that there is a sacramentall change euen in this sacrament. But and if thou shalt say, that thou wilt take this similitude according as it is brought: that so truelie is the bread chaunged into the sacrament of the Eucharist, as in the meate and sustenance of Christ it was conuerted into his flesh while hee liued heere, there will follow an absurditie verie repugnant vnto thine owne opinion: to wit, that the accidents of the signes must not bee retayned in this sacrament, because they were not there kept in the sustenance of Christ while he liued here. Furthermore the same interpreter vpon the 6. Chapter of Iohn writeth vpon these words: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in mee and I in him. He saith that this is done while bee is after a sort transelemented and mingled with vs. Where againe thou seest that he, as doe the rest of the Fathers, affirmeth so great a change of vs into Christ, as he writeth that we be transelementated into him. And thus much of Theophilact.

That the kindes of bread and wine are chaunged into ẏ vertue of the bodie and bloud.

To Anselm, Hugo, and Rupp.

55 Among the latter men, they alleage Anselmus, Hugo, and Richardus, and the Victorines. Howbeit seeing in their time the opinion of transubstantiation was obtruded, they with their writings serued the time. Neither ought the new inuention of these men be periudicial to the opinion of the most ancient Church and the opinion of the olde Fathers. But among others, they seeme to make great account of one: and that is of *Iohannes Damascenus*, who in the 4. Booke of the Catholike faith the 14. Chapter wrote most amplie of this matter. But I finde that this man liued vnder Leo Iauricus Emperour of Greece. And betweene Gregorius Magnus Bishop of Rome, and this Iohn there were welneere a hundreth and twentie yeares. And when as now in the time of Gregorie, manie superstitions and inuentions of men were heaped vp in the Church, all things grew to be worse and worse. Wherfore it is no maruell that this Damascen inclined vnto manie superstitions and vntruthes. And of howe great iudgement he was alwell in matters of doctrine as also in expounding the

To Iohn Damascen.

In what age he liued.

The same man writeth Basill.

The iudgement of Damascene in matters of Diuinitie.

the holie scriptures, we haue a proofe. For he marshalleth fauoureth Images, and for the defence of them entered into great daungers. And in this selfe same fourth Booke, he wrote a particular Chapter of that matter, wherein hee not onelie willeth that they should be made, but also be worshipped and honored. Moreouer he had in so great estimation the Reliques of Saintes departed, as vppon them alls he spent a whole chapter wherein he feared not to call them the fountaines of Gods giftes. And bee is bould to say, that we ought by faith to worship the Saints, which saying is intollerable, seeing faith is onely due vnto God and his word. He hath a Sermon of Purgatorie, wherein he affirmeth, that Traianus the Emperor, an Idolater and persecutor of Partes, was deliuered from the paines of hell, and that by the prayers of Gregorie. And ẏ Falconilla also an Idolatrous woman was by the prayers of a certaine other mā saued, when she had beene now dead and detained in the paines of hell. And he bringeth in a fable of one Macarius, which talked with the skul of a dead man, of whom he heard, that in time of sacrifice of the Masse, ẏ soules of the dead which are tormented in paines, are in more ease: and he spinkleth al his Sermon with these fables. And the selfsame man whē he writeth of the Resurrection, indeuoureth to proue the same in the booke of Genesis: where we reade that the Lord said to Noah:

Gen. 9.4. Thou shalt not eate flesh with the bloud, for your liues will I require at the handes of beastes. He will require them (saith hē) at the Resurrection, yet for soth beastes doe not dye for man. If seemes that he knew not the Exo. 21.18. lawe made by God in Exodus, where hee commaundeth the Oxe to bee slaine, which shall push with his horne and kill a man. And in the Chapter *De Virginitate*, he writeth: If Adam had not sinned, men had not bin ioyned together in Matrimonie for procreation sake: and because he seeth, that the Gen. 1. 28. sentence of God: Increase and multiplie, is against him, he saith, that perhaps men might haue multiplied by another part of the bodie. Among the schole diuines none would haue spoken these wordes. The same man writeth Basill: For when he perceiueth him to say that bread and wine be *σύντυπα*, that is, patterns or examples of ẏ bodie of Christ, he expoundeth him that he meaneth, before consecration. And this is most absurde. For before consecration they haue no more in them than other common meates. And if they should so signifie the bodie & bloud of Christ, they should be already sacraments before the

Wemaskeit alter some for defended.

vttering of the wordes of the Lorde. Moreouer in the Masse of the Grekes, they openly pray after consecration, that the breade may become the bodie and bloud of Christ: And namely the case so standeth in the Masse of Basill, that those wordes be put after consecration. And in our Canon, if it bee well considered, it is named bread after consecration.

56 But now must we see his Arguments. The first is taken from the power of God. For seeing he was able by his word to make heauen and earth to bring forth Plantes, Beastes, Byrdes, and Fishes: why maie hee not of breade make his owne bodie? Which kinde of Argument is most weake: neither is the disputation now as touching the power of God. For wee denie not that God can turne bread into flesh, but the whole contention is, whether he will doe it or no. Another of his Arguments is derined from the speeche of Christ. For (saieth he) it was not saide of the Lorde: This is a figure or signe of my bodie, but it is pronounced to be the Lordes owne bodie. But vnto this Argument we haue before answered. And if this man when he denieth the sacrament to be a figure of the Lordes bodie, doe meane this absolutely, he hath almost all the fathers against him, who in this place doe acknowledge a figure. But if he vnderstande it not to bee a figure onelie, to wit, a fruitrate or voide signe, that also doe we willingly graūt. Albeit he mingleth certaine wordes in his writings, whereby it may be perceiued, that he meant not so grollely as he maketh semblance for. For he saith, that the bread of the communion is no simple bread, but it hath the Godhead ioyned with it. Which wordes we will willingly admit. for we say not that it is here common or simple bread, but it is now sanctified and turned into the nature of a sacrament. And it may be saide that the Godhead is therefore ioyned vnto it, because the holy Ghost vseth it as an instrument to our saluation. Further he maketh a comparison thereof with Baptisme: wherein hee saieth that God hath vsed to condescend vnto our custome and vsuall manners. And because men are wont to be washed with water, and annointed with oyle, therefore God ioyned vnto these things his grace and spirit in Baptisme: Euen so seeing the custome of men is to eate bread, & drinke wine, vnto those things he ioyned his Godhead. But if he had followed these transubstantiators, he would not haue ioyned vnto, but vtterly extinguished the natures of bread and wine. And the nature of this comparison re-

quireth, that euen as the ioyning together of Baptisme with the grace and holie Ghost doeth not repell or extinguish the nature of water, euen so the matter of this sacrament doeth not destroy and cast away the being of the signes. He saieth also, that God did so condescend to our custome, as that by things vsuall and agreeable to nature we maie attaine to that which is aboue nature. Wherein he toucheth our transmutatiō into Christ. But it must bee marked that he saieth the signes of the sacraments be according to nature: and those if thou appoint to be onelie accidents without a subiect, or which haue the bodie of Christ hidden vnder them, they bee no more according to nature. In deede he vseth woordes in which hee saieth that the nature of bread is changed, consumed, & become the bodie of Christ. Which woordes if they be vnderstoode as touching the change of the Sacrament, they doe not make against vs. And whereas he saith that these things do happen aboue nature, we graunt. For it is no naturall thing, that a Sacrament should be made of common breade, no more than the fountaine of regeneration is naturallie made of water. But and if thou demaund of him the manner of this transmutation into the bodie of Christ, he saith also that it is not easie for vs to expresse the maner how in naturall nourishment, bread is changed into our flesh. But of this similitude, how it may be taken, we sufficiently intreated before when we spake of Theophilact. If thou vnderstand this similitude generallie, and applie it vnto a Sacramentall changing, it sufficeth: but if thou wilt haue the comparison to be made specially of such a changing, as is of the sustinance in our bodie, when it is conuerted into flesh: then thou shalt not onely make the nature of bread to giue place, but the accidents.

How the two parts of the Sacrament are called Sacramentes.

57 He addeth that breade is made the bodie of Christ, and Wine and Water his blonde, so neuertheless as they be not two but one. If he referre, One, vnto the cuppe and bread, as if he should saie that these bee one Sacrament, we contende not much, because in this action, as in one sacrament, Christ euen as sustenance is giuen vnto vs. Albeit in receiuing both the parts of this Sacrament the Church feareth not to saie in the plural number, that here be sacraments: And in the Collects of the masse, after communion thou readest oftentimes: The Sacraments which we haue receiued, and the rest that followeth. But if they shall saie: They be one, so that after consecration the bread and bodie of Christ should nowe be all one, and not two, by reason of Transubstantiation that is incident: wee oppose the saying of Irenæus, wherein he writeth that the Eucharist doeth consist of two thinges, namelie of earthlie and heauenlie: Also Gelasius the Pope, who argueth from the conjunction of breade with the bodie of Christ, the natures remaining whole, that the humane and diuine nature in Christ are ioyned in one, both the one and the other remayning whole, and inuiolate. He addeth moreouer, that this Sacrament is not cast into the draught. And surelie it cannot otherwise be spoken of the Transubstantiators: For seeing they appoint nothing in the Eucharist besides the accidentes and the nature of Christes bodie, none of these thinges belong to the draught. But against these thinges I obiect a most manifest place of Origen vpon Matthew the 15. Chapter, where he interpreteth these woordes: That which goeth into the mouth defileth not man. And hee saith, If it defile not, neither doeth it sanctifie. But what shall we saie of the breade of the Lord? Is it true that it neither sanctifieth nor yet defileth? He aunswereth: That if anie thing maie seeme to bee vnpure, it doeth not defile vs, vnlesse it be through an euill conscience: Euen so that which is seene and is called holie, vnlesse that righteousnes and integritie of life be with vs, it doeth not sanctifie. For if this had wherewithall of his own nature to sanctifie, there had not beene among the Corinthians so many weake & feeble, and so manie that slept. Wherefore that which in the Lordes breade is material passeth through into the bellie, and is cast into the draught. But whatsoeuer commeth by prayer and by the woorde of the Lord, profiteth the soule according to the measure of faith. Wherefore the matter is not profitable, but the word which is added doth profit the soule. And least thou shouldest think that he speaketh of anie other meat, he breefelie repeateth, & saith, These things are spoken concerning the mysticall bodie of Christ. None will take exception herunto, that Origen sometimes erred in doctrine, seeing Ierom, Epiphanius and the auncient fathers, which most diligentlie scanned his errours, neuer made mention that he iudged ill of the Eucharist: This would they not haue done if he had transgressed in so great a matter. And in the selfe same place he most plainelie added, that the wicked doe not eate the bodie of Christ, because it is a quickening bodie, and hee which eateth it dwelleth in him. Wherefore against this Iohn Damascen being but a late writer and not verie famous, let

Origen. Whether the Sacrament be cast into the draught.

Mat.15.11.

let Origen be opposed, a most auncient Father and of great renowne.

To the Councel of Ephesus.

58 After these matters, that was obiected the which Cyril in the name of the councel of Ephesus wrote to Nestorius the Bishop of Constantinople. For then there was a disputatiō against him who affirmed the humane person in Christ to bee altogether seuerall and distinct from the person of the sonne of God, so as there should be no other manner of coniunction except it be of dignity. Against him is argued from the nature of Sacramentes. If the flesh of Christ be so seuered from the person God, it followeth that the same is no quickening flesh: and whereas we graunt the flesh of Christ to be in the sacraments, we should eate the flesh of man, after a sort sanctified and excellent: but therby we could not according to the promise, obtaine euerlasting life. This is the scope whereunto all those disputations tend. Whole Fathers doe not contende, neither goe they about to proue, that in the breade lyeth hidden the flesche of Christ, but they woulde haue vs to eate the same in a Sacrament, and that truelie: and to eate such flesche as will giue vs eternall life. Which we deny not, so it be vnderstoode that the eating belong vnto the soule & to faith. For we grant that in a sacrament the flesh of Christ is eaten spirituallie but yet truly. Neither do we at anie time faine such a flesh as is seuered and diuided from the diuine person of the word. They obiect against vs the Councell of Rome or the Vercellentian, wherein Berengarius was condemned, and compelled to recant. As concerning which councels seeing their Acts are not extant, we cannot answere much: wherefore it shall be profitable to weigh the recantation it selfe prescribed vnto Berengarius by Pope Nicholas in the Councell: and thereby wee maie see of what credite this Councell was, and howe well in their wits they were which had the chiefe rule in the same. In the decrees *De Consecratione*, the seconde distinction in the Chapter *Ego Berengarius*, his recantation is described wherein he was compelled to confesse that the body of Christ is sensiblie handled with the handes of the Priestes, that it is broken and rent with the teeth, which things, how well they agree with the bodie of Christ alreadie glorified, and vnto that Sacrament, let euerie wise man iudge. The Glosser vppon the decrees, a man otherwise of grosse vnderstanding, could not choose but see so great an absurditie. Wherefore he saith, that these things must be verie aduisedlie and rightlie vnderstoode, if not, thou shalt fall (saith he) into a greater error than that wherewith Berengarius was infected. For he sawe that it was not conuenient to be said, that the bodie of Christ is sensiblie felt in the Sacrament, or that it is broken or rent with the teeth. And the matter of the sentences in the 4. booke would remedie this sore, and saith that these things must be attributed not to the bodie of Christ, but to the signes, which they affirme to be accidentes. And so in that speech he appointed a figure, whereby that is attributed vnto the thing which belongeth to the signes. Which figure if we vse, and that in due time, in interpreting the sayings of the Fathers, while they speake magnificallie of this sacrament vnto the people, our aduersaries exclame that we corrupt and marre and falsifie their writinges: whereas here neuertheleselie they themselues slie vnto the selfe same Anchors, and they will haue a figure where it ought least to be, namelie in the declaring of an opinion and in framing a recantation, the which ought of all other things to be most cleare and plaine. So then we palle not of this councell seeing they delt there so blockishlie.

To the Romane Councell of Berengarius.

The recantation of Berengarius.

The Glosser of the decrees.

The wicked doe not eate the bodie of Christ.

The Master of the Sentences would haue remedie this sore, and saith that these things must be attributed not to the bodie of Christ, but to the signes, which they affirme to be accidentes. And so in that speech he appointed a figure, whereby that is attributed vnto the thing which belongeth to the signes. Which figure if we vse, and that in due time, in interpreting the sayings of the Fathers, while they speake magnificallie of this sacrament vnto the people, our aduersaries exclame that we corrupt and marre and falsifie their writinges: whereas here neuertheleselie they themselues slie vnto the selfe same Anchors, and they will haue a figure where it ought least to be, namelie in the declaring of an opinion and in framing a recantation, the which ought of all other things to be most cleare and plaine. So then we palle not of this councell seeing they delt there so blockishlie.

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59 They also obiect the Synode of Constance, wherein Wickliffe was condemned, and where Iohn Husse, and Ierome of Prage were burned for sundrie articles, but especially for that they held against Transubstantiation, which there by a full decree was for damned. Doubtlesse this councell wee cannot chose but cal trecherous, seeing it found the meanes to slay those two men, which came thither vnder safe conduct. And this also the Emperour take greeuously, for he among others had giuen his word, otherwise the Bohemians would neuer haue suffred those men to goe vnto that Councell. And for so much as they there decreede touching Transubstantiation, it is an Argument that the same is a new opinion. Neither is it of force which many doe say that it was there confirmed by a decree, but not first inuented, because vnder Nicholas the Romane Bishop in the Vercellentian and Romane Synode, it was manifestly enough declared. We grant indeede that this opinion brake out after a sort and was obtruded before the Councell of Constance: but because it was not fullie receiued, and had euerywhere many contradictions, therefore they iudged it necessarie to establish the same againe, and that tyrannically, to wit, by fire and cruell threatnings. But against this Councell we obiect the generall and vniuersall Councell of Florence, held vnder Eugenius, Bishop of Rome the 4.

To the Synode of Constance

The Councell of Constance cruell and trecherous.

Transubstantiation a newe opinion.

The generall Councell of Florence.

of that name who was there present. And there was also present there the Emperour of Græce with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and manie Bishops of the East part. In which Councell the Græke Church was ioyned with the Latine, & they agreed together as touching the dissention that was about the holie Ghost. And we maie see in the Acts of that Councell, that after agreement was made betweene them of the East, and of the West about certaine Articles, the Pope would haue proceeded further, and haue driuen them to intreate of Transubstantiation, and to haue received it according to the opinion of the West Church. There the Græcks resisted, and would not deale in that matter, neither coulde they by anie reasons be driuen to giue their consent thereunto. And when writings of vnion were to be drawne and published, they in anie wise prouided, that no mention shoulde bee made of that matter. Which also was obserued as appeareth in a Bull of Eugenius, which beginneth: Let the heauens reioyce, and let the earth be glad. Wherein he reioyceth with Chyistendome, for this good hap that the Græke and the Latine Churches were once againe ioyned together. Wherefore if this Transubstantiation had bin of so great importaunce, the Romane Church would neuer haue bin ioyned with the Græk which did not receiue the same. For at this day, they say, that it is a pestilent heresie not to admit the same. But it is not credible that the Latine Church would then ioyne it selfe with Heretickes, & be partakers with them. And hereby also is the Argument dissolued, which they bring for touching the vniuersall consent of the Church. For it is not true which they alleage, that all Churches agreed together in this: for that auncient Church which was in the time of the Fathers, as we haue shewed, neuer dreamed of any such thing. Againe, the East and Græk Churches were of the same iudgement that we are.

60 Moreouer vnto their Arguments they adde exceeding great prayses of the power of God, that they may bring in men to beleeue so great a miracle. But it is a most feeble kinde of reasoning. That which they ought to haue shewed, in trueth they haue neuer proued, namelie that Gods will is to doe this, and that this the holy scriptures promise vs. For that which they alledge, This is my bodie, is in controuersie, and may haue an other sense. Wherefore the Argument is made weake & by a certaine example we will shew the feblenesse thereof. The Lord said to Nichodemus, That none can enter into the kingdome of heauen, vnlesse he be borne anew: He began to demaund, How can a man of ripe age, or else an olde man enter the secod time into the wombe of his mother? It might haue bin said vnto him: Christ hath now affirmed that it shall so be, why doubtest thou of the power of God wherby all things be created? By it, thou maiest vndoubtedlie be borne againe out of thy mothers wombe. Howbeit Christ said not so, but he declared, that all this should be done by spirituall regeneration. For albeit he made mention of water, which should belong vnto baptisme, yet he most plainely taught that we should be borne againe by the spirit. So we see it come to passe in this place. Christ commaunded that we should eate his flesh. And in receauing of bread he said: This is my bodie. The transubstantiators say: It can not be brought to passe that the bodie of the Lord should be together with bread: wherefore it behoueth that ỹ nature thereof should be transubstantiated into the bodie of Christ: and this will they perswade to be done by the power of God. But in the meane time they obiect, We alone say not so: For Chrysostom, Ambrose and Cyrill, when they dispute of this change, send vs to the power of God, and doe ertoll the same with wonderfull prayses. But we answere, that the fathers speake well: For in deed it belongeth to the power of God to change bread & wine, that the Sacraments should be such as they were not before. Neither is it a worke of nature that they should so mightilie and effectuallie signifie, offer and exhibite the bodie and bloud of the Lord, which must be apprehended with our mindes and fayth. Wherefore the holy Ghost is the chiefest in this businesse, and the institution of the Lorde is of great force, and the wordes being vttered by diuine inspiration, and now repeated do profit verie much. Adde herewithall, that whyle we communicate there is a chaunge or conuersion of vs into Christ, which doth far exceede the power of nature. But now seeing the supernaturall power of God may be required to all these thinges, they apply the same vnto transubstantiation. And it is euen as if we shoulde argue from the more vniuersall to the more particular affirmatiuelie, which is not lawfull. Moreouer in baptisme is required the selfesame power, seeing it is not the worke of nature, that water should become the fountaine of regeneration. But here some take it not in good part, that Baptisme should in such wise be compared with the Eucharist. For albeit they cannot deny that Christ also is present in

Marke the similitude of Nicheder. mus Iohn. 3.3. Lo the diuersitie of both natures in Christ.

Why the Fathers is speaking of the Sacraments extol the power of God.

Gal. 3. 27.

in Baptisme, and giuen vnto vs (for it is written: So many of you as are baptised haue put on Christ) yet say they: Christ is better & after a more excellent manner in the Eucharist, than he is in Baptisme: therefore the bread is transubstantiated, and it is not necessarie that the water should be changed. Vnto whom we answere, that we neede not striue much in which of the Sacramentes Christ is more excellent, so it be graunted that he is in the one and the other. And euen as he may be in the one, the substance of the elementes preserued, so may he be in the other. But if thou wilt in any wise contend about the worthinesse of them, the excellencie of baptisme may be shewed by effectuall reasons. Insomuch as it is more to be begotten, than to be nourished. Furthermore, Baptisme was made famous by manie miracles. The heauens were opened, the voyce of the father was heard, & the holy Ghost was seene in the likenesse of a doue: the which happened not in the institution of the Eucharist. And these thinges we speake not to the abasing of this Sacrament. For it is most worthie, and should be exceedinglie honored, but they be therefore vttered, that we may answere to the obiection made as touching the power of God. And we haue alreadie shewed before out of Augustine *De Trinitate*, the 3. booke and 10 Chapter, that so exceeding great miracles as these men bring must not be allowed. Which also appeareth, if thou rehearse the verses of Gregorie Nazianzene, wherein he comprehended all the miracles of Christ: neither did he make any mention of these miracles, which neuertheless, if we beleeue them they be singular and without comparison. Augustine also, while he compriseth the maruels of the holy scripture, in a certaine booke of his entituled the booke of miracles, he maketh mention of Transubstantiation. Wherefore it appeareth that we must not for this opinion bring in an Argument drawen from the power of God, which we deny not: yea rather we affirme that in this Sacrament there is neede of it.

Whether Sacrament is more worthier, Baptisme or the Eucharist.

Deut. 13. 1.

1. Thes. 2. 9.

Gen. 7. 11.

The Fathers maketh no mention of the miracle of Transubstantiation.

61 Next of all, they obiected, that their opinion was confirmed by many wonders and miracles, the which be read in Cyprian, in the life of Gregorie, and among many other writers. We answere hereunto, that about the Eucharist miracles might be done for three causes: either to keepe back wicked and vnworthie men from so worthie a Sacrament: and this kinde of miracles we allowe. For the Apostle writeth that among the Corinthians many were feble & weake, & that manie were asleepe because they communicated vnworthilie. And vnto this order I thinke those men must be brought where of Cyprian writeth. Another kinde of miracles is sometime brought in to set forth the excellencie of this Sacrament, that the dignitie and greatnesse thereof might thereby be expressed. Which miracles also we reiect not. For we knowe also that baptisme was oftentimes adorned with manie miracles. A third kinde there may be for the confirming of this opinion or rather error concerning Transubstantiation. And after this manner the aduersaries alledge these things against vs. But miracles of this sort must be vtterly reiected. And hereof are we admonished by the lawe, that so often as a Prophet goeth about to drawe men to idolatrie and superstitions, although he get credite thereunto by working of miracles, we must not beleeue him, yea rather ỹ Lord would haue him to be stoned. We knowe moreouer that Antichrist shall come, & that he shalbe famous in signes and wonders. And we are not ignorant that in the time of Moses ỹ sorcerers stood before Pharao which did wonders against the word of God. And we read in Irenæus the 1 booke of one Marke a deceauer & heretick, who in this sacrament of the Eucharist did wonderfully beguile the simple sort. For he changed the colour of ỹ wine, that it might altogether appeare blood: & by his inchauntment he so increased a little wine, as the whole cup was filled & ranne ouer. And when againe there was a cup longer and of more recept, that also was filled by to the top without addition of more liquor. Who would saie that through these miracles, his heresie should be approued? If we shall make mention of Ethnicks: we reade that there flowed in the earth riuers of bloud, that out of the thumbe of Iubiter sprang bloud. Titus Liuius saith that at Rome it rained flesh. Quintus Curtius saith, that at Tyre, when it was besieged by Alexander the Great, bread did openlie sweate forth bloud. And it is said that Apollonius Thyanæus, when he was in the Councell before Domitianus the Emperour suddenlie vanished away, so that he was no more found. And infinite be the thinges that the Ethnickes can bring for to confirme their seruice of Idols. Wherefore we wholy reiect these miracles, which these men say doe serue for establishing the superstition of transubstantiation. Neither are we to make great account of that which they bring in here as touching a miracle wrought by Gregory bishop of Rome. For it is written in

T. Liuius.

Quintus Curtius.

So the argumentes of the diuine power.

For howe many false miracles might be done about the Eucharist. Look in the Treatise against Gardiner.

1. Co. 11. 30

The life of Gregorie Bysshop of Rome.

his lyfe, that the breade of the Lord, or if thou wilt call it the Sacrament of the Eucharist, was turned into a finger of flesh. Which if it were done for the two causes which we our selues allow, we are not much to stand vppon it. Albeit that lyfe of Gregory is not of any great credit. For if we shall beleeue Vincentius, it was described a hundreth yeares after his death by Iohn a Deacon of Rome, and sent to a certaine Emperour of Germanie. But admit it were so: so long as our aduersaries would therefore conclude, that thzough the token of a fleshie finger, the flesh of Christ both corporallie by hidden vnder accidentes, any man might by this kinde of miracles conclude that vnder Sacramentall formes, are contained ashes and coles, because the holy breade was once conuerted into these in the time of Cyprian, as himselfe writeth. I thinke also that the liegerdemaine of naughtie fellowes which they haue often times vsed to the fayning of miracles is not vnknowen.

An argument from the glorified bodie.

62 In an other Argument they very much obtruded the dignitie of the glorified body of Christ which after the resurrection is is called spirituall. This we denie not: yet doe we giue warning of that which Augustine hath in an epistle to Consentius, that such a body is not so spirituall, as it palleth into the nature of a spirit. For Paul also calleth the body a certaine naturall body: which must not so be vnderstode as though the body palseth into the nature of the soule. And againe the same father in his 13. Booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, the 20. Chapter, writeth: The soule sometime while it obeyeth the flesh, is called carnall, not that it palleth into the nature of flesh: so likewise the bodie is called spirituall, not because it gathereth the nature of a spirit, but because it will bee wholly subiect to fulfill the will thereof. And Ierom in an Epistle vnto Pamachius, which was an Apologie against Iohn Bysshop of Ierusalem (who attributed vnto the soules of them that rise againe an elementarie or ayrie bodie that should not be subiect either to feeling or feeding) contended by all meanes that Christ after his resurrection had a most true body, and that doubtlesse visible. And he preuenteth an obiection: if in such sort it were visible and one selfe same body, why was it not knowen when he shewed himselfe like a stranger? He answereth: because their eies were holden that they might not know him: as if he should say: that which belongeth vnto the nature of a body both was visible, and might be knowen, but there was an impediment in their eies which were holden that they could not discerne. Seeing therefore Christ after his resurrection had a true body bound to measure and place, there is no cause why we should depriue it of these properties, and call it into the narrowe corners of a small pece of bread, as though it were wholy contained therein how great so euer it be. But if it be graunted, that this also may be done by the power of GOD, can it straightway be concluded that it is done? The Argument as we shewed before is weake. They also argued from the Greeke Article, seeing Christ saide, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, This is my bodie: as though the Article can haue strength to draw the proposition vnto the proper sense, and permitteth not a figurative meaning. These men are deceaued. For the Greeke article hath not alwayes that strength. And that appeareth plainelie in the 8. Chapter of the Gospell of Luke, where Christ expounded that parable which he had vttered of ὁ σπείρων ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ: that is, The seede is the worde of God: where thou seest that vnto the worde of God is added the Greeke article. Yet did not this speach worke that the word of God is bound, as though it should properlie, reallie, and corporallie be in that seede which is thrown into the earth, wherof the parable was propoled at the beginning. But it is said to be contained therein by the power and propertie of the signification: after which manner we also vnderstand it in the wordes of the Lord: when he saith: This is my bodie. For we say, that it is not pronounced of the bread of the Lordes bodie, vnlesse it be by signification. Moreouer there was an Argument taken of the promise of Christ, wherin he said: I will be with you vntill the end of the world. The which is no hinderance to our opinion. For we confesse that Christ is present with vs by his diuine nature, by grace also and by many gifts, which his spirit bringeth vnto vs. Furthermore, if we desire his bloud and flesh, we may also comprehend them in this Sacrament by faith, and may spirituallie eate them, whereunto there afterward followeth a most true, yet a secrete and vnspeakeable coniunction of vs with Christ when we be changed into him.

The effect of the 6 article.

Luke.8.11.

Mat.28.20.

After what manner Christ is present with vs and not in the world.

63 Then afterward it was proposed, that if the matter be on this wise, it will follow, that our Sacramentes haue no more than had the Sacramentes of the olde Lawe, seeing in them also Christ was signified: yea & perhappes, if we respect ỹ nature of signes, the thing was more fullie shadowed there than

than it is in our Sacramentes, the which be altogether vnbloudie. But in the sacrifices of the olde fathers, the slaughter was plainlie seene, and the bloud there shed did more plainelie fashion out the Lordes death and place it before our eyes, than our bread and wine doe. We answere that as touching ỹ substance, our sacramentes are the selfesame that the olde fathers Sacramentes were, the selfesame thing is giuen in the one and the other, although the signes be diuers. And this did Paul testifie in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Yet neuertheleste our Sacramentes haue many prerogatiues aboue the Sacramentes of the olde lawe. For they be firme and are no more to be changed vntill the ende of the world: and they shew not the thing that is to be done, but the thing that is done alreadie. They be plainer, and belong to a more ample and greater number of people. And seeing they be plainer, they stirre vp a greater faith, and thereby followeth a greater measure of the spirit. In that they be more playne, it proceedeth not as the aduersaries faine vnto them selues of a more manifest outward prefiguration, but of the nature of the wordes which be there vttered. For our redemption performed, is with more excellent and plaine wordes declared, than the common people in the olde Lawe vnderstode it. But and if that the thing be more plainelie expressed by wordes, an outward representation is not to be loked for. Besides this they wondred how it can be that the Church was so long in an erroz, and that no small erroz, if it be so as we say. Which neuertheleste they would not maruell at, if they considered what Christ said of his last comming: Thinkest thou that when the sonne of man commeth, he shall finde faith vppon the earth? And it is shewed, that so great the erroz shall be, that if it were possible the very elect should be seduced. I beseech you let these men tell vs what manner of Church Christ did finde at his first coming? Had not now the Scribes and Pharisies and also the Bysshops corrupted and infected all things with their traditions? Yet are we not to thinke that the Church was vtterlie left in erroz. For there were alwayes some good men who were displeased at these things, and which repugned against them. And as in the first comming, there were Simeon, Anna the widow, Ioseph and Mary the virgin, Elizabeth, and Iohn Baptist, which were godly and of very good vnderstanding: and that the Church would not be sayd to be vtterlie forsaken, so lykewise is it come to passe in these latter times. For

The difference betwixt our Sacramentes and theirs in substance.

1.Cor.10.1

Iewdest reiect our Sacramentes by reason of their grosse vnderstanding.

Whether the Church were long time cast in an erroz by God.

Luke.18.8.

Matth.24. verse.24.

the vniuersall Church is not infected with these traditions of men. They say also that as touching the signification, this very thing may be done by bread & wine in banquets, and that therefore there is no cause that we should so greatlie honor the Eucharist. But the Argument is most weake, seeing that in common meates, there is no institution of the Lord, no Sacrament, the wordes of the Lord not heard, neither is any promise there. Wherfore these thinges must not be compared together.

64 Lastly there was brought in an argument taken from the force & efficacie of the worde of God, (which being spoken of Ambrose, Algerius cyteth in the first Booke the seuenth Chapter.) It is called a working word, as when by the bread and wine which remaine the selfe same, are changed into another thing. As concerning the wordes of Ambrose, we willingly accept them. For we also affirme, that bread and wine remaine the selfesame not in deede (as the transubstantiatours say) as touching accidents or formes, so as there should be a change: (the substance being cast away) but we affirme, that they are preserued as touching their owne proper natures, yet that the change is made onlie by a sacramentall grace. And we derogate nothing from the strength of the Lordes wordes. Yet doe wee not thinke it meete to attribute vnto them as to some inchauntment, that after what manner soeuer, and in what place soeuer, they are by the priest pronounced ouer bread and wine with a minde to consecrate, they shal straightwaie obtaine effect. For all wholy dependeth vpon the institution of the Lord and the working of the holie spirit. We nede not much to care for Algerius, for he was after the time of Berengarius, and of whose recantation he maketh mention in his writing. Further of what iudgement he was, it appeareth by a certain argument of his. For in the 3. Chapter of the first booke, minding to proue, that as well the godly as the wicked doe receiue the bodie of Christ in the sacrament, (which in deede followeth vpon Transubstantiation) Yearken to a similitude (sayeth he) of the outward worde, that is to say, of the speeche that is done by the sounde. Vnto whom soeuer such a speeche commeth, it containeth and hath with it his owne proper sense. But if it come to men of vnderstanding, they heare with profite, for they perceiue those things which be spoken: and if doubtlesse it shall come to the vnlearned and ignorant, it no lesse carieth the proper sense with it, but yet without profite to the hearer, because he vn-

We must attribute to the wordes of the Lord, but not attribute to them as to some inchantment.

Algerius the Scholler of a man of no great iudgement.

derstandeth it not. This man presumeth in his argument, that words carie a sense with them, yet doeth he not consider, that the sense is not included or foulded (as they say) really in the sound or forme of speech of the letters, but by a signification onlie. The same if it be said vnto him, as concerning bread and wine in the Sacraments, speake they offer the bodie of Christ by signification, he shall bee confuted by his owne similitude. Whereby also it is proued, that the wicked doe not receiue the bodie of the Lorde, like as the rude and ignoraunt, who, when they heare the Greeke and Latine wordes, vnderstande not the meaning thereof. Wherefore no man could haue saide more for vs. The same Author affirmeth in the first Chapter of the second Booke, that the accidents in the Sacrament doe not in verie deede admit corruption or hoxinesse, but that it onelie seemeth so vnto vs: which the Schoolemen themselues would not haue said. For what else is this, than to appoint a perpetuall illusion of the sense? So wee are not to passe much vppon him, although he indeuour by all meanes to fortifie his Transubstantiation.

Thus farre of the first opinion, & why it hath beene somewhat largely entreated of.

65 Now haue we made tryall of the first opinion and that largelie: for that being removed, verie many superstitions are taken away. Of the other two we will not so largelie dispute, because whether of the two is appointed, we doe not greatlie passe, so it bee soundlie vnderstood. Now wee will onelie speake of them, to the end we may see what we shall iudge in both to bee auoyded and what to be received. Wherefore some there haue beene, which retaining the substance of bread and wine, and also the bodie and bloud of the Lorde, haue together with these signes yet remaining in their owne nature, ioyned by a most firme knot, the bodie and bloud of the Lorde, yet not so, as I thinke, that of them being ioyned together, should be made one substance: neuertheless they haue saide, that the bodie and bloud of Christ is in the bread and wine, really, (as they speake) corporally, & naturally: but others haue ioyned them together by signification onely. The first opinion is attributed vnto Luther, the other vnto Zuinglius. Howbeit I haue heard men of credite say, that Luther iudged not so grossely of this matter: and that Zuinglius also beleeued not so slenderlie of the sacraments. And they say that Luther inclined vnto hyperbolicall speeches, such as after a sort exceede the trueth, because hee thought that Zuinglius and others woulde make the sacraments to be bare and vaine signes: whereas Zuinglius meant no such matter. But hee also feared, least Luther shoulde affirme those thinges which both should derogate from the truth of the humane nature, and also include the bodie of Christ in bread, whereupon a greater superstition should yet be nourished, and therfore hee thought meete to repost somewhat slenderlie of this Sacrament: and thus there was stirred vp a contention more than was meete, and was a cause of great mischeefe. Whereas yet in very deede the contention was rather about words than about the matter. Wherefore we will remoue the handling of these two opinions frō the persons: for we affirme not, that either Zuinglius or Luther were of that minde, but onelie we will examine the opinions, such as are caried about.

Of the contention betweene Luther and Zuinglius.

That there contention was rather of words than of the thing.

66 That those men which so grossely ioyne the bodie of Christ with the signes, may the better declare themselues, they are wont to bring two similitudes. The first is, if thou haue a pot full of wine, and shalt pronounce, This is wine, thou lyest not at all, seeing thou shewest the wine it selfe contained in the Cup. In like maner shall it be if thou take a hotte burning Iron, and shewing the fire, saiest, This is fire. therein thou speakest neither falselie nor absurdly: so (say they) must be vnderstood that saying of the Lord, This is my bodie: and they manifestly admit the figure Synecdoche. For seeing they shew a subiect compounded, it is no true proposition vnlesse it be as touching the one part of the thing shewed. Yet must it bee knowen that these similitudes are not taken by them, as though they thought that euery maner of waie they agree with the matter proposed: because they contend that the bodie of Christ is present not locally, but onelie diffinitiuely, which then they vnderstand to bee when any thing is not circumscribed with the measure of place, but yet is said to be there, because his nature or essence is there appointed to that place, or worketh therein. But this agreeth not with wine being in a cup: for that hath his place there wherein it is limited. Further these men would not say that the bodie of Christ is so in bread as it shall take name of the qualities or accidents therof. For it cannot truelie be named white, round, baked or sodden: which neuertheless we perceiue to happen vnto fire mixed with burning Iron. For it so followeth the fashion of the Iron, the length, the breadth, and the depth thereof, as it maie be named by the shapes and formes of the same. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that this similitude in this opinion, is not vnderstoode by these men, as touching all the partes, but onelie that a true and realle conionction of the sacrament and the thing may be shewed, which being graunted, it followeth, that alwell the wicked as the godly, doe receiue the bodie of Christ. First (forsooth) that this coniunction is realle, they thinke it is sufficiently proued by the wordes of the Lord. But the other, namely that the bodie of Christ is giuen euen vnto the wicked, they se it doeth necessarily follow. But we haue alreadie shewed the contrarie, to wit, that these wordes of Christ doe vs not necessarilie vnto this sense, and by effectuall reasons it hath bin proued that the wicked receiue onely the outward elements.

Two similitudes.

To be present locally and diffinitiuely.

Reasons why the wicked receiue not the bodie of Christ.

67 These men also are wont to argue, that if the wordes of the scripture be vnderstoode figuratiuelie, it maie then easilie be that manie precepts should be ouerthrowen. For Abraham might haue laiden of circumcision when it was commaunded: It is a figuratiue speeche, and I shall fulfill this commaundement, if I circumcise my heart, and cut off the lustes and infections of the flesh. Also when the choyse of meates was commanded, the Israelites might haue said, that the execution of that commandement might consist in the mozall obseruation, if they did not commit those sinnes which were signified by those vncleane beastes: and by that meanes neither circumcision nor choyse of meates should haue taken place. Howbeit it may plainely be proued that this is a weake argument, because it is perceiued by the letter it selfe and by the text that the same is no figuratiue speeche. As touching Circumcision, it is appointed to be the viii. day after the childes birth, and it is added, that the couenant of the Lord was to be borne in the flesh it selfe. By which wordes it appeareth, that true Circumcision was commaunded. And in the choyse of meates the conditions of the liuing creatures cleane and vncleane are so expressedly described and a purifying appointed as touching the offenders, that no place of doubting is left. We haue also a rule of Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana*, wherein he sheweth, that vnlesse an ill act be commaunded, or some good worke prohibited, the speech is to bee taken without a figure: the which rule if it be applyed to the choyse of meates and vnto circumcision, he sheweth, that the wordes of God must be absolutelie vnderstoode. They say moreouer, that in the Prophets and histories, figures are easily admitted, because in these the holy ghost dealeth after the manner of men, & applyeth himselfe to their familiar speeches, that hee may the more and the more earnestlie expresse those things which are to bee spoken, but in doctrine and precepts wee must not so iudge: All things, (saie they) must be taken simply, which opinion of theirs is not firme or vniuersall. For as touching precepts, the Lord saith: Beware of the Leuen of the Pharesies, where he manifestlie vseth a figure, & that such a figure, as the Apostles in that place vnderstoode him amisse. Moreouer in the 7. of Matthew he commaunded that they should beware of false Prophets, for they will come vnto you (saith he) in sheepes clothing, but inwardly they be rauening woolues. In which commaundement who perceiueth not a figuratiue speeche? And in teaching of doctrine there is no doubt, but figures & tropes are vsed. Paul saith in the new Testament: The rocke was Christ: We be one bread, And of God it is written, that he is a consuming fire.

Gen.17.10 Whether figuratiue speeches be a hinderance to the obseruation of the commandement of God. Leuit.12.3.

Whether in the doctrine & precepts of God there be figures. Mat.16.16

Matt.7.11.

1.Cor.10.4

Ib. ver. 18.

Heb.12.29

68 Afterward they affirme that the bodie of Christ may be euerie where, and that by the wordes of Christ to Nichodemus in the 3. Chapter of Iohn where it is saide: No man ascendeth into heauē, but he that came downe from heauen, euen the sonne of man which is in heauen. Beholde say they the sonne of man, that is Christ, spake vnto them as touching his humane nature, and was also in heauen, because the humane nature cannot be plucked away from the diuine: Therefore what he affirmeth of one, must also be spoken of the other. But it is aunswered that we will not diuide these two natures one from an other: yet it followeth not therefore that that which appertaineth to the one should be giuen vnto the other. Indeede wee graunt that the diuinitie of Christ is euery where, but we will not attribute the same vnto his bodie and humanitie. And this did Augustine vnto Dardanus most manifestly teache. And that which is brought out of the third Chapter of Iohn, the same Augustine enterpreteth, that it must be vnderstoode, that the sonne of man was in heauen as touching his diuine nature. Neither did Chrysostome otherwise iudge, when he expounded this place. For he affirmeth, that to be in heauen was not attributed vnto the sonne of man but in respect of his diuine nature. But how feeble an argument this is: These two natures are ioyned together, therefore that which is graunted to the one, must be attributed also to the other. This may bee shewed by the like: The body of the sonne and the light thereof, haue betweene them a naturall and excellent coniunction: yet the light extendeth not it selfe to euery place, whercunto the bodie doeth reallie attaine. In like manner the

Whether the bodie of Christ be euerywhere. Iohn.3.13.

A precept of Augustine.

A similitude.

the bodie, our eyes and sight, are verie much ioyned one with an other, and yet doth our sight attaine to manie things vnto which the eye of the bodie extendeth not. Afterward they argue that vnto the bodie of Christ, manie things must be granted besides the common course and conditions of other bodies: and that for two causes: partly because it is glorified, and partlie because it hath the word ioyned with it. We confesse that many things are to be giuen, but, to bee euerie where, this cannot be fit for it, the nature of mans bodie preserued. And if wee shoulde graunt this vnto it, it were not to bring renowne but ruine thereunto, for then it should be extruded from his owne nature. Moreouer it doeth not much further this matter, because although we should graunt that the bodie of Christ hath this in it, that it can be in manie places, yet would it not therof follow that God would deale so in this sacrament.

A similitude.

69 Moreouer they indeuour to proue this corporall presence, by the similitude of a teacher. Who seeing he can extend his wordes vnto many hearers, in them he communicateth vnto the hearers the concept of his mind, so as all they vnderstand him fullie alike: So saith he doth God deale in the words which bee vttered at the Sacrament. He foudeth his bodie in them, that by them he may be shewed in all these signes, and may be communicated vnto all that be receiuers. Wherefore that which is graunted vnto a maister, and that an earthly maister, why shall it not bee graunted vnto Christ? But the comparison is farre wide, and as wee saide before, words doe not discouer things or the concept of the minde, vnlesse it bee by way of signification. And that is to no purpole which afterwarde they goe about to proue that the body of Christ is euery where, out of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians (where it is saide: Christ is giuen to be the head of the bodie of the Church: which (as it is written in the greeke) is the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all things) For the Apostle meaneth not that the bodie of Christ filleth al things and is euery where as these men inferre. But because the signification of that verbe or participle πληρουμένου fulfilling, is doubtfull, (for it may bee taken both actiuely and passiuelie, seeing it is a verbe of the meane voyce) if thou vnderstand it passiuely according to the greeke exposition, the sense shalbe this: That Christ the head of the Church is filled as touching all things in all his members, not that he is accomplished in himselfe. For he is both sufficientlie perfect & happie. Howbeit, that must be vnderstoode in respect of the bodie & members. For as to be the head is giuen vnto him, so likewise the Church is vnderstoode to be the fulnes of Christ: namely for that it filleth and maketh perfect his mysticall body. But if the signification therof be actiue, then shal it be said that Christ is the head, because he himselfe perfecteth al the gifts and vertues in all his members. Neither is the sense that he, as he is man, is euery where. And it is thought that this maie bee proued by the Scriptures. For Christ openlie confesseth that Lazarus was dead when hee was not there. But if he wil sodenly, that he had not a glorified body, it maketh not much to the matter, because he had neuerthelesse the godhead ioyned with it. But to take away the doubt, the Angell now after the resurrection saide vnto the women: He is risen, he is not heere. And againe: He shall goe before you into Galile. And againe, He was taken away from their eyes as he ascended into heauen. Wherefore he filleth not all things nor is euerie where.

An exposition of a place to the Ephesians.

Christ as he is man, is not euery where.

Ioh.11.ver. 14.&15.

Matt.28. ver.6.& 7. Act.1.9.

70 They are wont also to cite a place in the 4. Chapter to the Ephesians: He that descended is the verie same that ascended ouer all heauens, that hee might fill all things. Which place notwithstanding proueth nothing, and is expounded two manner of wayes. First that to fill all things is referred vnto that which is prophesied and written of Christ. Wherefore a little before he cited the scripture: He ascended on high, he led captiuitie captiue and gaue gifts vnto men. And if thou wilt referre it vnto places, thou must vnderstand this of the kindes of places, not of each one place particularlie, according to that sentence, The Lord would haue all men to be saued. So shall we say that Christ sometime occupied the middle places, sometime the higher places, and otherwhile the lower places, as in the sepulchre. The Transubstantiators say, that this belonged not vnto them, because they say not that the bodie of Christ is euery where, but onelie where the Sacrament is: yea rather it is against them. For if (as they iudge) it be not repugnant to the bodie of Christ, to be at one time and together in xx. or fiftie places, it will not be repugnant to be in an hundreth or in a thousand, and finallie in all places: and so will they make the bodie of Christ to be infinite, neither is there any cause why thou shouldst accuse the fame of the Argument. For the selfesame did Ierom vse against Iohn Bysshop of Ieruſalem, where he would proue that our

Verse.10.

An other place to the Ephesians expounded.

Verse.8.

1.Tim.3.4.

Reasons against the second opinion.

Verse.51.

1.Cor.10. ver.1.3.&c

If the bodie of Christ may be ioyned together in many places, it may also be euery where, whichthing also Scotus saith.

our bodies after resurrection, can remaine without meate. For Elias (saith he) and Moses by the power of God could remaine without meate for the space of 40 dayes, therefore might man for more dayes also be sustained by the power of God. And if for longer time, it followeth that for euermore if it be the will of God. But to returne to those men, they, because they see, that vppon so neere a coniunction it followeth, that the Sacrament may be adored (for if the Lord be corporally and really contained therein, who will not worship him?) they teach that it is free for thee to doe it or not doe it. For they say: although he be there, yet is he not there to the end he should be worshipped. If thou receaue him and eate him, it is enough: if also thou worship him, thou errest not. But we rather iudge, that in worshipping we should not conuert our minde vnto the signes. But if any man while the rite of the Sacrament is exercised, being well instructed in the mysterie shall turne his minde to the worshipping of Christ reigning in heauen, he doth rightlie, and his bounden duetie to worship Christ, which declareth himselfe vnto him: neither is idolatrie committed therein. And this Paul taught in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, when he saith: If a man enter into your congregation, if he be vnlearned and a plaine man, and heare you all speake together in tongues, doubtlesse he wil say: They be mad, neither shall he be edified: but if he shall heare you prophesie, and shall perceiue that the secretes of his heart be opened, then will he fall downe vppon his face and woorship God. He will not worship men in such wise prophesying, but seeing the Lord is there reuealed vnto him, he will turne himselfe to the worshipping of God.

The abuse: Carries teach not to be free to adore or not to adore the Sacrament.

1.Cor.14.33

7 The reasons in breefe, for the which their grosse iudgemēt seemeth not to be true, are these, to wit, that this reall and corporal presence bringeth therewith no vtilitie, which we receiue not aswell by the spirituall presence. For in the 6. of Iohn, the Lord promised to them that eate him, eternall life: further that he would dwel in them and they in him: ouer and besides these thinges what is required? Moreouer it might not be graunted that we and the fathers of the olde lawe had the selfesame Sacramentes: because it was not possible that the olde fathers could haue obtained this reall presence, for that the sonne of God had not as yet taken vpon him humane flesh. Further it would follow,

1. that both the godlie and the wicked doe eate
2. the bodie of Christ. Againe, besides that spirituall eating which we haue in the 6. of Iohn, they bring in an other carnall and corporall eating, which cannot be allowed, seeing this eating and that be all one, saying that in the latter are added signes, for the more confirmation of the thing. Finally
3. it followeth, that when they attribute so much vnto wordes, they are in the same difficultie wherein the Transubstantiators be when they say, This is my bodie. For they cannot expresse their meaning, that they may speake plainelie without contradiction, what they would declare, and how the wordes while they be vttered may be true, if they admit not a figure. They spread abroad the bodie of Christ, that it may be together in manie places, and euery where. Neither is
4. it of force if they say, Not locallie, because although he be there, as Angels are said to be in a place, that is not fit for the creature as it is proued before by Didimus, Basill, Augustine vnto Dardanus, and by Cyrill: which places, thou shalt finde at the end of the first disputation against Tresham: The wordes of the scripture driue vs not to so grosse and corporall a presence: and faith is of the word of God, wherefore faith ought not to imbrace the same.

Mat.24.28.

8 Besides this, the fathers teache otherwise, for what maner of bodie is in the Eucharist, Cyprian in his Sermon of the Lordes supper sheweth, when he saith: Who vnto this day created, sanctifieth & blesseth his most true and holie bodie, and diuideth it vnto the godlie receiuers. The proper bodie of Christ is not created or sanctified of men, neither yet is it diuided. Chrysostome vpon Matthew the 5. Chapter in the 11. homilie in the vnfinished worke: If therefore it bee so dangerous to transferre vnto priuate vses these vessels sanctified wherein is not contained the true bodie of Christ, but a mysterie of his bodie, &c. And how we must ascend into heauē when we communicate, if we would inioy the bodie of Christ, the same father declareth vppon the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 10. Chapter, Homilie 24. He commaundeth vs that with great concord and charitie we come vnto him, and being made Eagles in this lyfe, we should fly vnto the very heauen or rather aboue heauen. For where (saith he) the dead carkas is, there also are the Eagles be. The carkas is the bodie of the Lord by reason of his death. For vnlesse he had fallen, we had not risen againe. And he calleth vs Eagles, to shew that he which commeth vnto this bodie must mount on high, & must haue no communitie with the earth, and must not lay holde vppon, or drawen vnto inferiour thinges, but alwaies

fly

fly aloft and loke into the sonne of righteousnesse, and haue a most readie eye of the minde: for this is a table of Eagles and not of Jayes. Againe the same father vpon Matthew the 26. Chapter, Homilie 83. They were about to iourney frō Egypt into Palestina, and therefore they did weare the habit of a traueler: thou from the earth must ascend into heauen. And in the 3. boke *De Sacerdotio*: Dost thou thinke to dwell among mortal men, and to stay and be in the earth? And dost thou not rather thinke that thou shalt forthwith be translated into heauen? And in casting away all cogitation of ẏ flesh, doest thou not with a single heart and pure minde consider those things that be in heauē?

73 Augustine vnto Boniface hath all these things after the same order and sense. The time of Easter being at hand, hee saith: As this yeare the next day saue one Christ dyed, and on the Sonday: This day Christ rose againe. Baptisme is faith: and the Sacrament of the bodie of Christ is the bodie of Christ. And wee see that in all the sayings which we haue reckoned, that which is absent, is really pronounced of that which is present. The same Father vpon the 54. Psalme: The head was in heauen: and he saide, Why doest thou persecute mee? Wee are with him in heauen by hope, he is with vs in the earth by loue. And in the 119. Epistle to Ianuarius: Wherefore to that persecutor whom with his voyce he slue, and translating him into his bodie after a foyt hath eaten, he founded frō heauen: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou mee? Vpon Iohn the 30. Treatise, and we haue it in the Title *de Consecratione* distinction the 2. yet the first in deede, The Lord is aboue, but here also is the truth of the Lord: For the Lords body wherin he rose againe, ought to be in one place: his trueth is euerywhere spread. Also vpon Iohn the 50. Treatise: For according to his Maiestie, according to his prouidence, according to this vnspeakeable & inuisible grace is fulfilled that which was spoke by him: Behold I wilbee with you vntill the ende of the world. But according to the flesh which the Word take vpon it, according to that which was borne of the Virgin, according to that which was taken holde of by the Iewes, which was fastened to the tree, which was taken downe from the crosse, which was wrapped in cloathes, which was buried in the sepulchre, which was made manifest in the resurrection, Ye shall not alwaies haue mee with you. Wherefore after he had beene conuersant as touching his bodilis presence fourtie daies with his Disciples, they leading him forth, while they saw him, but not followed him, he ascended into heauen, and is not here: for there he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and is here: for he departed not with the presence of his Maiestie: we haue Christ alwaies. As touching the presence of the flesh, it was rightlie saide vnto the Disciples: Me ye shal not haue alwaies. For the Church had him but a fewe daies as touching the presence of the flesh. Nowe it houldeth him by faith, it seeth him not with the eyes. And ẏ same Father vpon the Epistle of Iohn at the end: Wherefore our Lord Iesus Christ did for this cause ascend into heauen on the fortie daie, bee in this respect commended his bodie, because it was to be left on the earth in his members, for that he sawe that many would honor him for that he ascended into heauen, and perceaued that their honoring is vnprofitable, if they tread downe his members vppon the earth. And that none might be deceaued, nor when he should worship the head in heauen, should oppresse the feete vppon the earth, he tould them, where his members should be. For when he was about to ascend, he spake the last wordes, after these wordes he spake no more vppon the earth. The head being about to ascend into heauen, commended his members vppon the earth, and so departed. Thou shalt not now finde Christ to speake vppon the earth. Thou findest him to speake, bowbeit in heauen, and out of heauen it selfe. Wherefore? because the members were ouertrodden vppon the earth. For vnto Paul the persecuter he said, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou mee? I ascended into heauen, but I lie still vpon the earth. Here I sit at the right hand of the father, there I still hunger, thyrst, and am a straunger. After what sort then commended he his bodie vpō the earth being about to ascend? When his disciples had demaunded of him: Lord, if thou wilt at this time be presented, when wilt thou restore the kingdome of Israel? He aunswered vpon his departure, It is not for you to know the time, which the father hath layd vp in his owne power: but ye shal receaue the power of the holy spirit comming vppon you, ye shall be witnesses vnto me in Ierusalem. Behold in what respect he speaketh out his bodie: behold, when he wil not be trodden vppon, ye shal be my witnesses in Ierusalem, and ouer all Iury and Samaria, and vnto the endes of the earth. Behold I lie which doe ascend: For I ascend because I am the head: my bodie yet still lyeth. In what sort doth it lie? Ouer the whole earth.

74 Vnto Augustine, Cyrillus doth consent

sent, who saith vppon Iohn the 6. boke and 14. Chapter: Here must we note, that although he take from hence the presence of his bodie, euen as he promised that he would be away from his disciples, yet in the maiestie of his Godhead he is alwayes present. Behold I am with you alwayes euen vntill the end of the world. And the same father in the 9. boke vppon Iohn the 21. Chapter: And Christ said that he would be with his disciples a little while, not because he would vtterly depart from them, for he is with vs alwayes euen vntill the end of the world, but because he would not liue together with the as he did before. For the time was now at hand, that he should goe euen into heauen vnto the father: And the faithfull ought to beleeue, that although he be absent from vs, in bodie, yet that we and all thinges are gouerned by his power, and that he is alwaies present with all men which loue him. Therefore he said: Verilie verilie I say vnto you, that whersoeuer two or three be gathered in my name, there am I in the middest of them. For euen as when he was conuersant vppon the earth as man, he then also filled the heauens, and left not the fellowship of the Angels: after the same manner now he being in the heauens filleth not the earth with his flesh, and yet is with them that loue him. And it must be obserued that although hee should be absent onely according to the flesh (for he is alwayes present by the power of the Godhead, as we haue said) yet he said he would be a little while with his disciples, manifestlie naming him selfe, that none should be so hardie as diuide Christ into two sonnes. Among these comes Vigilius, which in ẏ 1. boke against Eutiches writeth: The sonne of God as concerning his humanitie departed from vs: as concerning his Godhead he saith vnto vs: Behold I am with you vnto the end of the world. And straightway after: Because whome he left & from whom he departed with his humanitie, he neither left nor forsoke them with his diuinitie. For according to the forme of a seruant, which he toke frō vs into heauen, he is absent from vs: according to the forme of God wherewith he departeth not from vs, he is present with vs vppon the earth: yet both present and absent he is one and the selfe same to vs. Also in the 4. boke: If of the Word and the flesh the nature be all one, how is it, that saeing ẏ word is euery where, the flesh also is not found euery where? For when hee was in the earth, hee was not also in heauen, and now because hee is in heauen, verilie he is not vppon the earth. And it importeth not much, that we

Mat.18.20

Mat.26.11.

The thing aduersaries really spoken of the thirtie precept.

Acts.9.4.

Fulgentius

Vigilius.

Acts.9.4.

Acts.1.6.

Iohn.2.17.

Iohn.11.14.

should expect Christ to come out of heauen as touching the flesh it selfe, whom we beleeue to be with vs vppon the earth as concerning the Word. Therefore as you will haue it, either the Word is contained in a place with his flesh, or the flesh with the word is euerywhere: because one nature both not receaue a thing contrarie or diuers in it selfe: But it is a thing diuers and farre vnlyke, To be limited in a place, and to be euery where. For asmuch then as the word is euerywhere, but the flesh thereof is not euery where, it appeareth that one and the selfesame Christ is of both natures: That both he is euerywhere according to his diuine nature, and that according to the nature of his humanitie he is contained in a place: that he is created, and that he hath no beginning: that he is subiect vnto death, and that he cannot dye. And straightway he addeth: This is the Catholick faith and confession, which the Apostles haue taught, the Martyrs haue confirmed, and the faithfull doe to this day keepe.

75 Moreouer Fulgentius vnto Trasimundus ẏ King, ẏ 2. boke: One & the selfesame man, locall of a man, which is God inmensible of the father, one and the selfesame, according to humane substance, absent out of heauen when he was in earth, and forsaking the earth when he ascended into heauen: but as touching the diuine and immensible substance, neither leaning heauen when he descended out of heauen, neither forsaking the earth when he ascended into heauen. And this appeareth certainlie by the allmed word of the Lord himselfe: who to shew that his humanitie was locall, said vnto his disciples, I ascend vnto your father and my father, vnto my God and to your God. Of Lazarus also, when he had said: Lazarus is dead, he added saying, I am glad because of you that ye may beleeue because I was not there. He shewed vndoubtedlie the infinite greatnesse of his diuinitie vnto his Apostles, saying: Beholde I am with you euen to the end of the world. How ascendeth he into heauen, but for that he is in a place as very man? Or how is he present with his faithfull, sauing because he is one immensible and very God? The same father in the 3. boke: The very same and inseparable Christ, as touching his flesh onelie, rose out of the sepulchre. The very same and inseparable Christ, according to the whole man which he receaued, forsaking the earth locallie, ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of God. According to the selfesame man, he shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and to crowne the faithful and godlie. Lastlie Bernard vppon the Canticles the 33.

Fulgentius

Bernard.

Sermon: I also haue the word, but in the flesh, and before me is set the trueth, howbeit in a Sacrament. The Angell is fatned, but yet with the fatnesse of Cozne, and is now filled with graine. In the meane time it behoueth me to be content, with the barke of the Sacrament, with the bzanne of the flesh, with the chaffe of the letter, with the couering of faith. And these thinges be such as being talked bzing death, if they haue not receaued some sealoning of the first fruites of the spirit. Death is altogether to me in the potte, vnleste it should be lweetened by the little meale of the Prophet. But certainelie in how great abounda̅ce soeuer these things doe ware fatte, the booke of the Sacrament and the fatte of the wheate, faith and hope, memozie and presence, eternitie and time, the village and a glalle, the Image of GOD and the fozme of a seruant, are not receaued with like pleasantnesse. Werilie in all these thinges, faith vnto me is rich and the vnderstanding poze. And is the sauour of faith and vnderstanding all one, when as this tendeth vnto merit, and that vnto reward? Thou seest that there is almuch difference betweene the meats, as betweene the places. And euen as the heauens are exalted from the earth, so are the inhabitantes therein. Here thou plainelie seest that Bernard maketh an Antithesis oz contrarie comparison betweene the remembzance and presence of a thing, and speaketh of many other thinges which serue much to that we haue in hand. But let vs returne vnto ẏ aduersaries: they haue fathers to oppose against vs. They haue Irenæus who saith that the Eucharist consisteth of two thinges: the one earthlie, and the other heauenlie, the which also Gelasius supposeth. Howbeit these thinges conclude not vnleste thou shalt vnderstand the whole Sacrament, so that thou make it one thing consisting of the signe and the thing signified, then we graunt that it standeth of two partes. But if afterward thou wouldest appoint so great a coniunction betweene the bread & the bodie of Christ as is betweene the diuine and humane natures in Christ, that should in no wise be graunted, because it were neccllarie that of bread and of the bodie of Christ, should be made one substance, that is one subiect, so as they might neuer be sundzed one from an other, the which is most absurd. Out of the other fathers they obiect in a manner the very same which the Transubstantiatours cited before.

4. Kings.

After what maner the Sacrament may be said to consist of two things.

76 Now let vs see, what they which imbzase the third opinion saie against these men. First they admit not that same scattering of ẏ body of Christ, so as it can be euery where, because it is against the ꝓpertie of mans nature. And Augustine vnto Dardanus doth most plainly write otherwise. Furthermoze they contend that the eating set forth in the 6. of Iohn and this last eating is altogether one, sauing that in this are added signes. And that they ꝓue by this Argument, that Iohn when he made mention of his eating at the ende of the Gospell, spake not of the institution of the Sacrament as doe the other Euangelistes: For that he had sufficiently taught before. And the Summe of doctrine which they omitted, Iohn in the 6. Chapter fulfilled. And there is not therefoze any cause (say they) why any man should say, that the communion is therefoze superfluous, because in often communicating we celebzate the memozie of the Lozde: and thankes giuing, and the minde is stirred vp with a likeneste of those things which be represented. Neither are they dumbe, but speaking signes which be there. Further a certaine ꝓfuite taken is there, wherby the Christians doe make themselues to be ioyned one with an other, and with Christ. Moreouer they ꝓfesse their faith as touching the bodie of Christ nailed vpon the Crosse, and his blood shed for our saluation. For it is not enough to beleeue with the heart, but confession also must be with the mouth: and not onelie with the mouth, but with outward actions. Neither doe they admit it (as these men saie) that the wicked also doe receiue the bodie of Christ. For sense and reason attaine not vnto it. Wherefoze it remaineth that he be receaued by faith, wherof they being destitute, can haue nothing but the signes. And Paule writeth: He that shall eate the bread vnworthilie, and saith not: He that eateth the bodie vnworthilie.

The third opinion described.

The cruell mockeries commeth by the Censuring.

That the wicked receiue not the bodie of Christ.

77 Furthermoze they wonder at them which follow the contrarie opinion, that vnto that cozpozall eating of Christ they attribute remission of sinnes: for so much as this is to admit *Opus operatum*, that is merite, in respect of the verie act of working. Neither is remission of sinnes had otherwise than by faith. Afterward they sticke vnto the saying of Paule, when the Lozde commaundeth this to be done in the remembzance of him, and that his death should bee shewed: which wozdes seeme vnto them to declare the absence of the body of Christ. But I haue elsewhere shewed, that this argument is not verie firme, vnleste they meane as touching the bodie of Christ reallie and cozpozally and naturallie to be present. Otherwise when it is receaued by faith, it is not vnderstoode to be altoge-

Remission of sinnes if had by faith not for the worke wrought of him that eateth. Whether it be the eating of faith or receiuing not by the power of the words but by the working of the holie Ghost. 1. Cor. 11. ver. 24. 25. & 26.

altogether absent, although he remaine in heauen as touching his nature and substance. For he is spirituallie eaten, and is trulie ioyned with vs. Moreouer they cite the fathers, which doe plainelie pronounce, that the type, the signe and the figure here is the bodie of Christ. And they bzing in two similitudes. One is of a friend, whose friend being absent bodilie, is saide to be present when he thinketh of him. The other they appoint to be of lokinggiasses which be about one, and the selfesame man, whose face and countenance is multiplyed throughout all the glasses, although he be not moued out of his place. Symilitudes I graunt these be, but yet ouer could to agree with this mysterie. For a friend being comprehended in the cogitation, and conuersant in the minde, changeth not him that thinketh vpon him: he nourisheth not his minde, neither yet doth he refloze his flesh whereby it might be capable of the resurrection. And this similitude of the glasses, is a verie slender shadow, neither must it be compared to that coniunction which we haue with Christ. For the presence that wee confesse of the spirite of Christ hath the power of the holie ghost ioyned therewith, which most neerelie coupleth vs vnto him. But yet the foresaide similitudes are not vtterly to be refused seeing they maie after a sozt leade vs to the trueth of the matter, so that they make not the things equall. For they shewe how this receauing maie be with faith and with the mind. But they haue made mention of two coniunctions with Christ: One is, that by faith wee apprehend his bodie was nailed to the crosse, and his bloud shed for our saluation. Another is, that the sonne of God himselfe take our verie nature vpon him. And so is there a naturall coniunction betweene vs and Christ, whereof there is mention in the 2. Verse. 14. Chapter to the Hebzues. But there is a certaine third coniunction, which we enter into with Christ in eating of him spirituallie, whereof they doe not manie times speake, although they passe it not ouer altogether in silence. But as touching that, we will intreat a little after. Now if these men be demaunded, whether Christ be present at the supper of the Lozd, they answere that he is present. Howbeit this they speake by the figure Synecdoche, because the one part of Christ that is his Godhead, is trulie present. Otherwise in expounding the sentence of the Lozd: This is my bodie, they vse the figure Metonymia, to wit, the name of the signe for the thing signified. And they graunt that Christ himselfe after that sozt is present;

Two similitudes.

Christ by his godhead is truelie present in ẏ supper.

A similitude.

How present maiesty & thing.

Gal. 3. 1.

What in those opinions is to be receiued & refused.

That betweene the bodie of Christ and the signes, Luther put no other but a sacramentall coniunction.

What in I allowe not that grosse knitting together of the bodie of Christ with bread, so as it should be naturallie, cozpozallie, and reallie comprehended therein. For the holy Scripture dzyueth vs not thus to affirme. And to multiply & increase so many myracles without the testimonie therof, is not to deale like a diuine. And further such a presence is not necessarie, and is of no moment to our saluation. Against that the wicked receiue the bodie of Christ I allow not. For what soeuer the Lozd instituted, that did he that it might be for our health. But a fleshlie and cozpozall eating helpeth not the saluation of the wicked. Therfoze Christ appointed no such eating. And whatsoeuer the wicked do eate cozpozallie, it ought not to be said, that they eate the body of Christ, vnleste vnto the signe and seale thou wilt attribute the name of the thing. Further we will not graunt that the bodie of Christ is euerie where, oz that it is spread ouer all oz manie places, because this is against the humane nature. Neyther must we in like maner iudge that there is a difference betweene the spirituall eating which is in the 6. Chapter of Iohn, and that which the Lozd instituted in the last supper, sauing vnto that doctrine & promise which he had first taught, he added a Seale. That also which they speake doubtfullie of adora-

the first opinion must not be allowed.

That the wicked eate not the bodie of Christ.

tion, must not be admitted. For we taught before: and that plainly and manifestly what we must iudge of that matter. And thus much as concerning this opinion. From the which I thinke good, that those things be taken away which I haue now recited.

What is not to be allowed in the other opinion.

79 And in the other it liketh me not, that they seldome make mention of a sacramentall chaunging of the breade and wine, which neuertheleese is no light matter. And the Fathers, wheresoeuer they seeme to fauour transubstantiation, haue a respect vnto the same. And the holy Scriptures contemned it not. For Paul euen in the very handling of the Sacrament, nameth not simply, 1.Co.11.27 The Cup: but The Cup of the Lord. Further we see in the olde Testament that things which were offered, are not onelie called holy, but holy of holy, that is in the Hebrewe phrase, most holy. Wherefore there is no cause why they should say that this change is of light importaunce, seeing it is of great moment. But if they pretend that they doe this, because we should not cleaue ouer much to signes: we answere, that a remedie may easily be had for this euill through the doctrine whereby men are taught, that Christ while we communicate, is ioyned vnto vs with an excellent coniunction, as he that dwelleth in vs and we in him: who also in the next degree is ioyned with woordes, and that by signification: Thirdly also he is coupled by signes & also by signification: which coniunction not withstanding is lesse than that which belongeth vnto woordes. Yea and of the former, to wit, the coniunction by the woordes, the signes doe take their sacramentall signification. If these things be rightly taught, there will be no daunger. I graunt that the writers of this opinion haue sometimes intreated of this sacramentall changing, yet but seldome.

The sacramentall change is not of smal importance but is affirmed by the Scriptures.

Christ in the Eucharist is ioyned vnto by by this degrees.

80 Furthermore they haue not alwayes applied thereunto that efficacie which is due vnto it: for these are not made common signes, but such as may mightily and effectually stirre vp the minde. They will say, that this will bee to attribute ouermuch to the elements of this woorld. We answer that these things are not attributed vnto those elements for themselues sake, but because of the institution of the Lord, the power of the holy Ghost and plainnesse of the woordes. If they shall demaunde: howe may I knowe that the holy Ghost worketh here? It may be easily answered, because it is already ordained that this is a spirituall eating. But howe shall we eate spiritually without the holy Ghost? As touching the institution of

Of the efficacie of the sacrament.

The action of the holie Ghost commeth while the Communion is in hand.

the Lord, there is no doubt: and of the efficacie of the woord, the scriptures speake euery where. Paul sayeth, That the Gospell is the power of God vnto saluation: namely that God will declare his power by this instrument: and what else is the Eucharist, than the Gospell or visible woord? Also Paul saieth, That faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God: not that the woord maketh vs to beleeue, for it is the spirit by whom we beleeue: but he vseth the instrument of woords and also of sacraments which be the sensible woords of God. For who knoweth not that the creatures are sanctified by the woorde of God as it is in the Epistle to Timothie? Which also must be rightly vnderstoode. For it is the holy Ghost which in very deede doth sanctifie. Howbeit he doeth this by the instrument both of the woord and sacraments. Wherefore this changing must not be taken from breade and wine, whereby they are made effectuall signes of the bodie and blood of Christ: that is, by the which the spirit of the Lord worketh mightily and not meanely in vs, so that we be indued with faith and godlinesse. For we speake not here of an efficacie which may binde our saluation to the things of this woorlde. Neither let any man here crie out that seeing this receiuing is had by faith, what shal the communicants gaine; because if they be faithfull, they haue Christ alreadie ioyned vnto them: It may be easily answered: In deede he is ioyned vnto them, but he is euerie day more nerely ioyned vnto vs, & while we communicate he is more and more vnited vnto vs. Howsoeuer this commeth to passe, that we should satisfie the commandement of the Lord, who commanded that we should eate and drinke this Sacrament. Otherwise thou wilt say the verie selfesame of Baptisme. For when as a man beleeueth he is straightwaie iustified, and hath remission of sinnes, and yet is he not in vaine baptized. But if so be thou wilt demaund whether this efficacie of the Eucharist is towards all men alike, I answer, No: but according to the state and measure of the faith of the communicants. Euen as Origen saide vppon the 15. Chapter of Matthew: namely, that the matter of this Sacrament profiteth not but by the woorde and by obseruation, it may helpe our mindes, according to the quantitie and proportion of faith.

Rom.1.16.

Rom.10.17.

1.Tim.4.5.

Whether the office of the Eucharist be towards all alike.

81 Another thing there is besides that I woulde often put these men in remembrance of, that we, by the Communion are incorporated vnto Christ. Which woorde is not newe, but is in Paule to the Ephesians, who saieth that the Gentiles are made

By the Communion we are incorporated vnto Christ

Coheires and of the same bodie, which in Greeke is called σύσσωμα. For although wee affirme that the apprehension or holding fast of the bodie of Christ is done by faith, yet vpō this fast holding followeth an effect, euen a true coniunction with Christ, not a fained or imagined: the which first belongeth vnto the soule, secondly it redoundeth to the bodie. And the same in the holie scriptures is commended to vs by Paul vnder a metaphor of the head and bodie, when he calleth vs members of one and the selfesame bodie vnder Christ the head: & vnder the state of Mariage, wherein two are made one flesh. The which, that Cyrill might expresse, he brought in a similitude of molten ware, which is mingled with other ware, and so of two is made one: Thus would he haue vs to bee ioined with Christ. And to this purpose specially, make the woordes vnto the Ephesians, wherein we are saide to be flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones: which woords if thou looke vpon at the first viewe will appeare that it ought otherwise to be saide: to wit that the sonne of God is of our flesh, and of our bones, because he assumed flesh of mankind. Howbeit Paul vnderstoode not, meere flesh, but flesh cleane from sinne, capable of resurrection and immortalitie. The which seeing the faithfull haue not of themselues, neither deriue it frō Adam, they claime it vnto them by Christ, because they be incorporated vnto him by the sacraments and by faith. Wherefore there happeneth a certaine enterance of Christ, into vs, and a spiritual touching: the which Paul weighed, when he said vnto the Galathians, But now it is not I that liue, but Christ liueth in mee. Neither is there any neede in these respectes to drawe Christ out of heauen or to disperse his body into infinite places, for somuch as all this that we teach is spirituall: and yet notwithstanding no fained thing: for imagined sightes, Idols, or fained things doe not nourish the minde, as here we be certaine that it is done. For we haue saide, and we confirme it, that these signes doe both signifie, and offer, and most truely exhibite the bodie of Christ, although spiritually, that is, to bee eaten with the minde, not with the mouth of the bodie. But if thou shalt demand, after what manner the Fathers of the olde Lawe in their Sacramentes could haue the same that wee haue: it is easie to bee aunswered, seeing wee haue affirmed that in this Sacrament the thing is vsed spiritually, not corporally. And in the Apocalyps we reade, That the Lambe was slaine from the beginning of the world. They waited for things to come, wee celebrate the memorie of them already done. Lastly we haue shewed that great heede must be taken least that which we speake of spirituall eating be vnderstoode as though it destroyed the truth of his presence. For Augustine saide vpon the 54. Psalme, that the bodie of the Lorde, is in a certaine place in heauen, but that the trueth of the Lordes bodie is euerie where. For wheresoeuer the faithfull be, they apprehend that Christ had a true bodie giuen for vs, and so they doe eate him by faith.

Ephe.3.6.

Whether Christ be of our flesh, as we of his.

A falling in of Christ into vs.

Gal.2.20.

How the forefathers vsed the same thing in their Sacraments that we haue in vse.

82 Wherefore I haue nowe spoken in this sacramentall matter that which in my iudgement ought to be affirmed, being according to the Scriptures, which I woulde the godly reader woulde well consider and take in good part. And God of his goodnesse graunt that at the length the Church of Christ may obtaine both trueth and quietnesse as touching this sacrament. Which two things I therefore wish because hitherto I see that the Eucharist whereof we intreate hath bin so ouerwhelmed, buried and defaced with lies, craftie deuises and superstitions, as it might rather be iudged any other thing than that which the Lord instituted in the supper. The which least it should easilie be cleansed, the Diuell which is the most greeuous enimie of all peace and truth, hath sowne so manie opinions, contentions, disagreements, heresies, and controuersies, (sauing that they bee without bloud) that scarcelie any consent woorthie of Christians can in mans reason be hoped for. But these things (alas) we suffer not without cause, who haue done double iniurie vnto this Sacrament, partlie for that in stead of a notable and singular gift of Christ, we haue erected an execrable Idol, and partly because we haue without sinceritie of faith, with a conscience defiled with grieuous sinnes, & without sufficient triall of our selues abused these most holy mysteries. I beseech ỹ Lord to take pitie of so great a calamitie, and vouchsafe at length to restore vnto his Church a reformed Eucharist, and the right vse of the same: through our Lord Iesus Christ. Amen.

Looke the Exhortation to the Supper of the Lorde. Also looke his Confession and opinion touching this whole matter. Item the disputations with Treisham, &c At the end of these Common places.

The end of the Treatise of the Eucharist.

A short abridgement of the disputation which D. P. Martyr made as concerning *the Eucharist against Gardiner, Byshop of Winchester.*

THe matter of the Eucharist according as the Lorde deliuered the same vnto vs, is both plaine and easie to be knowen: which, if it were handled according to the iudgement and sense of the holy scriptures, and that there were a consideration had of the humane nature of Christ, and of the receaued definition of the Sacrament, there should be no great paynes taken either in the vnderstanding or handling of the same. Howbeit by reason of the contention and importunitie of the aduersaries, it is become more intricate than any blinde labyrinth, and it is come in a manner to passe, that through contention wee haue well neere forgone the trueth: for they, rather thā they would giue place to ꝑ right and best opinion: yea that they may by all maner of meanes defend their monstrous deuises rather than the truth, they haue vsed all kinde of counterfeiting cauillations and deceiueable wayes. Whereupon when I of late daies was diligent to encounter with the huge armie of their cauils and sophisticall Arguments, and should answere ꝑ same with as much diligence as I could, ꝑ volume grew in a manner to an exceeding greatnesse. Fearing therefore least godly men when they come to take my book in hand, being ouermuch tyred with long reading, should returne as vncertaine as before (for seeing the reasons on both sides, and those sometimes but lately and newlie deuised, it is not possible but those which be the later should obscure the memorie of those that went before, or in a manner make them to be quite forgotten) I minded straightway to set ꝑ matter before mens eyes in a certaine abridgement or resolution, which the Grecians call ἀνάλυσιν, that those which shall reade my writings, or be minded to reade them, or haue alreadie read them, may haue present and at their hand certaine speciall notes no lesse plaine than briefe, whereunto they may easilie referre al wel the Argumentes as the answeres of the disputation. And this (if I be not deceiued) will in such disputations be no lesse helpe vnto the readers than an assured sight of the loade starre is vnto the Mariners when they be tossed too and fro in the deepe Sea. Which therefore being boone of me with a good and faithfull minde, I would haue all good and godlie men to take in good part, and most diligentlie cōsider the methode so deuised by me, and then courteoullie to giue their iudgemēt according to the word of God. But I will make no longer preface, since an abridgement requires asmuch shortnesse as is possible.

That the wordes of the Supper are to be vnderstood figuratiuelie.

First vndoubtedlie in the Sacramēt of the Eucharist we affirme that the bread and the wine (which the holy scriptures, the fathers, and the sense it selfe doe testifie to be there present) be signes of the bodie and bloud of the Lord: verilie not prophane or vulgar signes, but such as were wont to be assigned in other mysteries.

Contrariwise our aduersaries affirme those signes to be properlie and truly ꝑ body & bloud of Christ. We demaund how they know them so to be. Because (saie they) Christ said, This is my bodie. But we interpret the saying of our sauiour by that forme of speach or kinde of figure, whereby chiefly in Sacramentes, signes are woont to be called by the names of the thinges signified.

This opinion of ours doe they withstand, and say that the wordes of Christ are not figuratiue, but altogether proper and simple.

I.

It is obiected by vs, that there is no certaine Argument to be gathered out of the historie of the Gospell, to proue that those wordes must be absolutelie vnderstood. For the supper of the Lord is plainelie set downe by Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Paul. In which places are perceaued many figures. The cup is called the new Testament: and yet is not the cup it selfe not the liquor contained therein the verie new Testament in deed.

II.

Those which receaue vnworthily are affirmed to eate and drink iudgement vnto themselues: and yet cannot iudgement bee properlie either eaten or drunken.

III.

Farre is it from the bodie of the Lord to be truelie eaten, for it is altogether a wicked thing that he should be broken, ground with the teeth, and dissolued.

IIII.

Our Sauiour said when he sate downe at the same board, that he earnestlie desired to eate the Passeouer with his disciples: but euerie man knoweth that Pesach it selfe, that is to say, the Passouer of the Lord, was not woont to be eaten in that solemnitie, but the Lambe.

V.

So often (saith Paul) in the 1. to the Corint. the 11. as ye shal drinke of this cuppe. Doe we drinke the cuppe or not rather that which is poured into the cuppe? Wherefore Paul spake in the most vsuall kinde of figure. Seeing then in declaring the Supper of the Lord, the Penmen of the holy spirit, haue vsed many figuratiue speaches: what dooth now let but that the saying This is my bodie, which we intreat of, was spoken of them figuratiuely?

VI.

I omit many other sentences of the holy scriptures, which euidentlie appeare to be expounded by figures of all such as iudge godlie: for if I would recken them vp, I should now make no abridgement, but a large booke: Therefore when we thus interprete this sentence of ours, we bring in no new thing or that which is repugnāt to the Scriptures.

VII.

That the wordes which are written in Paul and Luke as concerning the cuppe are spoken figuratiuely, as we haue alreadie taught, what attētiue reader seeth not that it cannot be iustlie denyed? Wherefore those thinges that Matthew & Marke wrote of that matter, must be vnderstood figuratiuely, vnlesse any will deny that the former sayinges must be expounded by the later: but that Paul and Luke wrote after Matthew and Marke, no man doubteth.

VIII.

Howbeit neither can that which Matthew and Marke teach as concerning the bloud, be vnderstood simply as it is spoken. Thus doe they write τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμά μου. And now what else can this pronoune τοῦτο signifie but the cup? For it is specified that Christ both tooke the same in his handes, and deliuered it to his Apostles. Neither doe Luke and Paul affirme any other thing whē they write that Christ said: This cuppe is the new Testament: But who dare teach ꝑ the cup is properlie the bloud? Wherefore let the wordes of Matthew & Marke be rightly weighed on the one part, and the words of Luke and Paul on the other, and then let thē deny if they can that there is a figure.

IX.

The aduersaries themselues, al-

though they be very desirous rather to follow their owne opinion thā the trueth, cānot interpret the wordes of the Lorde without the helpe of a figure. And I shew that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist it is not lawfull for them to pronounce of it, This is my bodie. Let them be ashamed therefore to blame vs for the which they themselues may iustly be of due desert be accused. Moreouer the very definitiō of a sacrament, that it is the signe of an holy thing, & a visible forme of inuisible grace dooth most of all defend our opinion. For by that commō receaued definition it is brought to passe that those thinges which be seene in the Eucharist be signes of the bodie and bloud of the Lord, vnlesse we will blot the Eucharist it selfe out of the number of the Sacraments.

X.

Neither can the formes of speaking which the holy scripture vseth, be otherwise expounded, sith by the visible part of the sacrament he pronounceth the thing it selfe which is signified. For how should Circumcision be called, The couenant of the Lord, vnlesse wee will say that the same is a signe thereof? Of this opinion is Paul the Author, who calleth Circumcision σφραγίδα, that is a signe or seale of the righteousnes obtained by faith. Baptisme is also called The washing of the new byrth: and in the olde Testament, The Lambe is called the Passouer, as we haue alreadie declared.

Rom.4.11

Tit.3.5.

XI.

Herewithall agree the Fathers, who in expresse wordes teach þ Christ gaue a signe of his bodie, That he gaue a figure, That hee represented his owne bodie, That the things which are seene be figures and paterns of the bodie & bloud of the Lorde. Cyprian, Cyrill, Augustine, Gelasius, and Theodoretus, doe most manifestly teach, that these signes are called by the names of the thinges which they signifie. Since therefore in the deliuerie of this sacrament the holy Scriptures doe admit figures, and the verie nature of a Sacrament requires the same, and that the Fathers doe most manifestly receyue them, shall we be blamed for vsing a figuratiue interpretation in expounding the wordes of the Lorde. These reasons alleaged, haue preuailed so greatly with some of our aduersaries, (such force hath the trueth) as they graunt that those things which be offered to the senses, namely the breade and wine, be signes of the bodie and bloud of Christ, but yet in such sort, as they haue present in them the things that be signified: but this is shewed by many reasons to bee most farre from the trueth.

That the figuratiue speeche of Christs words require no reall or substantiall presence of his body and bloud.

I.

First the Scriptures of God doe teach, that Christ as touching his humane nature is gone from hence, they declare his ascension into heauen, as it is set foorth in the Articles of the faith. They assure vs that Christ saith: that we shall not alwayes haue him with vs, but that heauē shall containe him vntill the latter day: and that he shal from thence come at the length to iudge the quicke and the dead.

II.

Againe it is not agreeable for a humane body to bee in many places at one time. Neither yet can it be graunted that it is present in the worlde without place: for these things are altogether repugnant with the definition of an humane body, vnlesse wee will take away a very true body from Christ. We must beware that we affirme not the same to bee scattered or present in many places at once.

III.

Neither hath the essence (as I may say) of the Angels which are without bodies, such a propertie as it can be in many places at one time.

Yea

IIII.

Yea and to say the trueth, if might not be eschued, but that euen the very nature of GOD, if it were bodily, should admit both diuision and limitation. Since therefore that these things be on this wise, euen as the fathers doe most fully testifie, it is altogether proued, that the body of Christ is subiect to these properties and qualities.

V.

Neither doeth the very nature of sacraments require that they shoulde haue the things signified eyther to be ioined vnto themselues or to containe them in themselues. But was the couenaunt of God included in the Circumcision? Truely the couenant was past, and it was alreadie made with the Fathers, before that Circumcision was commaunded to Abraham: and, if any of that couenant remained, that was wholy kept in the minde of God, and of faithfull men: but in the flesh was borne not the couenant it selfe but the signe thereof commanded by God. Againe þ paschall Lambe did not verilie include in it selfe þ passouer of the Lord. Also what man in his right minde would say that the flesh and bloud of the Lorde were included either in the water of the desert or in the Manna: and that in the water of þ Baptisme the spirit and grace are inuisiblie hidden? But and if in other Sacraments it be not giuen, & that of their owne nature, that they should haue the things present either to be cleauing to them or to be included in them: neither are we otherwise to determine as concerning the Eucharist, if þ nature or propertie therof ought to appeare vnto vs to be þ selfe same with other sacraments, especiallie since the word of God hath spoken nothing at all of the matter which we haue now in hande.

VI.

Moreouer since that Paule in the first to the Corinthians writeth that the olde fathers did eate the same spirituall meate with vs, and dranke the same spirituall drinke: and yet had they not present with them the flesh and bloud of Christ, since as yet they were not extant: and since these men affirme these things to bee present in the Eucharist, vndoubtedly it followeth that against the saying of Paul, the olde Fathers and we had not all the selfesame Sacramentes. In signes they doe not agree: for they had Manna and water, but we breade & wine. In the things signified they bee also diuers: for they by faith receiued the things signified being absent, as those which were afterward to come: but these men say that they receiue the thinges present together with the signes. Verily there can be imagined no greater difference in these Sacraments, than is to disagree as well in the signes, as in the things signified. And therefore let vs rather say with Paul that the sacraments of the olde Fathers, in the things signified are the selfesame that ours bee, although that their signes be diuers, and that they are received both of vs and them all after one manner, namely by faith. For they by faith receiued the flesh and bloud of Christ which were to be giuen for our saluation, and wee by faith and the spirit doe imbrace them as alreadie giuen.

1.Cor.10.3

VII.

Also if our aduersaries opinion should be admitted, it might not be auoided, but that as well the wicked as the godly shoulde eate and drinke the flesh and bloud of the Lord. But this doeth Christ the Author of the sacraments manifestly refute in the 6. of Iohn, where he saieth that his flesh and bloud is eaten and drunken by faith. See then (I pray you) that when þ wicked are destitute of faith, and be straungers from Christ, what communion haue they with the flesh and bloud of Christ? Doubtlesse they haue onely the signes to be receiued, and that to their owne condemnation: for neither is Christ in them, neyther

ther doe they abide in Chriſt.

VIII.

They are to bee demaunded alſo which affirme that the bloud of the Lord is preſent in this ſacrament, for what cauſe or vnder what colour they dare name that their ſacrifice an vnbloudie ſacrifice as they terme it. Surely if they will haue the bloud of the Lorde flowing from the Lordes ſide to be receiued in their Cuppe as Chryſoſtome ſaid, by an exceſſiue kind of ſpeech, let them indeuour the ſame as much as they will, as they knowe and as they can: yet ſhall they neuer bring to paſſe but that they muſt needes drinke bloudie drinke.

IX.

Truely ſuch is the nature of things repugnant as they can neuer be affirmed both at once, that is, at the ſelfe ſame time of one and the ſelfe ſame ſacrament. Wherefore the bodie of Chriſt cannot be together and at one time both aboue and beneath, viſible and inuiſible, one and many, mortall and immortall, broken and whole. This reaſon haue not we feined to our ſelues, but we haue taken it from Chriſt, from the Angels, from the Apoſtles, from the fathers, and from nature it ſelfe. For all theſe doe teſtifie that this cannot be all at once. Moreouer it were too long to rehearſe in how many places and writinges of the fathers they haue affirmed this abſence of the Lord accoꝛding to the fleſh.

X.

As though forſooth this preſence of the fleſh and bloud of the Lord, boaſted of and defended by theſe men in the Euchariſt, can, while the ſame is perfoꝛmed, bring any other profit thã we haue by a ſpirituall receauing, which (as we haue ſayd) is perfoꝛmed by faith and by the minde.

XI.

This finally we demaund of our aduerſaries, whether they iudge that there is the bodie of the Lord in the bread without bloud, and whether there is bloud in the wine without the bodie? If they ſay, there is, they diuide the humane nature by the two partes of ꝑ myſterie, which cannot be committed without impietie, ſince the bloud & bodie and humane nature of Chriſt are vnited by a perpetuall coniunction. But if they will ſay ꝑ theſe thinges bee together, and will feigne thoſe ſtrãge Concomitancies of theirs, this at the leaſtwiſe they cannot eſcape but that they ſhal double ꝑ bodie of Chriſt, to wit, wholy vnder the wine, and wholy vnder the bread, appointing the ſame (as they will haue it) vnder their Accidentes.

XII.

Laſtly there happeneth vnto the woꝛdes of Chriſt leſſe than is pronounced by them in the partes of the Sacrament, ſince they affirme the bread to be the bodie alone, and the wine to be the bloud alone.

Theſe be the principall and chiefe poyntes which are contained in my booke of confeſſion againſt Gardiner, as farre as concerne the Argumentes and confirmations of our part. And now this remaineth, that I lay before the courteous reader ſome ſayinges, as it were certaine ſentences, out of the which not onelie all our Argumentes in a manner are drawen, but whereby alſo the reaſons of our aduerſaries may eaſilie be confuted. And ſo all this diſputation will become both plaine and eaſie.

Sayinges or ſentences out of which &c.

I.

Chriſt in the holy ſupper called the very bread, his bodie, and the very wine his bloud: whereupon it commeth that they cannot vnderſtãd his woꝛdes This is my bodie ſimply and without a figure, ſince neither the bread noꝛ the wine can properly and truelie be the bodie & bloud of Chriſt.

II.

Theſe woꝛdes This is my bodie, and This is my bloud be figuratiue

ſoꝛmes of ſpeeche, whereby God pronounced of the outwarde ſignes the things which are ſignified.

III.

To eate the fleſh oꝛ the bodie of the Lorde, and to drinke his bloud, is to beleeue that theſe things were giuen foꝛ vs as a price of our redemption, and that vnto theſe are ioyned thoſe thinges which foꝛ our ſakes were taken awaꝝ vppon the croſſe.

IIII.

The humane nature of Chriſt from his aſcenſion into heauen vntill his laſt comming when he ſhall iudge the woꝛld, is no where elſe but in heauen.

V.

In the faithfull receauing of the Euchariſt, we are not onely in ſoule oꝛ minde thꝛough faith ioyned to the bodie and bloud of Chriſt, but we become partakers, of the ſpirit, grace, and vertue of the Lord, not in deed by the power of the woꝛdes, but thꝛough his goodneſſe and faithfull promiſe.

VI.

Wicked men doe not eate the very fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, except ſo far foꝛth as they vſe ꝑ outward ſignes, the bread I meane and the wine, which in their kinde of manner be, & are called, the bodie & bloud of Chriſt.

VII.

We are no leſſe ioyned to Chriſt in baptiſme, thã we be in the Euchariſt: Wherefore the preſence of him and the receauing of him, which is ſpirituall, is to be affirmed alike in both.

VIII.

The fathers in the olde Teſtament did eate the bodie and bloud of Chriſt as touching the matter it ſelfe no otherwiſe than we doe.

IX.

Onely the faithfull doe truely and ſpirituallie receaue the bodie & bloud of the Lord, and that by faith, inaſmuch as it is the onely inſtrument of ioyning vs vnto Chriſt.

X.

Our bodies after a certaine manner are nouriſhed and reſtoꝛed to eternall life by the bodie and bloud of Chriſt.

XI.

We our ſelues by a faithfull participation of the Lordes ſupper, are fed vp, and in a maner tranſelementated by a certaine kinde of ſpirituall change into the bodie of Chriſt.

XII.

By the incarnation of the ſonne of God, we communicate with him in fleſh and bloud, foꝛſomuch as we beleeue he tooke our fleſh vppon him: and on the otherſide while in communicating we imbꝛace thꝛough faith his bodie and bloud which were giuẽ foꝛ vs vnto death, we are ſpiritually made partakers of them.

XIII.

The woꝛd of the holy ſcriptures, oꝛ the hearing, oꝛ ſenſe [of them] in aſmuch as it is receaued by faith, is the bodie of Chriſt, and the bread whereby our mindes are nouriſhed.

XIIII.

The congregation of beleeuers is the bodie of Chriſt, whereof he himſelfe is the head, and we alſo both are and are called his members.

XV.

The poore & thoſe which be oppreſſed foꝛ the name of Chriſt be his bodie: Thereupon came that voyce vnto Paul: Why doeſt thou perſecute me?

XVI.

Miracles that haue otherwhile bin ſhewed about the ſignes of the Euchariſt, doe neither proue a change of the ſubſtance of the Elementes thereof, neither yet a reall and ſubſtantiall preſence of the bodie.

XVII.

A ſpirituall preſence of the bodie vnto them which doe communicate without doubt ſignifieth not, to be inuiſiblie, but yet properlie preſent as the Papiſtes ſay: but that it be preſent to our faith and ſpirite no otherwiſe than his death which we truelie beleeue, and then the good thinges of the life to come which we expect with a moſt aſſured hope, ꝑ preſence where-

of

of can onely be referred to our faith and spirite.

XVIII.

Truelie our aduersaries speake many thinges of the consecration of the bread and wine, but whether it be performed by prayers or by words, that they cannot determine.

XIX.

In the Eucharist we admit no other sacrifice than ỹ sacrifice of thanksgiuing, of prayers, and of offering vp of our owne selues: and these sacrifices must not onely be offered vp of the Minister, but also of the people that communicate.

XX.

Also we graunt that a sacrifice is there, in respect that there is a commemoration of the true sacrifice: and the sacraments, that is the outwarde signes which are propoled, are signes of the same true sacrifice, and by the institution of the Lorde, doe set forth the same vnto the Communicants.

The sentences which I haue now rehearsed, the prudent and gentle reader of my Booke shall finde not onely to be handled therein, but also to bee confirmed by many testimonies aswell of the Scripture as of the Fathers. Wherefore, if it shall like him to haue all this whole controuersie plainlie and euidently described as it were in a certaine table, let him with an attentiue minde and often repetition make himselfe well acquainted, fyrst with these sentences, and then with the reasons which I haue brought in this Abridgement: for in so doing, I hope he shall both reape profit, and it shal neuer repent him of the labour he hath bestowed.

1561.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Whether it be lawfull in the Communion to vse one onely kinde.

In 1. Cor. 10.

OVr aduersaries endeuour by many Arguments to defend ỹ most shamefull mayming of this sacrament which they haue brought in.

The first reason of the aduersaries.

In deede they graunt that the Church while it was yet ignorãt, vsed both ỹ kinds, but afterward when it vnderstode that the one part might suffice, especially the laitie (to preuent the erroz of some, which might thinke that the bodie of Christ in the sacrament is giuen severed from the bloud, and the bloud severed from the bodie,) it decreed that onely the Priests shoulde vse both kindes in the Masse, and that to the people, onely the one kinde shoulde be distributed. Further they sgie, that it was authorized by the Councell of Constance. Moreouer they contriue the Commaundements of God into two principall points: Some of them they will haue to remaine perpetuallie firme and vnshaken, so as they may neuer be violated, among which sort they place the moralles. The others doubtlesse, they appoint to be those which concerne outward things: of which kind be the Ceremonies and sacraments. And these they will not haue to be so necessarie, but that according to the place and time they maie be changed. They maintaine also ỹ it was no wrong to the Christian people, that one kinde is taken from them. For the bodie of Christ (say they) is not giuen in the forme of bread without blond: euen as in the cuppe also the bloud is not had without the bodie. They likewise alleage, that the libertie of Christ his Church, is far greater, than was the libertie of the Synagogue: & that therefore it is lawfull for the Church to change more things in our Ceremonies, than was permitted to the fathers of the olde Lawe. For we are not vnder the law as seruants, but as free mẽ vnder grace. And they indeuour to shew that sometimes the Church in manie rites altered euen in deede matter. First of all they say, that it dipped not them which be baptised, according as the Greeke word βαπτίζειν signifieth, but it onelie sprinkled, or after a strange manner washed. Neither is it to be doubted, but that those which so be washed must be holden as baptized, seeing that Cyprian being demaunded whether they which were baptised in yeelding vp the ghost, should be iudged as baptized (for they lay in the bed and being oppressed

The 2. reason. The 3. reason.

The 4. reason. Cyprian.

oppressed with the forze of sickenesse might neither be dipped, nor yet washed, but onelie sprinkled, wherefore they should seeme not to be baptized) that man of God aunswereth, that they had perfect baptisme.

The 5. reason.

2 They daunt also that in baptisme the wordes haue sometime bene altered, seeing in the Actes of the Apostles the 8. Chapter we reade: that baptisme was giuen in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ: when as notwithstanding in the Gospell, the Lorde commaunded his disciples that they should baptize in the name of the father, and of the Sonne, and of the holie ghost. Yea and they alleage that at this day the order prescribed by Christ is peruerted. For he commanded that they should first teach and then baptize. But wee deale otherwise, we first baptize infantes, afterward when they are growen, we teach thẽ. And againe they say that that which Christ did is not obserued in our communion. For we receaue the sacraments fasting, whereas he distributed them when he and his Apostles had supped. We also chose vnto our selues the morning, whereas he made his supper in the euening. Neither do we washe feete, whereas he first washed his disciples feete, and commaunded that one should wash an others feete. In like maner they alleage the commaundement of the Apostle, to wit, That a man should not pray or prophesie with his head couered, nor yet a woman with her head bare. Which at this day is not so carefully & precislie obserued. Also a decree of the first Councell, which was held in time of the Apostles, namelie, that the Gentiles should abstaine from bloude and strangled, is abolished. And these fellowes cauill that the case of the Apostles, with whom the Lord in his last supper communicated, is not like the case of the Christian people. For they were ordained by Christ to be Priests: wherefore they say that iustlie and vpon good cause there was ordained an other disposition of the communion for the lay people. They faine likewise, that Christ otherwhile distributed the Eucharist vnder one kinde to his disciples, especiallie when he went with them vnto ỹ towne of Emaus, where they are said to haue knowen him in breaking of bread. Whereupon they argue that we offende in seeking to establishe a doctrine & precept onely by one action of Christ. Further they crie out that the consent of the Catholike Church maketh for them, and they alleage causes whereby they are led to minister onelie one kinde vnto the laitie. The first they say is, least the wine should be spilt, which might easilie happen, if it should be ministred to the whole multitude. The other cause is, for that it were requisit that as well wine as bread shoulde bee reserued for the sicke, and ministered vnto them whensoeuer they should aske it, which might not conueniently be done, because wine is so soone and easilie corrupted. Besides this they obiect that there be many which drinke no wine, who being able to receiue onely one part, if both partes were of necessitie, they would thinke that neither they communicate rightly, neither that they haue the whole Sacrament. Lastly, they alleage the honour of the ministerie: for they haue iudged it meete that more shoulde be attributed vnto their Masling Priests than vnto the general multitude. Neither would they that the communion of the laitie should be of equall dignitie or estimation with the Masse. I haue welnere recited their Arguments which be of most force.

Act. 8. 16. & 10. 48.

The 6. reason.

Matt. 28. vers. 19. & 20

The 7. reason.

The 8. reason.

1. Cor. 11. 4

The 9. reason.

The 10. reason.

Act. 15. 29

The 11. reason.

The 12. reason.

Luk. 24. 35.

The 13. reason.

The 14. reason.

The 15. reason.

The 16. reason.

The 17. reason.

The 18. reason.

The 19. reason.

3 Nowe on the contrarie part I will shewe our reasons, whereby shall be shewen how grieuously they offend in this mangling of the Lordes Supper. First they depart from the institution of Christ, and preach an other Gospell than he himselfe and his Apostles haue preached: And this doth exceedingly iarre from godlinesse. This in diuinitie ought to bee a chiefe principle whereby all things must be resolued: The Lorde saide: It is the word of the Lord that indureth for euer. From the which, if we shoulde be called backe to mens fancies, since they often change, we shall haue nothing firme in religion, but we shall be driuen from certeinties to vncertеinties: and the authozitie of men shall be equall to the authozitie of God. And to the Galathians it is written: If wee or an Angell from heauen, shall preach otherwise let him be accursed. But and if that Paul wil neither haue Angels nor Apostles to bee heard, which affirme any thing contrarie to the decrees of the Gospell, wee will nothing regard the boldnesse and impudencie of corrupt men, which teach otherwise of the Sacraments than Christ taught. Paule in the 11. of the 1. to the Corinthians, testifieth, that he receiued of the Lorde that which he deliuered: And he out of doubt rehearsed both kindes. So as wee may thinke, that they which otherwise define, haue not receiued of the Lord, but rather of his aduersarie: wherefore they must not be heard. And vnto the Galathians Paule hath, Vnto a Testament although it be mans, the same being cõfirmed, nothing is added or ordained besides: howe much lesse should men be rash in adding any thing to the Testament of Christ? Wen which

Against the mangling of the Lords supper.

1. Pet. 1. 25.

Gal. 1. 8.

Verse. 23.

The 1. reason. Gal. 3. 15.

be fraile and weake, do only bequeath earthly things by their Testaments. But Christ which is God and omnipotent, hath bequeathed to his Church sacraments which belong vnto eternall life. Wherefore none ought at any time to haue bin so hardie as to inuert
Verse.1. his Testament. In Deuteronomie the fourth Chapter, the Lord commaundeth Israel That
The 4. season. he should heare his Law, & specially be mentioneth *Choikym*, which word signifieth Ceremonies, & commaundeth that they should neither adde nor take any thing from them: which commaundement of God, is of great force to beate downe our pride. For to proue are we, that wee would alwayes haue our owne deuises, not onely to be in estimation, but also to be preferred aboue the wordes of
Verse.3 8. The 5. reason the Lord: And in the Booke of Numbers the 15. Chapter it is written, That the children of Israel should haue rybands of blew silke in the borders of their garments, that in seeing of them, they might call to remembrance the commandements of God, that they might not doe y which was pleasing to their owne heart, or liking to their owne eyes. And vnto
Rom.1.21. the Romans, Paul grieuously reproued it, that the Gentils were infatuated with their owne vaine disputations, & that they would
The 6 reason not worship God simplie as they knewe him by his creatures; whereupon he sayeth that they were giuen ouer vnto wicked lustes. And there is no doubt but that this mayming of the Supper of the Lorde, belongeth
The 7. reason vnto this kinde of vice. And moreouer to this institution of the Lorde concerning the administration of the Sacrament, the vniuersall Church, both in the most auncient and best times hath alwaies consented.

The 8. reason 4 Also the fathers haue greatlie feared to leaue the Lords order in this Sacrament.
Gelasius. There is extant a Canon of Gelasius, which is in the Title *De Consecratione, distinct. 2.* in the Chapter *Comperimus*, wherein certaine men are blamed, because they hauing receiued the Lords bodie, abstained from the
c cuppe of the bloud. Which he saith is superstitious. And he commaundeth them that either they should receiue the whole Sacraments, or else be driuen from the whole. Also he saith it is sacrilege that they should in such sort bee diuided. This doe they indeuour to auoide, and to restraine it to mailing Priestes while they consecrate. For them (saie they) it is necessarie to receaue both kindes. Howbeit this they haue not out of the wordes of the Bishop. May rather there is mention there of the participants, and of them which are to be driuen from the sacraments: the which agree fitlie vnto them to whom they be distributed. Moreouer it is written in the decre, that the iniurie is done not vnto the oblation or sacrifice, but vnto the Sacrament. For he saith that a diuision of one and the selfesame mysterie, cannot bee done without great sacrilege. Therefore seeing they distribute the communion vnto the laitie vnder one kind, and make diuision of the Sacrament, they cannot deny but that they commit sacrilege. Chrysostome in the Chrysost. 18. homilie vpon the 2. Epistle to the Corinthians saith, that there be some things wherein a Priest differeth not from a laye man. I say in receiuing of y dreadful mysteries, it is not with vs as it was in the old law, where some parts of the sacrifices were giuen vnto the Priests, others went vnto them that offered: but vnto all vs is set forth one and the selfesame bodie of Christ, & the selfesame cup.

5 Cyprian in his seconde Booke, and 3. Epistle earnestly affirmeth that in this Sacrament of the Eucharist, wee must by no meanes varie from the institution of Christ. And there when hee intreateth at large of this matter, he setteth downe these speciall pointes, namelie: That Christ in this matter must be heard: further that we ought not to regard what others haue done before vs: but what Christ did before all. Moreouer, he that doth not as he did, doth in vaine worship God with the commaundements and doctrines of men. And such precepts of the Sacrament he maketh not light, but saith they be great. And the same Martyr in an Epistle to Pompeius against Stephen Bishop of the Citie of Rome, writeth: Where any doubt is, we must alwais resort to the Tradition of the Lord, to the Gospell and the Apostles. The aduersaries say, that Cyprian speaketh not of this which we nowe intreate of. He disputed against the heretiks called Aquarij, who died not wine vnto the The Aquarij. cuppe of the Lord but water. This (say they) he reproued, and not the taking away of a part of the Eucharist from the laitie. I graunt it, but I say, that these men sinne more grieuously against the institutiō of the Lord than did the Aquarij. Because they although they put water in the stead of wine, yet did they not vtterly remoue the other part of the sacrament. They vsed the selfsame wordes, which we speake in deliuering of the Cup: onely they did change the Element. But these men take awaie from the people both the whole Cup, and the wordes thereof. Further I graunt the disputation of Cyprian to be particular, whereby he confuteth the Aquarij, but the Argument and reason which hee vseth is vniuersall: namely that in the Sacra-

Sacrament of the Eucharist wee must not flie from the institution of the Lord. For this cause also we argue, that we as it were by handes doe receaue the same from him to the intent we may shewe, that it was not lawfull to take away the cup from the Communion. They haue also other subtill shifts, and they say, that Cyprian wrote these things onelie of them that offer, and that therefore the place serueth nothing vnto Communion. But it is a wonder that these so wittie men perceiued not that they in times past and specially in the time of Cyprian, had no oblation that differed from the Cōmunion. There
Chrisost. Hom. 83. alleg. was no place among them for priuate masses. Those sprong vp manie yeares after, to the greate hurt of Religion. Moreouer if the Epistle be read from the beginning, thou shalt heare Cyprian say, that these men depart from the institution of Christ as wel by consecrating the cuppe, as by distributing of it vnto the people. Wherefore, the cauil is vtterlie confuted.

Reasons wherein the wordes of the institution of the Supper doth consist. 6 Now remaineth that we declare that the reasons which they thinke to make for them, be of none effect. They laid that the Church in the first times vsed both kindes, while it was yet ignorant. I would to God that we were so instructed, as the Christians were taught in the first times. Afterward (say they) it salue that the laie people may be content with one kinde. What I beseech you salue our Popes, that the Apostles and prelates of the primitiue Church salue not, who were most plentifullie indued with the holy Ghost? What is it else that we see but mere darkenesse if it shall be compared to the most cleare knowledge of them? They adde: To the intent that the erro2 of them should be auoyded, who perhappes would think that the bodie of Christ is giuen a part from the bloud, as though the bodie should sit in heauen at the right hand of the father without bloud. These be their monstrous opinions. None of the heretickes euer deuised this kinde of erro2. But admit there had bin sometime such an heresie: might it not otherwise be amended than by corrupting of the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Vndoubtedlie many pernitious opinions may arise as touching the other part of the Eucharist which they haue made to remaine. And will they because of those thinges, take away this also?

To y second 7 And that which they obiect as touching the Councell of Constance or Basil, we passe not of it. Neither the Greeke Church, nor y whole East part obayed them: & not without a cause. For they decreed against the word of God. And oftentimes Councels doe erre, as it is euident of the Councels of Ariminum, Chalcedon, Ephesus the second: and of the Councell of Africa that was vnder Cyprian, and many others. Yea and in the time of Christ, did not the Councell of the Priestes, and the Church of that time, shamefully erre, when it refused the doctrine of Christ, and condemned Christ himselfe and the Apostles: Elsewhere I haue warned, that Councels haue not alwayes decreed that which was true: The greater part there had the ouerhād of the lesser, and oftentimes the worser of the better. Here I bragge they: Our Church hath the holy Ghost, and therefore it cannot erre. They vse a fallacie of the Accident: For they that haue the holy Ghost, doe not A fallē ars gument of the accident all that they doe by him. Euen in lyke manner as a Plaister builder in that he is a Plaister builder, in building doth not amisse: but because it happeneth sometime that he is occupied in other cogitations, and perhappes hath drowsie ouermuch, therefore he otherwhile doth amisse. But the Church (say they) Ioh.14.15. hath a promise of the holie Ghost, and that 16.
it shal not be forsaken at any time. I graunt: Mat.28.20
neither is this promise wanting, but is fulfilled: and there be verie manie alwayes in the Church which doe indge rightlie. Euen as in the Jewish Church in most corrupt seasons, were Simeon, Zacharias, Elizabeth, Iohn Baptist, Mary the virgin, and Ioseph, Nathanael, and manie others which were partakers of this promise. Wherefore it followeth that trueth preuaileth and errors are discouered. Yet is it not gathered by y power of this promise, that they alwayes define wel in Councels. Oftentimes they be troubled with affections, and oftentimes they grope in y dark. How should this be knowen of vs: How shal we vnderstand whether they haue decreed well or amisse? All thinges must be tryed by the touchstone of the holy scriptures, there the trueth is found out. But let vs procede to confute other their Argumentes.

To y third. 8 They said that the preceptes of outward thinges and of ceremonies are not so firme, as they cannot be changed by any meanes. Against this maketh Cyprian in the Epistle now alledged against the Aquarij: where he calleth the preceptes of this Sacra- Mat.5.19.
ment, great preceptes. And Christ also saith that he shall be called the least or none at all in the kingdome of heauen, which breaketh the least of his commaundementes. Moreouer the places out of Deuteronomie the 4. and 12. Chapters, and out of the 15 of Numbers the which we alledged before, doe plainlie shew that it was not lawfull to change

any thing in ceremonies: yet doe we graunt that there is some difference in the preceptes of GOD. For there be some of them from which we be neuer loosed, as be all those which prohibit. Also that same time, whereof the whole lawe and the Prophets depend: To loue the Lorde GOD with all the heart, with all the strength, and with all the soule, and our neighbour as our selues. But there be other precepts which we are not alwayes bound to execute, except it be when time, place, and reason require that they should be done. For the Hebrewes were not bound to doe their holie thinges euery where and at all times, but at certaine dayes, and in the place which the Lord had chosen. And vppon the Sabbaoth day they could not alwayes be voyd of outward workes. Sometimes it behoued them to fight, as we reade in the bookes of the Machabies: neither might circumcision be ministred before the 8. day. At this day also he that would desire Baptisme, and might not haue the libertie thereof, his desire should be imputed in stead of the worke. Wherefore in these thinges, when the commaundement of the Lord is to be done, it is not lawfull to change or inuert anie thing. And although thou be not alwayes bound to doe that which is commaunded, yet when thou doest it, it is not meete thou should depart frō the order which GOD hath appointed. Nadab and Abihu would alter some thing about the holy seruice, and they were consumed with fire. Oza dyed for his rashnesse. And king Ozias when he would burne incense, which was not lawfull, was stricken with leprosie. Why are they not moued with the example of their prettie Sacrifficers, who take very carefull heede in their Masse that they say not Masse without their *Orarium*, or as they terme them without their stole or manciple? And they iudge it to be a grieuous offence if they shal omit anie signe of the crosse or anie the least iot of this kinde: which nethertheless be the inuentions of men, meere toyes and trifles. Why should not we rather beware that we passe not ouer those thinges which Christ himselfe in his word commaunded? And among the Ethnickes there was very great care had in their sacred ceremonies, least the priest should trippe or misse in a word, which if it happened, it was iudged to be no light offence. And haue our aduersaries thought that Christes order in the Sacramentes may so easilie be vndone?

A distinction of the precepts.

Baptisme imputed where it cannot be had.

Deut. 10.1.

2. Sam. 6.6. 2. Paral. 26 vers. 16.

To the 4.

9 They said that as touching the olde lawe, we are indued with a greater libertie than were the Hebrewes, and therefore we are permitted to change something in ceremonies which for them was not lawfull. But these men ought to know that Christi an libertie herein consisteth not, that we should change the institutions of Christ: but in that, that Christ hath reduced manie ceremonies into fewe, and instead of laborsome, hath giuen easie and plaine, and in the stead of obscure ceremonies hath set downe those which are most euident. Adde that we by the power of the spirit, are made willing and voluntarie doers, for we are not constrained by the lawe, but we doe willinglie those thinges which religion perswadeth. Wherefore they proue not what they would, but are rather driuen to the contrarie. For seeing we be so free as we haue but a few ceremonies, and those easie and gentle, it would be an intollerable thing, and worthie to be condemned if we should not performe them without corruption.

10 They say, that the ceremonie is not for that cause polluted, neither the people defrauded, because somuch is had vnder one kinde as vnder both. For with the bodie of Christ his blood is also giuen, and that vnder our kinde, which they say is done by Concomitancie, for so they speake. But these men should haue weighed, that the communion of the bodie and blood of Christ, is not in this Sacrament by the worke of nature. For whatsoeuer of these thinges is deliuered vnto vs, is receaued by faith and is offered vnto vs by the words of Christes promises. And in these outward thinges, God requireth chiefly an obedience. Signes and the outward actions of ceremonies, be fraile thinges: The word of God indureth for euer, therefore the nature of the Sacrament must be iudged by it. So much is giuen vnto vs, as God appointed to giue: of whose will we know nothing further than his sayings disclose vnto vs. But Christ appointed two partes of the Sacrament: by one of the which he sayd that his bodie is communicated, and by the other his blood, and of these he hath left vnto vs expresse wordes: wherefore we must rather giue credit vnto him than vnto the subtill sayings of men. Thou tellest me of I know not what Concomitancie: and doubtlesse it is thine owne subtill poynt of reasoning: I know that it so fareth with the bodie of Christ which is in heauen, as it is not without bloud. I doubt not but that these thinges be ioyned together in him. But how wilt thou proue that they be signified when they be ioyned together in the Sacrament? On the one part, the faith of the communicants com-

Tothe 5.

Of Consubstantiate, & Papistically Concomitance, which may be explained Iosue cons pareyning.

compreheudeth there the bodie of Christ nailed vpon the crosse for our saluation, where of we be spirituallie feede. And the same faith on the other part layeth holde of his bloud shed for our saluation, and hereof we be spirituallie watred and haue drunke. About these mysteries of the death of Christ is the minde of the faithfull chiefelie occupied, while they communicate. Wherefore wee must not regard in what sort the bodie of Christ is now in heauen. We follow the wordes of GOD, and perceaue it is not of necessitie that those things which in their owne nature be ioyned together should be communicated one with another. The humane and diuine natures are ioyned together in the subiect of Christ, neither are they plucked one from an other. Yet will thou not say that wheresoeuer the diuine nature is, there also is the humane, vnlesse thou wilt extend the bodie of Christ to an vnmeasurable greatnesse, the which is most strange from the nature of man. The sonne of God, in so much as he is God, is found euerie where, and filleth all places, the which his bodie doth not. Further in the holy Ghost all graces or giftes are ioyned together, yet for all that is not the gift of sundrie tongues giuen to him vppon whomsoeuer the power of prophesying is bestowed: or so likewise on the other part. Also seueritie and mercie, are most nerely ioyned together in God, and yet neuerthelesse, when as one is made an inheritor of eternall life, he hath a proofe of the mercie and not of the seueritie of God. And the same might I affirme of many thinges, which being ioyned together in themselues, yet are they communicated asunder. But herein standeth the effect of the answere, that this communication is no worke of nature, and therefore is not giuen vnto vs by the constitution or disposition of the thing which it hath in his owne nature, but by the will and pleasure of the giuer, of whose will and counsell wee cannot decrie further than is expressed by his owne wordes.

Things in their owne nature ioyned, may seuerally be communicated.

To sixth.

The rite of dipping in Baptisme.

11 They sayde moreouer that in Baptisme there is much altered: First because Infants haue water powred vppon them, and are not dipped in, as the Greeke word βαπτίζειν signifieth. I know the Fathers, when it might be, in respect of age and health vsed dipping: the which was shadowed in the olde Testament when the Israelites passed through the sea: yet is it not of necessitie, neither is there a commaundement extant for the same. When it is vsed it hath an excellent signification: because when we are dipped in, we are signified to dy with Christ, and when we issue forth, we are declared to haue risen with him vnto eternall life. Howbeit this signification as we say is not of necessitie. But that which concerneth the nature and naturall propertie of Baptisme is a cleansing from sinnes: Wherefore in the Epistle to the Ephesians, Christ is said To haue cleansed his Church by the washing away of water in the word: And we are pronounced to be baptised vnto the remission of sinnes. And this cleansing, whether we be dipped, or whether we be washed all about, or whether we be sprinckled, or after what manner soeuer we be washed with waters, it is very fitlie theiwed in Baptisme. Neither doth the Greeke word βαπτίζειν only signifie, to be dipped, but any manner of way to be sprinckled. Moreouer the reason is not a like: To change the manner of washing, and to take it all wholy away: Because in them which be sprinckled or haue water powred vppon them, the element of Baptisme, namelie water is kept and hath his signification. Neither doe we superstitiously contend after what sort we are to drinke of the cuppe, either little or somewhat largelie. Neither though little pipes as sometime it was don, and as the Bishop of Rome doth at this day, or with our lippes put to the cup, or by bread dipped and made wet in the wine, as it is in the historie of Eusebius Cæsariensis. As touching these things, so the part of the Sacrament remaine whole it sufficeth. Howbeit I iudge that must be done which commeth most neere to the institution of Christ.

Ephe. 6.26

12 And whereas they added, that the wordes which are vsed at Baptisme were inuerted, because we finde in the Acts of the Apostles, that some were Baptised in the name of Iesus Christ, there be many which graunt vnto it. Because (say they) in the name of Iesus Christ, the names of the three diuine persons are comprehended: Of the Father, (I say) of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. And that Irenæus very plainelie testifieth in the 4. booke against the Valentinians. Under the name (saith he) of Christ are the three persons vnderstood. Because that word signifieth annointed, wherein is shewed both the annointer, and he that is annointed, and also the ointment. He that is annointed is the Sonne, the annointer is the Father, the annointment is the holy Ghost: whereby appeareth, that in the same alteration nothing was taken away, whereas these men take away almost the whole halfe of the Sacrament. Howbeit I stand not to this answere: because our aduersaries cauill that

To the 7. A change in the forme of baptisme Acts. 8. 16, & 10. 48.

Irenæus.

A place in the Acts of baptising in ꝑ name of Christ expounded.

Mat.26.26 Ibid.27.

Tothe 8. Baptisme of Infants.

Mat.28.19

ouen in the Communion of either kinde the whole is signified. Wherefore I say that by that place of the Actes of the Apostles in the name of Iesus Christ, is meant, by the guiding, commaundement, will and institution of Christ, Wherefore by these wordes rather it is knowen that the Apostles did altogether keepe the forme prescribed by Christ. Otherwise they would not haue baptised in the name of Christ, doing otherwise than he had commaunded. Neither are we to thinke that the Apostles who spread abroad religion with so great godlynesse and indeuour, reiected the forme of Baptising delinered by Christ. Neither must we passe it ouer that the Scholemen (as we reade in Thomas,) when they agree that the forme of baptising was in a manner changed by the Apostles, write that this was done for a time by the dispensation of the holy Ghost, to the intent the name of Christ might be made the more famous, and that therefore a perpetual lawe should not be drawen from thence. The which these men that haue taken away the cup of ꝑ Communion from the layitie, haue not obserued, seeing they will haue their decree to be perpetual, and not for a time. Besides this, the Apostles condemned not for heretickes those which baptised after the vsuall and appointed forme. But they haue not onely condemned for heretickes the layemen when they haue receaued both partes of ꝑ sacrament, but they also deliuer them to ꝑ fire. Neither is this doctrine to be suffered, ꝑ it is put in mens authority to inuert either the matter or ꝑ wordes of ꝑ Sacraments as these men haue most impudentlie done: who not onelie haue taken away the cup from the common people, but also the wordes spoken thereat, the which be very comfortable, and doe more largelie and significantlie expresse the mysteries of our saluation than doe the wordes which be vttered, as touching the bread, where it is onelie said: This is my bodie, which shall be giuen for you; But at the cuppe it is said: This cuppe is the newe Testament in my bloud which shall be shed for you and for many vnto the remission of sinnes. Weigh how manie expositors thou hast here of the promise which was set down in the other part.

13 They affirme moreouer that we haue inuerted the order in Baptisme, because we baptise infants before we teach the. Whereas Christ deliuered them first to be taught, and afterward to be baptised. I maruell that these men descend hither as though they would hold with the Anabaptistes, to the intent they may be against vs, and doe not consider that the saying of Christ is generallie to be vnderstood, as touching the Gentils, and not particularlie. Verilie it is true that in the propagation of Christianity they were first to beginne with doctrine. For when as a Citie, a Prouince, or a kingdome should be wonne vnto Christ, it behoueth to vse preaching before we come to Baptisme: which when they haue beleeued, those of ripe age not onelie are baptised themselues, but they also offer their young children to be baptised. Wherefore that which was to commaunded by Christ in general, they will drawe vnto ꝑ particular Baptisme of young children. In Greeke it is said μαθητεύσατε, ꝑ is, to make disciples and to gather them vnto Christ: which in them of ripe yeares is done both by doctrine and baptisme, but in young children by Baptisme, seeing they are not yet capable of doctrine. The very which order is seene in Circumcision. As touching Abraha being of perfect age, Doctrine went formost, afterward followed the sacrament: in his sonne Isaac it came other wise to passe. And absolutelie it is true that in the Church Doctrine doth goe before the Sacramentes, as euerie man may perceiue. Neither (as we taught before,) doe they rightlie gather, when as by an order of the wordes, they will gather an order of the thinges: For we haue it in Marke as concerning Iohn, That he baptised and preached the baptisme of repentance: when as yet there is no doubt but that he preached before he baptised.

Marke.14

14 And as touching the time of the Lordes Supper, we confesse that the Church might order the same as it thought good, seeing there is no commaundement had thereof. There be commaundements as touching this Sacrament: Take and eate ye, Take and drinke ye all of it: Doe this in remembrance of mee: Let a man examine himselfe, and other such sayings. No mention is there of time, of place, of garment, or other such like circumstances. Christ first ate the Passouer, because hee would institute the newe things after the olde. Neither is it commaunded vs either to kill or eate the Passouer before the Communion. And the causes why the Eucharist is distributed in the morning, are gathered out of Cyprian. The first is, because it is more easie at that houre to haue the holy assembly. For in the day time there happen many affaires whereby men be lede away from the seruice of God. Further at that time, men be well aduised, and wee haue a minde more fit and attentiue to receiue excellent things. Thirdly he addeth, that the same morning tyde is a monument of the resurrec-

Tothe 9. The vse & fasting of fete

Why the Supper is celebrated in the morning. Cyprian.

rection of Christ, which doeth not a little further the institution of this Sacrament. Neuertheleile wee must note that the ancient fathers in the time of fasting, (because they did not eate meate till night) had the Communion at euening tyde: for all the whole fasting day they spent their time in Sermons, Hymnes, and other godly exercises. Towards night the Supper of the Lord was ministred, the Sacrament was receyued. Afterward they returned home to the refreshing of their bodies. Albeit in the time of Augustine in many Churches, as he himselfe repoteth, that vpon the Thursday before Easter, to the intent the Act of Christ might be represented the better, the Eucharist was giuen to the faithfull at night and after Supper. But I finde this custome to bee abolished by the 6. Synode, which at Constantinople was held in Trullo. Whose Canons are extant in Greeke, wherein there is plaine mention made of this custome to be among the Churches of Aphrica. But to returne whence we haue digressed. Do the integrities of Sacramentes be retained, as touching the time & other such like circumstances, we thinke not be verie carefull seeing of those things there is nothing commanded. Christ when he was baptized was thirtie yeares of age. Would it not be a great follie at this day, if we would baptize only such as be 30. yeares olde?

The first supper of the Lord celebrated in the Euening. Augustine.

Tothe 10. The vse & fasting of fete

15 Of the washing of fete which is now omitted, we say that therein is a double signification to be considered: One as touching remission of sinnes, and cleansing the filth of the minde, the which is giuen vnto vs by Christ. Thereof the Lorde said vnto Peter If I shall not wash thee, thou shalt haue no part with mee. And he that is washed hath no neede but that his feete be washed. And about this signification S. Bernard dealeth verie much. Furthermore that washing was a signe of charitie and submission of the minde, which we ought to vse though we bee noble & of great honour. Wherefore Christ said thereof: Ye call mee Maister and Lord, and yee say well, for so I am: but if that I a Lord and Maister, haue washed your feete, ye also must one wash an others feete. By which commaundement he meant, that no man for any honors sake of this world should cease from doing his duetie vnto his neighbour, euen as touching those things which seeme to be but vile, because Christ himselfe would doe them. The washing of fete was common and vsuall among the Iewes. For in the hotte regions as Iewrie is, when men iourney by fote, their bodies are verie much wearied with heate. Wherefore vnto men wearied and full of dust, the washing of fete bringeth no small refreshing: especially seeing in those Regions, men goe not so well shod as they doe with vs. Otherwise howe could Christ haue bin washed of the woman that was a sinner, and be wyped with her haire, and be annointed when he should sitte downe at the Table, vnlesse he had his fete either bare or else so as they might easily be vncouered? And that the washing of fete in the Scriptures doeth represent the meanest seruices towardes our neighbours, Abigail testifieth, who when Dauid meant to take her for his wife, answered: Thy handmaiden wil be readie, who shall wash the feete of my Lord: as if she had said: I doe not thinke my selfe worthy of so great an honour: I will rather be ready to do the meanest seruices vnto thy seruants. And Paul in the first Epistle vnto Timothy, where he speaketh of a widowe to be chosen of ꝑ Church, requireth such a one as shal abound in good works, & hath washed the fete of the Saints. Where there is no doubt but by the washing of fete, Paule requireth that she haue exercised her selfe in doing of seruices and commodities to the men of God. And Christ while he saieth in the Gospell: When ye fast, I would not haue you to be sad as the Hypocrites, but commaundeth the contrarie: Thou when thou dost fast, annoint thy head, &c. By which place it is not to be gathered that in fastings we should anoynt heads, but because in Siria or Arabia surnamed the happie, the vse of Oyntments was common, when men would shew themselues to be merry. (yea they were in a maner daily annointed, except they had bin in some sadnes) therfore Christ meant, that when we are in hand with priuate fastings, we must not intermit the custome of outward worshipping as though by fastings we woulde winne the fauour of the people. But among whom is not that vse of oyntmentes are not bound in fastings to doe that which Christ saide. The verie which thing thou maiest vnderstand about the washing of feet, which our aduersaries obiected. That can not be called a Sacrament, (although by the element, it may signifie no common thing, and it hath a commandement ioyned therewith,) because there be giuen no particular wordes, which should come to the element to make it a sacrament, and by which the promise of some singular gift or grace to be obtained is declared vnto vs. Furthermore, neither Christ nor yet the Apostles decreed, that they which were to Communicate should washe one anothers fete. And Augustine in

Iohn.12.3.

1.Sa.25.41

1.Tim.5. 10.

Mat.6.16.

Iohn.13.8.

Iber. 13.

Augustine.

the 119. Epistle vnto Ianuarius writeth, that some Churches removed this Ceremonie, least it should be esteemed for a part of the Sacrament, or else for Baptisme: the verie which notwithstanding some Churches retained.

Act.15.29. To the 11. 16 There was also opposed vnto vs a decrée of the Apostles, wherein they ordained, that the Gentils which were converted vnto Christ, should abstaine from blood and from that which is Strangled. Which séeing it is abolished, they say it is lawfull sometimes to decline somewhat from the Scriptures. Howbeit we must marke in this place, what is the end and meaning of that decrée. It was pronounced, because of the dissension risen in the Church. For they which were converted from Iudaisme, thought that the Gentiles for obtayning of saluation, should be compelled to retaine Moses lawes, and should kéepe the old Ceremonies. But Paule and Barnabas taught otherwise, according to whose minde the Apostles decrée. Yet did they not by their constitution prohibite, but that men converted from the Gentiles vnto Christ, might kéepe somewhat of the Ceremonies of Moses, so that they should not thinke those to be necessarie vnto saluation. Howbeit to the intent they might not be grévous or troublesome vnto them which were converted out of Iudaisme, who liued then very friendly with them, they gaue that commaundement: and it semed to helpe somewhat to the quietnesse of the beléeuers. So that the Apostles for no other cause did decrée that the Gentiles should abstaine from these things: séeing they would not, that the Iewes which were converted should bée straightway offended, of whom the Church in that first time did chéefelie consist. Wherefore they commaunded not these things, in that they belonged vnto the lawe, or vnto Moses, but according as they perceiued them to further the peace and tranquillitie of the Church, that the faithfull might growe vp together among themselues in a greater agréement. Wherupon séeing afterward this cause was taken away (for so much as Hierusalem béeing destroyed, and the rites of Moses vtterlie subuerted, this difference was not betweene the Iewes and the Gentiles) therefore that decrée might be taken away. Howbeit it was kept a long while, euen vnto the times of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen: and Cæsariensis maketh mention thereof, in the history of Attalus and Blandin. These Ceremonies might after a sort bee retained at the beginning, vntill the preaching of the Gospel did take better rote, and that all men might plainelie vnderstand that the rites of Moses were abolished. Augustine Augustine against Faustus the 2. booke and 13. Chapter, maketh plaine mention of this matter, and saith, that vntill both the walles of the Church & Synagogue were wel growen together, so as the difference should no more appeare, somewhat ought to be yeelded to the infirmitie of the Iewes. And it semeth that speciallie ỳ was to be done in those things, which belonged not to sacrifices, but vnto daylie vse. For ỳ Iewes could not straightway be well content with the dyet of the Ethnickes. Afterwarde they obiected the Apostolicall tradition, whereby a man is 1.Cor.11.4 To the 12. commaunded to prophesie and praie bareheaded, & the woman with her head couered: which preceptes they say, are not thought lie kept. Here we answere, that it is not Men commaunded to prophesie bare headed our part to bee inquisitiue what is kept, or what is not kept. This commaundement we know is extant: and they that kéepe it not, let themselues sée to it. I haue not séene anie minister praying openlie, but that his heade hath béene vncouered. In the verie which habite, I sée them to be at Sermons, especiallie while they recite the wordes of the holie Scripture.

To the 13. 17 Our Aduersaries also argue, that Christ gaue the sacrament to his Apostles, the consideration of whom was not alike, séeing they were made priestes: therefore they affirmed that this example of Christ was not to be extended vnto the people. But certainlie as touching the Priesthood of the Apostles we know nothing, neither is there any one syllable extant in the holie Scriptures that the Apostles were Priestes. The Scripture vseth not these wordes. But goe to: Let them vnderstand, By Priests, the Ministers of the Church: Let them tel vs why they giue not to their Paiing Priests, if they Passe not when they come to Communicate, but one part of the Sacrament as vnto the laitie, séeing Christ gaue both vnto the Apostles, and no lesse distributed vnto them, than hée receiued for himselfe. Further if Christ (as they will) gaue the Eucharist onely vnto the priests, how dare they be so bardy as to giue a part of the Eucharist vnto the laytie and common sort, séeing Christ (as they say) did not communicate with them? Adde that in the supper with Christ were no women present, vnlesse they will, that they were Priestes. Why then doe they distribute the Sacrament vnto them, séeing Christ gaue it onely vnto men? But they which speake so subtillie of the supper which Christ himselfe had with his Apostles, what answere (I beséech

you) will they make vnto Paule, who 1.Cor.10. 11. writing to the whole Church of Corinth, and not to the Ministers of the Church onelie, commaundeth that both kindes should bée giuen. And yet they say, that in the Canons, decrées, and Ecclesiasticall histories, there is mention made of the Communion of the laitie. I denie not but it is so: howbeit they are farre deceiued which thinke that the Communion of the laytie doth onely signifie a participation of one part onelie, for euen then both the kindes was giuen. But it was called the communion of the laytie, because the Ministers of the Church, béeing once put frō their function by reason of some offence, did no more communicate in the cleargie or among the Ministers, but were mingled with the companie of the laye men. Communion of the Laitie.

To the 14. 18 They laide that they haue the consent of the Church, wherein they impudentlie challenge to themselues that which is ours: séeing the Churches of Græce, the whole East part, and the vniuersall antiquitie holde with vs. For the foule mangling of the Sacrament of the Eucharist is but latelie sprung vp. Among the latter men Thomas Aquinas faith, that euen now in his time the same began to be practised in some Churches, which he writeth in the 3. part, Quæst. 80. Artic. 12. Doubtlesse the importunitie of the Aduersaries is wonderfull. When wée flie vnto the Scriptures, they crie out that they bee darke, and they appeale to the fathers, whom they say are on their side: they flie vnto the antiquitie of times, whereby they would shift off all the testimonies of the Scriptures. But how vncertaine they bée in their opinions, we eallie see in this disputation, séeing the Scripture is plaine: all the fathers make with vs, and the whole antiquity agréeth with the Scriptures. Wherefore the indeuour that they haue to bee contrarie ariseth onelie hereof, that they bée sworne & wholie addicted to the lawes of the Pope: in comparison whereof they weigh not a haire neither of the truth of the fathers, nor yet of antiquitie. Thomas Aquinas.

To the 15. Luke.24.35. 19 And whéras they alleaged, that Christ sometime administred onely the one part of the Sacrament, because they reade in Luke, that the Disciples knew him by breaking of bread, it is trifling. For howe it may appeare for a certaintie, that the breaking of bread there signifieth the holie communion, they haue not béene able to shewe, seth that worde also is often in the holy Scriptures applyed to common meate. And that thole Disciples in taking of common meate, could know Christ, it is no maruell: for séeing he had peculiar thanks giuings, and particular prayers as we beléeue he had, he might easilie be perceiued. Further admit it were so, that Christ offered them onelie one part of the Sacrament, is it therefore lawefull for vs to doe the same? He did not by that fact abrogate his generall cōmandement, which he gaue in the Supper, and that is confirmed by the writings of the Euangelists and of Paul. God once commaunded Abraham that he should sacrifice his sonne, yet did he not thereby plucke away any thing from his generall precept, Thou shalt not kill. Hee also commaunded the Israelites, that they should carie away the stuffe of the Egyptians: and yet neuerthelesse he would that commandement, Thou shalt not steale, to be inuiolate. Lastly where it is named: The breaking of bread, we may by the figure Synecdoche vnderstand the whole Supper, euen as it was first declared. And they are to be laughed at when they accuse vs to doe absurdly, which of one action of Christ, which he had with his Apostles, would gather a generall precept: séeing that action of Christ was not ordinarie, but it had a precept ioyned therewith, the which was afterwarde confirmed by Paul. Moreouer we deale as wée should, when we haue recourse to the head and to the verie institution of the Sacrament. Gen.22.2. Exo.20.13. Exod.11.2 Exo.20.15

To the 16. 20 Now let vs speake of the causes, by which they pretend that the Church was led to make a decrée for the mutilation of this Sacrament. The first was, least the cuppe should be spilt. Here we maruell preadingly lie at Irenæus, Basil, Ambrose, Nazianzene, and Augustine, béeing verie prudent Fathers, who saw not these daungers in the Eucharist: or if they sawe them, as likelie it is, thou must acknowledge that they made no such account of them, as they in respect of them violated the Sacraments, the which neuertheleslie, they administred very often: For of priuate Masses there was then no vse. They euermore communicated in the mysteries with others, and the people ranne together to the Sacraments much more often than at this day they do. They were not so greatly troubled if any part of the holy drinke had fallen vpon the ground. A young mayd in Cyprians time did vomit vp the same. Their chiefe care was that it might be distributed vnto them that were worthie: But our men now are not carefull to driue away dogges and swine, by which allwredy is done a greater iniurie vnto the bloud of Christ, than if the same should be spilt vpon the ground. Wherefore we counsell that the godly

godly ministers should take verie diligent heede that they shed not the holie cup. But if it shall happen by chaunce, they may be sorie for it, yet the matter must not be so exaggerated as it were an horrible and detestable crime. Augustine, as it is in the first question in the Chapter *Interrogo vos*, falleth into doubt, whether the bodie of Christ be more worthie than his worde. To some of the ruder sort it might seeme to be a blasphemous question, yet is it disputed of by Augustine, and he attributed as much to the word and saying of Christ as he did vnto the sacrament: and he plainly saieth, that the word of Christ is no lesse than the bodie of Christ. Whereupon he concludeth: that as we are carefull that a part of the sacrament should not fall vpon the ground, euen so no lesse heede must be taken, as well by the ministers of the word, as by the hearers thereof, that nothing be pronounced in vaine out of the words of God. And neuertheless, because it is a perillous thing, that any of the wordes of God should by negligence slip away from him that pronounceth or from them that be hearers, therefore the godly Sermons are not remoued from the people.

Augustine

A question whether the bodie of Christ or his word be the more worthie.

Cothe 17. 21 And as to that, which they speake of corruption which might easilie happen, if wine consecrated vnto the sicke should be kept, we saie that no man ought heereth them into these extremities, vnlesse it be their own superstitions. Who constraineth them to keepe the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Who commaunded them this thing? It behoueth say they to giue vnto the sicke. I graunt: but the mysteries should also be celebrated before the sicke persons. They cauill that the sick cannot alwayes stay and abide the long rites of ceremonies. But let them consider that this verie thing ariseth of their own superstition, and not from the commaundement of Christ. That which Christ commaunded may be drawen into foure wordes. Gregorie telleth in his Epistle that the Apostles vsed onelie the prayer of the Lord. But our men earnestlie affirme that the Sacrament of the Eucharist should be wrought onelie in their Masse and not otherwise. So as they themselues are the cause of these impediments, and therefore they must not be ascribed to the institution of Christ.

That the Eucharist must be geuen to the sicke.

Gregorie.

To the 18. 22 As touching the abstainers from wine, and them which in respect of sicknesse cannot receaue wine, we may readilie answere three waies. For there be some which say: When there is this necessitie, against which no law is force, let onely one part of the Sacrament be giuen vnto men: but thereby is not proued, that as touching others which are able, the Sacrament should be diminished by the decree or doctrine of men: because it is a rash part, of a particular thing, to bring in a generall rule. It seemeth to be God which bringeth that man into necessitie, neither doth that man willinglie pollute the Sacrament of the Lord. It may otherwise be answered, that such drinke must be giuen vnto these men as they can away withall, the perfection of the Sacrament and the reciting of the Lordes wordes being preserued. But if one will say, that Christ did not so institute, they that thus iudge, doe answere, that Christ died that drinke which might be abiden, and which was meete for the receauers, from whose institution they say that they depart not, when they deliuer euery one to drinke, that which he is able to abide. For this seemeth rather to yeelde to the infirmitie of a brother, than to violate the Sacrament. But whatsoeuer may be thought of these answeres the which I will not vtterlie condemne, to the third I willinglie agree, because it seemes to me to be sure and perfect enough: to wit, that if a man cannot receaue the Sacrament, as it was instituted by Christ, let him abstaine, for if he desire it and beleeue, no commoditie or benefit shall in that respect be wanting vnto him: euen as vnto him that desireth Baptisme, if he haue not the libertie thereunto, it is imputed, as if he had receaued the same. Neither ought we by reason of these verie seldome chances to dismember the sacrament of Christ. Last lie they are bouide to affirme that by this meanes an honour is done to the Ministerie, Vnto whom we answere, that herein consisteth not the honour of the Ecclesiasticall Ministery, that he which distributeth the sacrament should haue a double portion or the greater peece of bread, when as the people onelie receiueth one kinde and vseth a lesse peece of bread. Paule very sufficientlie in the first epistle to Timothie, and also vnto Titus hath described excellent properties of Ministers, by which they should commend their honor. And againe vnto Timothie he wrote, that the elders are worthie of double honor when they gouerne well, and do labour in the word of God. And of this matter I thinke there is sufficientlie spoken at this time.

That any kinde of drinke may be vsed in the Eucharist.

To the 19.

1.Tim.5.1. Titus.1.2.

1.Tim.5. 17.

The

The twelfth Chapter.

Of the Masse, Also of Sacrifices.

In Iud.1.33 BEcause in manie places there is oftentimes mention made of this Hebrew worde Mas, which signifieth tribute, whereof is deriued Masah, which word by some is taken for the tribute that hathbin accustomed to be paid by each person: In verie deede diuers bondslaues of the Pope haue thought that their Masse hath taken his name frō thence. Wherefore perhappes it shall not be vnprofitable to write somewhat thereof. We haue that word in the 16. Chapter of Deuteronomie, when God commaundeth that after Easter vii weekes should be numbred, and then should be held the feast of Pentecost: Thou shalt appeare (saith he) before the Lord and thou shalt giue Misshah Nidbhath Iadeca, that is, a free will offering of thine owne hand. And so is that oblation called as it were a peerelie tribute, which neuertheless should come willinglie. Howbeit others (and that perhaps more truelie) interprete that word a sufficiencie, namely, that there should so much be giuen as might be enough and sufficient. For in the 15. Chapter of the same booke, where the Lord commaundeth the Israelites, that they should open their handes vnto the poore, and should lend them sufficient: that particle De, the Chaldie Paraphast interpreteth Misshah. In which place I perceiue there must be a consideration had alwell of the want of the poore as of the habilitie of the giuer: for this was meete to be obserued in voluntarie oblations, to wit, that so much should be giuen as the power of the giuers would suffer, and as much as might be comelie for the seruice of GOD. Wherof thele men of ours, thinke that the Masse take her name, as though it were a tribute or free will offering, which is euery where offered to God in the Church for the quicke and the dead. But I doe not so thinke. Doubtlelie I know very wel, that the Church hath borowed certaine words of the Hebrewes: as Satan, Osanna, Zebaoth, Hallelujia, Pesah or Pascha, and such other. Howbeit it must be considered that those words came not vnto the Latin Church but by the Greeke: seeing those words are found in the new Testament as it was first written in Greeke, and also in the Translation of the olde Testament, as it was translated by the seuentie. Wherefore we haue no Hebrew words derived vnto our Church which the Greeke Church had not before. But if we diligentlie examine the Greeke bookes of the Fathers, we shall neuer finde the word Masse vsed by them. Wherefore I doe not thinke that the name of Masse is deriued from the Hebrewes.

From whence the word masse is thought to haue come.

Hebr. names but by the Greeke Church.

* 2 The Greeke Church called the holy supper λειτουργίαν, which word signifieth a common and publike worke. Neither is it proper to holy things, nay rather it is applyed euen to prophane actions which were publike. And who is ignorant, that the administration of the Lordes supper is a matter pertaining to the Christian people? For so manie as be present, ought to be partakers thereof, and to communicate together. And that they doe not passe ouer this: there is an Argument of some weight taken against vsuale Masses out of the Etimologie of that word. Further-more that word, belongeth not onelie vnto the Eucharist, but it is applied vnto other holie functions. Wherefore in the 13. Chapter of the Acts it is written of the Apostles, λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν, the which some haue turned, They sacrificing, Whereas they should rather haue said: They ministring or woorking publikelie, to wit, in the holy seruice: which no doubt but they did in preaching of the Gospell. Among the Latins there were other names of this holy function. For sometime it is called a Communion, otherwhile the supper of the Lord, now and then the Sacrament of the bodie of Christ, or the breaking of bread: and many times our fathers, as did the Greekes called the fearefull mysteries, φόβητρα. I omit that they verie often vsed the name of sacrifice, not certainlie as our aduersaries fondlie imagin, that therein is offered vnto God by the priest, the bodie and bloud of Christ for the quicke and the dead, notwithstanding that the fathers also themselues haue not misliked of that maner of speach wherein they said, that the bodie, and bloud of Christ is offered vnto God. But what they meant by these words, if they be attentiuely read, they plainlie declare: namelie, that then thankes are giuen vnto God, who for our sakes gaue his sonne vnto death and vnto the crosse. By these names haue the most auncient Fathers called it the supper of the Lord: but of Masse, they haue made no mention. For if thou wilt read Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilarius and their equals, thou shalt neuer finde that word among the in that signification. Augustine made mention thereof at two seuerall times: namely

λειτουργία.

An argument against vsuale Masses

Acts.13.2.

Many names of the Supper amongthe Latines.

How the Fathers called the Supper & sacrifice.

The most auncient Fathers vsed not the name of Masse.

Augustine.

The Church hath borowed certain words of the Hebrewes.

The Hebrewes wordes came not to the La-

in his 237. Sermon, *De Tempore*, where he speaketh of the Masse of the Catechumeni. There he exhorted men to the forgiuing of iniuries one toward an other. For (saith he) we muste come to ỹ Masse of the Catechumenii, where we shall pray, Forgiue vs our trespasse, euen as we forgiue them that trespasse against vs. Also in the 91. Sermon *De Tempore* he writeth: In the histoyie which is to be read at Masses. Some haue doubted whether these were Augustines sermons. Truely they seeme vnto me to be the stile and sentenses of Augustine. And if I shall follow mine owne coniecture, I thinke that this name of Masse began in a manner at that time to be vsed, seldome in deede, but not often: for if that word had bin vsuall at that time, there would haue bin more often mention thereof, especiallie ỹ Augustine, who applyed his speach vnto the common people.

When the name of Masse began to be vsed.

Ignatius. An argument against priuate masses

3 They alledge Ignatius in an Epistle to the people of Smirna. Howbeit that place maketh very much against the Papelemongers: seeing Ignatius there decreed, that Masses ought not to be had, vnlesse that the Byshop shall be present: so greatly did the auncient time prouide against priuate Communions. For they would in very deed all to be present, and especiallie Byshops, while they were administred. These thinges haue I sayd as it were graunting to our aduersaries that that was the very true booke of Ignatius, and that it hath therein the word Masse: but this are we in no wise compelled to graunt, seeing it is *Apocryphus*, euen by the testimonie of their owne Gratian. And herewithall, that those Epistles were written in Greeke, and that therefore no doubt but he which translated them into Latin did put this word Missa, for ἐυχαριστία. For thus it is in Greeke, ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία νενόσθω, that is, that perfect thāks giuing was renued: & straightway after, ὅτι ἐξὸν ἐστι χαρὶς τε ἐπισκόπε ὅτε βαπτίζειν, ὅτε προφέρειν, ὅτε θυσίαν προσομίζειν, ὅτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν, &c. that is, It is not lawfull without the Byshop either to baptise, either to offer, either to make sacrifice, or to end the feast. And this is the Greeke prayer of Ignatius: wherein, as appeareth, there is no mention of Masse. Also Leo is cited in the 9 Epistle to Dioscorus, wherein I confesse that that father made mention of Masse, but yet so, as he very much repugneth priuate Masses. For he was demaunded, when the Church was not so great as it might containe all the people which came while the Communion was ministring, what should be done with the rest of the multitude, which taried abroad, and could not be present. Leo answereth: when that part of the people shall be gone forth which was present at ỹ holy seruice, it should be lawfull for them which succeede to beginne against ỹ holy seruice. But if ỹ priuate Masses had bin in vse, what need would there haue bin to aske Leo counsell for ỹ matter? Allured lie this demaund is a token sufficient, ỹ Masse was not accustomed to be done but once.

The Epistles of Ignatius are Apocrypha.

Leo.

An argument against priuate masses

4 They are wont also to bring Iohn Cassianus which lined in the time of Hono. rius, and was driuen out of the Church of Ierusalem by heretikes, and then he came to Massilia, and was a Monke by profession. He indeede maketh mention of Masse in his 3. booke the 7. and 8. Chapters: but he weigheth the signification of that word far to an other purpose than to the holie communion. For with him Masse is a perfection, accomplishment and discharging. Wherefore he saith we waite for the Masse of the congregation, that is, till the assemblie be discharged and dispatched. And straight after: Being content with the sleepe which is graunted from the Masse of the watch, vntill it be day. Where, by the Masse he vnderstandeth the time of watch, wherein the watches are discharged, then verilie it was lawfull for the Monkes to sleepe vntill day light. Neither are we to passe ouer that there is most manifest mention made of Masses in the exposition of the Prouerbes of Salomon the xi. Chapter which is ascribed vnto Ierom. Howbeit that booke without controuersie is none of Ieromes. For Gregorie is there spoken of, which lined long time after Augustine and Ierome. Bruno Amerbachius in an Epistle which he put before his booke, saith he saw in an olde coppy that interpretatiō, to be intituled vnto Bede. Which if it were, it seemeth no maruell that he made mention of Masses. For in that age wherein Bede the Priest lined, many abuses were now crept into the Church. But I therefore put you in minde of this, because in that place that supposed Ierome affirmeth ỹ soules of them ỹ be departed are drawē out of purgatorie by ỹ celebration of Masses. Ierome is not so accustomed to speake.

Cassian.

The exposition of the Prouerbes falselie ascribed to Ierom.

In the time of Gregorie many abuses were crept in.

5 It resteth that we declare, from whence the name of Masse (which in deede is a Latine name) may seeme to bee taken. The auncient fathers, (who so shall diligently marke their writings) haue saide Remisse, in stead of Remission. Tertullian in his fourth Booke against Marcion page. 249. We haue spoken (saieth he) of the Remisse of sinnes. Cyprian *De bono patientiæ*: Yee that wish to giue the Remisse of sinnes, in the fountaine of regeneration, disdained not to be washed. The

From whence Masses, hath her name.

Remissa & remissio. Tertullian

Cyprian.

The same Father in the 14. Epistle the third Booke: He that blaspheméth the holy Ghost hath not the Remisse of sinnes. Wherefore seeing in the steade of Remission, they sayde Remisse, they seeme also to haue vsed this worde *Missa* in the place of Mission. And so that which was done in the Church after the sending away of the Catechumeni, they called Masse. Κατηχεῖν (to tell you that by the way) is to teache and instruct especially by word of mouth, and not by writings. Wherefore they were called κατηχούμενοι, who were not yet washed with the fountaine of regeneration, but were instructed as touching faith. By Tertullian they were called Audients or Auditors, and by Augustine Competents. For before they should be Baptized at Easter, they gaue their names for the space of 40. dayes before, in which space of time they were instructed, and by the Pastors of the Church, not onely their faith but their life and manners were throughly tried. But in the holie assembly, when the holie Scriptures had beene recited, and a sermon made, the Deacon spake out with a loud voice: Let the Catechumeni come forth: and the Gretians saide, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, that is: Holie things to holie men, according as it is gathered out of the ancient Liturgies: and also out of Cyril vpon Iohn, the 12. booke, Chapter the 50. Yea and in the time of Gregorie as himselfe testifieth in the 2. booke, Chapter the 23. of his dialogues it was said: If any man communicate not, let him giue place. And that manner might haue seemed verie like to a certaine rite of the Ethnicks. For in a certaine seruice of their Religion, as Festus reporteth, the officer saide: Stand forth thou banquished Enimie, and thou woman of virgin, because in that diuine seruice, it was forbidden vnto these kindes of persons to bee present. And Apuleius in his second booke saieth, that the Priest when hee should begin the sacrifices, was accustomed thus to say, τίς τήδε, who is there? Vnto whom it was answered καλοὶ καγαθοί, as if it were saide: Honest and good men, when the polluted and vnworthie persons were gone forth. So was it done in our Church: for after that by the Deacon was vttered that voyce κατηχούμενοι, ἐυεργούμενοι, the Runnagates and penitentes went away thence. Of these orders Dionysius maketh mention: Ἐνεργούμενοι were those which were vexed with ill Spirites. Perhaps they were persons excommunicated: seeing those at that time I meane in the primatiue Church, were deliuered vnto Sathan. Wherefore as it now appeareth by those things which we haue spoken,

The Catechumeni, & those which would not communicate, were sent away by the Deacons. Cyril. Gregorie.

Festus.

Apuleius.

ἐνεργούμενοι.

the Latine Church, called the celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist Missa, as it were Missio, a sending away. For sometime Ambrose also vsed this phrase Missas facere. And vndoubtedlie this opinion I better allowe than the opinion of them which iudge that the name was deriued of the Hebrue worde Masse.

Masse as it were Missio.

Catechumeni.

6 But now that we haue intreated of the name of the Masse, I thinke it good to make rehearsall of the partes thereof according as they were in the ancient time. The Greekes seeme to haue begun their Liturgie with Kyrie eleison, as if before all things, they would craue pardon of their sins. This phrase ỹ latine church borowed of them, which some doe attribue vnto Gregorie. Howbeit while the people were gathering together, and before they were assembled, they did sing somewhat out of a Psalme, or out of some parte of the Scripture, and that long they called, The Entring in, because in verie deede they were people then went in. Thereof they made Cælestinus to be author. After Kyrie eleison the people being as it were gladde for obtaining remission of their sinnes, they long to the praise of God, the Hymne: Glory be to the highest, which as they will was inuented by Telesphorus. Further they had the Collectes which are ascribed vnto Gelasius. Besides saith certaine things were recited out of the holie Scriptures, either out of the olde Testament, or out of the Actes, or out of the Apostolicall Epistles. Which being heard, there remained some portion to be recited out of the Euangelicall hystorie. But when the readers of the Church had rehearsed the former lessons, the Deacon because he might be seene of all and vnderstoode of all, pronounced out of a high place and pulpit, those things which should be shewed out of the Gospell. Therefore while he went and ascended vp vpon the steppes, the people was accustomed to sing some verses of the Psalmes, which they commonlie called Gradуals. Also they vsed therin Halleluiah with a certaine chearefull crye, reioycing at the gladde tydings of the Gospell. This worde Halleluiah seemeth to be taken from ỹ church of Ierusalem: wherof there is mention both in the Apocalips and in the tytle of certaine Psalmes. When the Gospell was recited, the Bishop or pastor of the Church, added an interpretation and exhortation: vices were reproued, and they consulted as touching them that should be excōmunicated. Which things being thus finished, the Catechumeni and others which would not communicate were sent away. But in our dayes, because

Thentrie of ỹ Masse.

Glorie to the highest.

The Collectes.

The Epistle out of the Actes.

The Gospell

The Gradуals.

The Halleluiah.

An exhortation.

there be seldome any Catechumeni, and that those which are not to communicate stand by one together with an other, yea & none welneare doe communicate, except one sacrifising Priest: the Papists haue differred that Mission, vnto the end of their abhomination. For then are they wont to say with a loude voyce: *Ite, Missa est*, that is: Goe your way: Ye haue leaue to depart. But in olde time when those things were done which we haue rehearsed, they which remained to be partakers of the holy Supper, sung the Crede, to the intent they might diligently admonish one another as touching the principall points of Religion wherin they should agree together. For in the Crede is contained the effect of our faith. This contents or summe, doubtlesse if a man attentiuely read the auncient Fathers, is called the Tradition of the Church, which both is drawne out of the Bookes of God, and is necessarie to be beleeued vnto saluation. And sometime it is alleaged by Tertullian against the hereticks, which denied the holy Bookes. The Synode of Nice set forth the full and perfect Crede: howbeit not first of all, for some things were extant before, as out of Tertullian wee may perceiue.

The misse on ys sending away examined by the Papistes.

Ite, missa est, what it signifieth.

The Crede.

The Crede is saide to be a tradition of the Church. Tertullian

The Synode of Nice.

7 Moreouer when they had sung the Crede, the standers by offered of their goods what they thought meete. Verily ỳ offering had thys maner of vses. For, a part was bestowed vpō certaine moderate feastes which ỳ Christians at that time did celebrate verie religiously: and they were commonly called ἀγάπαι: A part which remained was distributed to the poore. And finally thereof was set aside some bread and wine for the vse of the holy Supper. And that this oblation of things was then vsed, two things doe testifie. First, certaine verses sung by the people while the offering was made. Which verses are therefore called by them the Offertorie. Further the same is knowen by those Collects which be had in that part of the Masse, yea and Iustine a verie auncient Martyr, in his Apologie made mentiō of this oblation: so did Cyprian also and diuers of the ancient Fathers. After these things, they which came to minister the holy supper, said: Lift vp your heartes: euen as the Ethnickes in their Ceremonies were wont to crie: Doe this. And verie well (truely) and in good time did the Christians thus say, whereby they might admonish themselues, that they should thinke vppon no carnall nor earthly thing, but should altogether bend their minde vnto heauen, where Christ is to be sought and not vpon the earth, as though he were included

Thyse sortes of thyngs of oblation.

ἀγάπαι.

The Offertorie The Collects.

The Sursum Corda. Doe this.

in bread or wine. Lastly were giuen thanks, when it was saide: We giue thee thankes, Lorde, holy Father, almightie and eternall GOD, through Christ our Lord &c. These things are most auncient and are euerie where in the most auncient Ecclesiasticall writers: Yea also, the mysterie it selfe of Christes bodie and blood is called εὐχαριστία, because the whole confection thereof consisteth of thanksgiuing. And when the Minister had laide: Through Iesus Christ our Lord, he descended to the prayer vnder the supper. Which being recited, the Lordes prayer was added. But Xystus would that the people should before that sing Holy, Holy, Holy, &c. And that a conuenient accesse might be giuen to that song, there were places put betweene. But hereunto they haue patched a Canon of their owne, which a certaine Scholeman made, as Gregorie in his Register maketh mention. Who in deede is not allowed by the same Gregorie, in that he would insert his owne, and neglect the prayer of the Lorde. The kisse of peace they say was inuented by Leo the second, which semeth not so vnto mee, seeing it was a custome in the Church euen in the time of the Apostles, that Christians should one intertaine another with a kisse of peace. Yea and Paul maketh mention in his Epistles of that kinde of kisse. Also Iustine Martyr in his second Apologie, speaketh of this kisse. The song of *Agnus Dei* is said to be brought in hither by one Innocentius. All these things being finished, they came to the distribution of the sacramēt. While the same was a doing, or when it was finished, the song of thanksgiuing was added which they called the after Communion. When all this was complete & finished, the Minister adding a comfortable prayer licenced the people to depart. All these things, albeit they ledde away the Christian people from that first simplicitie of hauing the Lordes Supper, manie things being added, as it seemed good to sundry men: yet might they after a sort be abidden, and not iustly be accused of superstition or idolatrie. Howbeit the same things were not in all Churches nor were not kept after one sort. For as yet it was otherwise in the Church of Millaine by the constitution of Ambrose: neuerthelesse afterward the Romane Antichristes corrupted all things.

We giue thankes

Wherof Eucharist tooke name.

The proper words of the Supper The Lordes Prayer. Polydor. lib. 5. c.

A Canon.

The kisse of peace.

Iustinus Martyr.

Ro.16.16.

1.Co.16.20

The song of Agnus Dei

The delyuerie of ỳ Sacrament

After Communion.

A prayer at the end.

One and the same rite was not in all Churches alike. The church of Millaine

8 But that those things which I haue specified were by the olde ordinance kept, I maie easilie shew by the most ancient writers. Tertullian *in Apologetico* saieth: Wee come together into the congregation and assemblie, that praying vnto God we may as it

Tertullian

it were hand in hand forcibly compasse him about with prayers. This force is acceptable vnto God. We also pray for Emperours, for their ministers and men in authoritie, for the state of this life, for the quietnelle of things, and for prolonging of the end. These things doe shewe the summe of the Collects. And as touching the exercise of the Scriptures, he addeth: Wee come together to the rehearsall of the diuine scriptures, if the qualitie of times present either compelleth vs to, for warne or to call to remembrance. Doubtlelle by the holy words, we feede our faith, we aduance our hope, we fasten our confidence. We neuerthelesse by often putting in mind, doe strengthen the discipline of teachers. There also haue we exhortations, chastilements and diuine Censures. For iudgement is giuen with great weight, &c. These be the things which were done in the holy assemblie. Whereunto these also must bee added, which the same Author elsewhere sayeth: namely, that the Eucharist was wont to be receiued at the hand of the chiefe prelats, &c. In these words we may haue knowledge of the principall partes of the Masse which we haue rehearsed. Iustin Martyr in his seconde Apologie writeth that vpon the Sundaie the Christians come together, but of other feasts he maketh no mention. There he saieth the holie scriptures were recited, vnto which afterward the chiefe Prelate added his owne exhortation. What (saieth he) being done, we rise and pray: afterwarde he addeth, Vnto the chiefe Prelate is brought the bread and the drinke, ouer which he giueth thankes as heartily as he can: To whom answere is made of all men, Amen. These words declare two things not negligently to be passed ouer: First that thanks were not sleightly giuen, but with all the power that might be, that is, with singular affection. Further it is manifest, that all things were spoken with an audible voyce, seeing the people answered Amen. Afterward (saieth he) the Eucharist is distributed. Last of all is a generall thanksgiuing, and offering of almes.

Dionysius. 9 Dionysius in his Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie rehearseth in a manner the selfesame things: namely, a recitall of the Scriptures, a singing of Psalmes, a communion, and other things which would be nowe ouerlong to declare: But (which semeth the more strange) he maketh no mention of offering the bodie of Christ. Howbeit we must not thinke, that he was the same Areopagita who is spoken of in the Acts of the Apostles. But whosoeuer he was, there is no doubt (as I thinke) but that he was an auncient

Christ the authour was not Areopagita spoken of in the Acts.

writer. And why I should thinke that he was not Areopagita, I am led by these reasons: first because the kind of writing which he vseth, especiallie of diuine names, and of heauenlie gouernance, containeth rather a doctrine of vaine philosophie than a doctrine of pure Christianitie, and it is vtterlie voide of edifying. Moreouer those bookes be in a maner voide of testimonies of the holy Scriptures. Further in his ecclesiasticall Hierarchie he maketh Bishops to be as a certayne meane or der betweene the clergie and laitie, whereas in the Apostles time that kinde of life was not as yet in the Church. Herewithall the elder fathers in no place made mention of those bookes: which is an Argument that those were none of the works of ỳ Martyr. Gregorius Romanus first of all other in a certaine homilie of his, made mention of his writings. But falling ouer him come we to Augustine. What father in the 59. Epistle vnto Paulinus, while he alloweth the fift question, he expoundeth foure wordes which are in the 1. Epistle to Timothy the 2. Chapter. And those be δεήσεις, προσευχαί, ἐντεύξεις, and εὐχαριστίαι. And hee affirmeth that δεήσεις [that is supplications] doe goe before the Celebration of the Sacrament: And προσευχὰς hee maketh to bee prayers, which are vsed in the verie administration of the Sacrament, wherein after a sorte wee bowe our selues vnto Christ: and ἐντεύξεις be thinketh to be petitions and requestes, by which the minister of the Church prayeth for good things for the people which stande by. And finallie he teacheth that εὐχαριστίαι were generall thankes giuinges. I might besides these bring many other monuments of the fathers if I thought not these to be sufficient. But to returne to the name of Masse: I see that there were some also which thought the same to bee derived of this woorde Missio, because those thinges which were offered by the faithfull were laide to bee sent, and they thinke, that the Hebrue woorde Masath gaue an occasion of that name, because the Iewes vsed in time of the Pentecoll to offer giftes. But for what cause I iudge that the name of Masse was not deriued from an Hebrue woorde, I haue declared before: And this I now adde: If the Masse take his name from the oblation of things which were giuen by the Godlie, the Papistes should abuse that name, who haue there no respect at all to the almes of Godlie men, but onelie to the oblation of the bodie and bloude of Christ, which they commonlie boaste, and that impudentlie, that they offer vnto the father for the quicke and for the dead. But of those

Augustine

Epistle. Verse. 1.

A place of Timothie expounded.

Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, Thankesgiuing.

Masse and Missio interpreted after an other sort.

things I suppose we haue spoken enough and at large.

Of the Masse looke another place in the Addition at the ende of this Booke.

Of Sacrifice.

In Iud. 2.5. Looke In Gen. 4.4.5. and 8.21. at the end.

10 Now there remaineth that we speake somewhat of Sacrifice. In seeking out of the definition thereof, first we finde it to be a certaine action, and the same voluntarie: which I haue therefore so said, because there be some actions which they call naturall, but those seeing they depend not of mans choyse, cannot be called voluntarie. Furthermore, Sacrifice should be referred to Religion, which I therefore speake, that I may remoue and sever the same from ciuill and domesticall workes. For domesticall workes serue for the gouerning of a familie: and ciuill workes for the administration of commonweales. But a Sacrifice is a Religious worke: seeing it belongeth to the worshipping of God, and is instituted by him, that we may offer our things vnto him, to that end doubtlesse that hee should bee honoured, and that we may cleaue vnto him in a holie societie, as Augustine in the 10. booke *De Ciuitate Dei* the 7. Chapter saith: and hereby we may perceaue how farre a sacrifice (if we speake properlie thereof) differeth from a sacrament. Which is also a voluntarie and religious worke, and also instituted by God, that by it the promise and good giftes should be sealed and exhibited, because therin we offer not any thing vnto God, but he himselfe sheweth foorth signes & amplifieth his giftes vnto vs, while we receiue with a sound faith those things which be offered.

Our actions be either voluntarie, or naturall.

Some actions be religious, and are severed from ciuill & domesticall workes.

Augustine

The difference betweene a sacrifice and a Sacrament.

11 But to make the matter more plaine, let vs briefly gather a definition of sacrifice. A sacrifice vndoubtedlie is a voluntarie and religious action, instituted by God, that we should offer that which is ours vnto him to his glory, and whereby we may the more straitlie be coupled vnto him in holy societie. Vnto this definition of sacrifices must be added a partition. Certaine sacrifices be propitiatorie, and others of thankesgiuing. In the first kinde God is become mercifull vnto men through the power and iust desert thereof. But of this sort we haue onelie one. For so much as by the onely death of Christ, the eternall father is reconciled vnto vs, and by y merit of his one onely oblation the elect haue their sinnes forgiuen them. But in the other kinde of sacrifice we giue thankes vnto God, we celebrate his name, and to our power, we are obedient vnto his will. Further it is to be vnderstood that this kinde of sacrifice is of two partes, one of the which is inward, whereby in very deede, we willingly and without compulsion referre our will and our selues wholy and all that we haue vnto God: we make them subiect vnto him, and doe consecrate them vnto his name. The other part is outward, whereby, by some gift, and that visible and sensible we doe, as it were by some token and signe, testifie what we haue in our minde, and vnto him doe offer somewhat of those thinges which he himselfe hath giuen vs. So did the forefathers offer the first fruites, tenthes & slayne beasts. In which thinges they not onely shadowed Christ the most acceptable sacrifice vnto God, but also they testified what manner of will themselues had towardes GOD. By these thinges it now appeareth, that the outward oblation or sacrifice vnlesse it haue the inward part ioyned with it, which it may truelie testifie to be in vs, is not allowed by God: seeing they that offer in such sort doe most foulie lye vnto God. For to testifie that which is not true, belongeth to deceite, and seeing in all thinges and euery where lying is discommended, yet is it far more pernitious & detestable if it be done before God. Therefor it arose that God sundrie times by his Prophets that the sacrifices of the Iewes were vnacceptable vnto him, especiallie for because they made a shew of worshipping him with their lippes and outward signes, when as their minde was most farre from him. Wherefore the inward part be requireth by it selfe, but the outward he hath no otherwise commanded, but as it may be offered ioyntlie with the inward: otherwise if it shall be naked and alone, both it is vnacceptable and highlie displeaseth him.

This sacrifice is of parts: y inward, and parte outward.

Ver. 14. Ver. 19. Rom. 12. 1.

12 If thou shalt demand what manner of outward workes those be by which may be testified the inward sacrifice, there may be many reckoned. The slaughters of beasts for sacrifice, the oblations of first fruites and tenthes, the which the fathers had while they were vnder the Lawe. Moreouer there are applyed outward workes, by which thankes are giuen vnto God, his prayses are celebrated, and prayers are made. There be also dueties of charitie towardes neighbors, mortifying of the affections of the flesh, and obedience to be done to the commandementes of God. All these latter kindes of sacrifice are common alwell to the Fathers as to vs. These thinges we giue vnto God for testifying our faith and obedience towardes him. And seeing there is no doubt of those former which were offered in time of the law, but y they in their times were sacrifices: least there should be a doubt of the other, which we named last, whether they may be counted in the place of sacrifices: it shall be confirmed by testimonies of the scriptures. In the 50. psalme it is written: Offer vnto God the sacrifice of prayse. And in the 51. A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit, a contrite heart thou shalt not despise. Vnto the Romans the 12. Chap. I beseech you for the mercie of God y you giue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice, holie, and acceptable to God. Micheas in the 6. Chapter saith, I will tell thee O man what God requireth of thee: Doe iudgement, loue mercie, walke reuerentlie, and modestlie before God. Also Esay together with the rest of the Prophets hath written many thinges for the confirmation of this matter.

The outward sacrifices of the Hebrewes.

Why the Iewish sacrifices were sometime vnacceptable vnto God.

Outward sacrifices common to the fathers and to vs.

13 Neither is it to be passed ouer, that among these outward thinges which are offered as sacrifices vnto God, there are certaine degrees and an order appointed. For GOD himselfe doth testifie that he preferreth mercie and charitie towards our neighbors farre aboue the rest. Wherefore in the 9. Chapter of Matthew, is brought out of the Prophet Hosea: I will mercie and not sacrifice. Moreouer, it is written in the 1. of Samuel: Obedience is better than Sacrifices. These words teach vs that among outward oblations, the killing of beastes, and tenthes, and fruites in the old time held the last place. But the chiefe place was giue to the obedience which is shewed vnto the word of God, to charitie towardes our brethren, to thankesgiuing, and to prayers. Neither is the ende of sacrifices lightlie to be passed ouer, but with diligence to be set forth, especiallie as Augustine hath expressed the same: namelie that we might with an holy fellowship cleaue vnto God. For without it, our workes though they be neuer so excellent, can be no sacrifices. Yea and for this cause speciallie did the verie death of Christ which was the chiefe and onely sacrifice please God, for that Christ to no other end offered himselfe but to fulfill the will of his father, and to obay him as it was meete. But to these thinges which I haue said I will also adde an other which Augustine writeth in his Epistle *Ad Deo gratias* the 3. question: namelie that in euery sacrifice, God requireth two kinde of thinges: First that our oblations be made vnto the true God: the which aduise seeing the Idolaters doe refuse, whatsoeuer they doe in their rites turneth to their owne distructiō. The other is that the forme of oblatiōs conformed by testimonies of the scriptures. In

Mat. 9.13. Osee. 6. 6. 1. Sa. 15.22.

Why the death of Christ only is greatly pleas. God.

Them of sacrifices.

Augustine Two kinde of things required in euerie sacrifice.

stiteth of the doctrine of the holy scriptures, and proceedeth not of our owne inuentions and fainings.

Whether Sacrament and sacrifice can beal one thing.

14 There ariseth a doubt, because we haue put a difference betweene a Sacrament and sacrifice: And yet, if the Fathers in the old law had in their oblations and sacrifices the selfesame thing that we haue, when we celebrate the supper of the Lord (which no man doubteth to be a Sacrament) how will that stand, which we said before, that there is a difference betweene a Sacrifice and a Sacrament, seeing that of necessitie the Sacrifices of the olde fathers must also be Sacramentes. To this I answere, that the reasons in deede of these thinges are diuers, yet that properly not, but that one thing may be both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. For no man doubteth but that Philosophie and the strength of the bodie are diuers thinges, which neuerthelesse, are both to be seene in one man. So likewise it happeneth here, that one thing may be both a Sacrifice and a Sacrament, although the consideration of a Sacrament and a Sacrifice is diuers. When the supper of the Lord is celebrated, in that the bodie and bloud of Christ are by faith & spirit giuen vnto vs to be receaued, and the promise of that coniunction which we haue with Christ sealed, so that we are the members of his bodie, in this respect (I say) it is a Sacrament and so is called, because in that Action, God giueth his giftes vnto vs. But in that by the same action we celebrate the memorie of the death of Christ, giue thanks for the benefites receaued, consecrate, and offer our selues vnto God, it is, and may be called a iust Sacrifice, because wee offer most acceptable oblations vnto God. The selfesame thing may we see in the killing of the Sacrifices which were done before God in old time. For those also were Sacramentes, whereby Christ was set forth to the olde fathers to be receaued of them by faith, and whereby they communicated before God in eating and drinking together. All these thinges I say, belonged to the nature of a Sacrament, and yet the same were also Sacrifices, seeing therein they did consecrate both theirs and themselues vnto God.

The Supper of the Lord is both a Sacrament & a Sacrifice.

When we offer most acceptable oblations vnto God.

The killing of the sacrifices were both sacraments and sacrifices.

In 1. Cor. 5.7.

Whether Christ may be said to be sacrificed vp in the Masse. How maketh writes the Supper of the Lord may be called a sacrifice.

15 But seeing Christ is said to be sacrificed, what meane these sacrificers, which say that he is dailie sacrificed in the Masse? For the which cause it is to be noted, that in the supper of the Lord, there may be foure oblations. The first is of the bread and wine, which was brought in by the people. Of a certaine portion whereof was the Eucharist cele-

celebrated, of which the faithfull communicated among themselues, and that which remained was distributed vnto the poze. And of the same oblation, Irenæus, Cyprian, and the Ecclesiasticall Stozies doe speake. And

Phil.4.18. Paul vnto the Philippians, the 4. Chapter, sheweth that almes are Sacrifices, when he writeth that he receaued those thinges which they sent him, as a sweete smelling Sacrifice vnto God. Secondlie there is a thankesgiuing which in the holy scriptures is called a Sacrifice of praise. Thirdlie the Communicantes doe offer themselues vnto God to be gouerned and mozified: Of which Sacrifice, how it hath relation hither, thou hast it twise in the Epistle to the Romans. First:

Rom.12.1. Giue your bodies a holy and liuing Sacrifice, acceptable vnto God. And in the 15. Chap-

Verse.16. ter the Apostle writeth, that He administred the Gospell to the intent that the oblation of the Gentiles may be acceptable and sanctified through the holy Ghost. Fourthlie to conclude, when hee speaketh there as touching the memozialL of the death of Christ which was the true sacrifice, by a figuratiue speache, the Eucharist oz Supper of the Lozd taketh his name of that thing which it repzesenteth, and is called a sacrifice: as Au-

Augustine saith that Christ by memoriall and cogitation is offered daile crucified. It is not enuie to call the Eucharist a Sacrifice.

gustine saith vpon the Psalme: that by remembzance and cogitation Christ is dailie offered. By these reasons I perceiue the Fathers were led to vse in the Eucharist the name of sacrifice and immolation. Which neuertheleste I would not vse, seeing the holie Scripture calleth it not so, from whose phzase of speach we must not rashlie depart: And thou shalt not at any time finde in the holy Scriptures, that the ministers of Churches oz the Apostles are called pziestes, foz that is fullie and wholie attributed vnto Christ. And as the Epistle to the Hebrewes hath: The Pziesthod was translated vnto

The ministers of the Church are no where in the scriptures called Priests. Heb.5.7,8, 9,10. him, and seeing he remaineth foz euer, he hath no neede of a succesoz. And weake is the Argument of them which bring the saying of Malachie of offering the Sacrifice called in Hebzewe *Minchah*, vnto the name of the Lozd in euery place. Foz Irenæus interpreteth this of bzead, wine, and giftes, which (as we sayd before) was offered by the faithfull in the supper of the Lozd. Howbeit Ter-

The sacrifice of Minchah. Irenæus. Tertullian tullian against the Iewes and against Marcion, expoundeth it of spirituall oblations: I meane pzayers, thankesgiuing, and godly Sermons. Of the same opinion was Ierom vppon Malachie: But the cause why the Pzophet maketh mention of *Minchah* before other Sacrifices, is foz that the same was vniuersall and was adioyned to all Sa-

Ierom. crifices: and so might it iustlie be offered by poore and simple men.

16 In lyke manner it is but weake that is obiected out of the Councell of Nice, that therein is mention made of an vnbloudie hoste oz Sacrifice: which we deny not if thou

The Councel of Nice. An vnbloudie Sacrifice.

wilt referre it to a memoziall and thankesgiuing. But vnto them it is no vnbloudie Sacrifice, seeing they boast that they haue true, and as they terme it reall bloud in the Sacrament. Further according to this opi-

In what respecte communicants are liable to the Sacrifice.

nion not onelie the minister but the faithfull, so many as doe eate and drinke of the Table of the Lozd doe Sacrifice: although (as we haue said) we should not vse this word, seeing the holy Scriptures speake not so of the Eucharist. Neither may they speake ill of vs, as though we take away from Ministers their dignitie. Foz they haue their honoz still foz ought that we say. Let them teach all nations, let them baptise, let them administer the Sacramentes, and let them retaine discipline in the Church, and let them not thinke that they haue lost their degree, if it be denyed that they offer Christ vnto God the Father. What more excellent and honozable thing can they haue, than to be the Ambassadozs of Christ, and to reconcile the worlD vnto God by their preaching, as we

Where in the dignitie of ministers consisteth.

reade in the 2. Epistle to the Corinthians: And the Actes of the Apostles we haue, λειτουργεῖν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νηστεύοντων: Which place also though Erasmus translateth: Whiles they were Sacrificing and fasting, yet in his annotations he saith that he vnderstandeth by the Sacrifice, the preaching of the Gospel, Neither is λειτουργεῖν, pzoperlie to sacrifice, but to execute a publike office and action. The Greeke expositions also in that place referre that vnto the preaching of the Gospell. And let these men see how they can be otherwise counted than blaspheamous, seeing they bzag that they offer Christ vnto God the father: because it followeth hereuppon, that they make themselues better and more worthie than Christ. Foz he that offereth cannot be vnworthier than ỳ thing offered. Whereuppon Irenæus when he vseth the word of offering, plainelie speaketh it of the oblation which he referreth vnto the bzead and vnto the wine, because it receiueth the dignitie from him that offereth, and is therefoze acceptable vnto God, because he that offereth it is acceptable vnto him. And thereby it is most manifest that he cannot vnderstand these thinges of Christ: Foz Christ is not acceptable vnto God foz the Sacrifice sake, but contrariwise rather, we be acceptable vnto God foz Christs sake. And I maruell that some

2.Cor.2.29 Acts.13.2. A place in Acts made plaine. What λειτουργεῖν signifieth. Irenæus. The Church offereth that which it receiueth, receiueth dignitie of him that offereth.

some would obiect against this our Argument the Baptisme ministred vnto Christ by Iohn Baptist, seeing that was a Sacrament, not a Sacrifice. And we doubt not, but that Sacraments may be ministred by them that are vnworthie vnto them that shall be better worthie. So then this instance is but vaine, seeing a Sacrament hath not dignitie by the Minister. But a sacrifice (as saith Irenæus) getteth honoz vnto it selfe by him that offereth. And euen this doe we read in Esay, in the Psalmes, in Micheas the Pzophet and elsewhere, that God deteesteth those Sacrifices which were offred without faith, charitie, and a good conscience.

Of the sacrifice of Melchisedech. Gen.14.18 Like in Gen.14,18.

17 Manie also are wont to say of the sacrifice of Melchisedeck, that now there is a pziesthode according to that oZder extant in the Church: Wherefoze (say they) euen as he offered bzead and wine vnto God, so we in the foZme of bzead and wine offer the sonne of God, whereby the thing signified and shadowed, may excell the figures and shadowes thereof. But as touching this, the hiStoZie of the booke of Genesis hath not, that Melchisedeck offered bzead & wine vnto God, but vnto Abraham and his hoste, being wearied. So Rabbi Salomon interpreteth that. Neither can this hebzew woZd *Iasa* in ỳ coniugation *Hiphil*, otherwise signifie than either to bzing foZth, oz to bzing out. Rabbi Salomon. Onelie Rabbi Salomon added that therein might be a figure, because in that place nameliE in Ierusalem it behoued them in olde time to offer an oblation of wine and *Mincha*. Why Melchisedech went to meete Abraham. But as touching the hiStoZie he affirmeth, that those thinges were offered vnto Abraham and to his hoste: And that Melchisedeck would by this gift declare, that he toke it not in ill part that his posteritie was cut off by Abraham. Foz he maketh this Melchisedeck as other Hebzewes doe, to be Sem the sonne of Noah. And therefoze went he out to gratifie him with bzead and wine, that thereby Abraham and his hoste which were wearie, might be refreshed. Ambrose. Ambrose also in his Treatise of the Sacramẽts plainlie saith, that these things were offered vnto Augustine Abraham. And Augustine in his booke of Questions of the olde Testament, writeth that the Eucharist of the bodie and bloud of Christ was offred vnto Abraham. Now then vnto the Fathers which say, that Melchisedeck offered vnto God, we obiect the trueth of the Hebzew, and other fathers which wee haue now cited. But admit that he offered vnto God, what is this vnto the Masse? They shall haue no other than an allegoricall Argument, which in verie deede, is most

An Allegoricall argument conclusiuelie not. It is not denyed but that bzead and wine are offered vnto God.

weake. Further we deny not, but that bzead in ỳ supper of the Lozd, is after a sozt offered vnto God to be sanctified, & that it is made a sacrament by him. The difficultie & matter in debate is, whether Christ himselfe is offered vnto God ỳ father by mailing pziests: ỳ which as it hath bin said, these men doe not pzoue. And that a pziesthod remaineth in the Church according to the oZder of Melchisedeck, we deny not, by reason of Christ who being our high pziest, is entred into heauen, and foZ vs maketh intercession to the Father. Of the which matter it is sufficientlie written in the Epistle to the Hebzewes.

That the Priesthode according to the order of Melchisedech remaineth in the Church.

Of the Masse, peruse an other place at the end of this woorke.

Another Common Place of Sacrifice.

18 And in Sacrifices it is to be obserued, that God accepteth better of him that offereth, than of the Sacrifice, yea the oblations please not him but foZ the offerers sake. This iudgement Irænus pzoueth by the Scriptures in his 4. booke and 34. Chapter. Foz God had a regarde vnto Abel and to his giftes, but vnto Caine and his giftes he looked not, because of the disposition of them that offered. Foz loke what manner of will he that offereth hath towardes God, the like will hath God to the oblation. Christ also saith: If thou bring thy gift vnto the altar, and remembZest that thy bZother hath somwhat against thee, goe and reconcile thee first vnto thy bZother: and then come and offer thy gift. As though he should saie: if whilest thou art euill and enimie vnto God, thou doest offer, thine oblation shall not be acceptable vnto God. Wherefoze Irenæus concludeth, that it is not the sacrifice which sanctifieth, but the conscience of the sacrificer. And he addeth a reason: because God needeth not our sacrifice. Among men, the euill man oftentimes may be abSolued, because men are sometimes couetous and needie, and are easilie wonne with monie. But if it happen the iudge to be both iuSt and good, he will reiect the monie, neither will he suffer his equitie after that maner to be slayned. So God, because he cannot be wonne by flatterie, obSerueth the mindes of men and not the Sacrifices. In Esay the 66. Chapter, he saith: He that Sacrificeth a beast, is as if he slew a dog; not ỳ God hateth sacrifices in general, but because he alloweth not the oblations of euill men. I haue the largelier spoken of these things.

In Iud.13. 22. That the offerer is more acceptable vnto God than the sacrifice. Irenæus, Gen.4. Mat.5.23.

because the Papistes boast, that in Masses they offer Christ vnto God the father: which if it should be graunted, then must God the father moze eskéme a naughty sacrificer than he doth his sonne. But the wife of Manoah reasoneth most wittilie: God hath receaued our sacrifice, therefoze he is not angrie, neither will he destroy vs. We count the sacrifices of Christians to be a contrite heart, prayers, giuing of thankes, almes, moztifying the affections of the flesh, and such like. These are left vnto vs after the abrogation of the carnall sacrifices, that we should offer them as the fruites of our faith, and testimonies of a thankefull minde. But as touching the pacifying of God, Christ offered himselfe once vpon the Crosse, neither is there any néede that any man should offer him againe. Foz by one oblation he accomplished all things. Now remaineth, that we imbrace his sacrifice with faith, and we shall haue God merciful vnto vs: who of his goodnesse, will by Christ accept those sacrifices which we haue now made mention of.

The sacrifices of Christians.

Augustine

19 But Augustine against the letters of Parmenianus, in his 2. booke the 8. Chapter séemeth at the first sight to make against vs. Foz the Donatistes would not communicate with other Christians, because they counted them defiled & vnpure. And they cited a place out of Iohn: We know that God heareth not sinners. Your men (say they) haue betrayed the holie bookes, haue burnt incense vnto Idolles, haue denied God, howe then shall God heare them? Augustine answereth, that it may be that an euill Minister, although he be not heard foz his owne cause, yet when he prayeth foz the people he may be heard. And he confirmeth his saying by the Example of Balaam. Foz he béeing a most wicked man, prayed vnto God, and was heard. But if a man diligentlie examin these things, he shall finde ý Augustine is not against vs, although at the first sight he séemeth a little to presse vs. When he had saide that the euill Ministers also are heard, he straight way addeth, ý ý is not done foz their wickednesse sake, but because of the faith and deuotion of the people. Whereby we gather, that although the Minister be the guide in words, yet are they not his prayers, but the prayers of ý church. Foz there must be one certaine man which must recite the prayers foz the rest, least in the multitude should arise a confusion oz tumult, if euerie man should indeuour to make loude prayers in the Church. Wherefoze the Minister is a certaine mouth of the Church. So as if he be euil, it is not he which is herd, but the faithfull people which speake by his

John.9.31.

The publike prayers of the minister, are the prayers of the Church.

The Minister is the mouth of the Church

wozdes. And this doeth Augustine teache when he writeth that an euill minister is heard, not foz his owne wickednesse, but foz the faith and deuotion of the people. Hereby are we admonished, that while we are present at publike prayers, we must take verie diligent heede, & assure our selues that these prayers which are recited, are ours. But Balaam by a certaine forme of prayers, prophesied, and therefoze his wozdes are called a blessing, because he prophesied happie things vnto the people of God. And he was not moued vnto these prayers of his owne will, but was set on by the spirit of God. And so he was not heard, but the holy Ghost was the true Author of his wozdes.

Num.22.

Balaam was heard.

20 What which is alleaged out of Iohn: to wit, That God heareth not sinners: Augustine saieth, that that was not the saying of Christ, but of the blind man, which was not yet fully lightened. Wherefoze he affirmeth that sentence not to be generally true. Foz (as they define) the prayers of peruerse Ministers are sometimes heard, because they are the prayers of the Church. But as touching the offering vp of Christ, I thinke not that the Papists will graunt that the whole Church offereth him, séeing they will haue that to be peculiar to the Sacrificers. And though they should graunt that, yet is not the whole Church greater & more acceptable vnto God than is Christ: Because he is not acceptable vnto God foz the Church sake, but the Church is acceptable vnto God foz Christes sake. But to returne to the saying of Iohn: That God heareth not sinners, adding a profitable distinction, we may thus expound it. There are some sinners which of infirmitie fall of weakenesse, oz sinne of ignozaunce, which yet afterward do acknowledge themselues, are sozowfull and repent faithfully. But there are other which sinne without conscience, which are destitute of faith, neither are they led with any repentance. The first sozt, because they haue faith, are heard, the other, foz as much as they want faith doe in vaine powze out their prayers. Howbeit if a man will obiect the Publicane, who being a sinner, prayed vnto God, and departed iustified: I answer that that Publicane was in such sozt a sinner, that yet when he prayed he was not without faith; nay rather he prayed from a faithful heart, otherwise God would not haue heard his prayers. And vndoubtedly Iames doeth right well admonish vs when he saieth: Praie hauing faith. To conclude, that sentence is firme and perfect, wherein it is said: Whatsoeuer is offered vnto God for a sacrifice, the same is acceptable vnto

John.9.31.

Whether God heareth sinners.

What manner of one the Publicane was, when he prayed.

Luk.18.10.

Iame.5.15

vnto him, if faith and iustification of him that offereth goeth before. Some cauill as touching the first act of faith whereby we begin first to assent vnto GOD: And they doubt whether it be acceptable vnto God oz no. Certainly, before it, he which now beginneth to beléeue, is an enemie. Then (say they) if that first consent be acceptable vnto GOD, then accepteth he the gift of an enemie: but if it be not acceptable, then it iustifieth not. To this I answere two wayes: first that men are not iustified though the worthines of the act of faith, but by the firme promise of God which faith imbraceth. Further when any man first assenteth and beléeueth, then is he first of an enemie made a friend: And although before he was an enemie, yet so soone as he beléeueth he is made a friend, and ceaseth to be an enemie. But that which we haue before concluded, that he which offereth is more acceptable vnto God than the gift, the Ethnickes themselues saiwe. Foz Plato *in Alcibiade* maketh mention that the Athenians vpon a time made warre against the Lacedemonians, and when they were ouercome, they sent messengers vnto Iupiter Ammon, by whom, they said that they marueiled foz what cause, séeing they had offered so great giftes vnto the goddes, and contrariwise that their enemies had sacrificed sparingly and nigardly, and yet had the victozie ouer them. Ammon answered ý the goddes moze eskémed the prayers of the Lacedemonians than the most fat sacrifices of the Athenians. Foz when they burnt Oxen vnto their goddes, in the meane time they thought nothing of their soules. So in Homer, Iupiter speaketh: that the goddes are not moued with the smoke and smell of sacrifices. Séeing they hated Priamus and the Troians. Wherefoze the Ethnicks vnderstoode that which the Papists at this day sée not: who thinke that their blinde sacrificer though he be neuer so vnpure, and vngodly, doeth yet with his handes offer vp Christ vnto GOD the Father.

Of Altars.

Of a false similitude.

In 1. King. 1.50.

Two sortes of Altars.

In 1. Kings 13.

21 In the olde time there were two sozts of Altars, one of whole burnt offerings, and an other of incense. To the first doubtlesse the Priestes onely had accesse, but to the latter, the laitie did also go: Neither did they repaire thither foz any other cause but foz their safetie. And that men were sometimes sained there when they were in danger, it is sufficientlie shewed in the 12. of Exodus. I suppose that in the first of Kings the xiij. Chapter, an Altar by the figure Synecdoche, betokeneth all that same peruerse worshiping, oz else that vnder the name of the Instrument is signified the effect. Foz no man is ignozant, but that an altar at that time was the principall instrument of the diuine seruice. Yea and Paule vseth that wozd in this sense, when vnto the Corinthians he saieth: They which waite at the Altar, are partakers of the Altar. Which thing is nothing else, but ý it is méete that they which are occupied in the seruice of God, should haue their liuing thereof. Also Cyprian and Augustine disagree not from that sense, when they say, ý Schismatikes oz Heretickes erect an altar against an altar, that is, they institute in the Church diuers and contrarie seruices of God. Albeit to say what I thinke, the fathers should not with so much libertie in the new Testament haue semed héere and there to abuse the name of Altar. Foz Altar is referred to an outward sacrifice: but séeing this hath place no moze among vs, because we offer no moze outward sacrifices of slaine beastes, and that our sacrifices be nothing else than prayers, prayses, thankesgiuings, moztification of the flesh, and almes déeds, therefoze the correlatiue (as the Logitians speake) of an Altar being taken away, neither can it selfe be extant oz had. Against this opinion, Bishop Tonstall now lately in England would néedes oppose him selfe, & prooue that the Christians also haue Altars among them. He brought a saying out of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, We haue an Altar whereof it is not lawfull for them to eate which Minister in the tabernacle. And when it was said to him, that Altar in that place was nothing else but Christ himselfe: What (saith he) but is it not lawfull to eate Christ? Little considering whole whom the Apostle déeme from eating of Christ: namelie they which refusing ý Gospell altogether, claue to the Jewish seruices: foz how could such manner of men beeing enuious vnto Christ, eate of him? But Petrus Alexandrinus in a certaine Epistle of his, which is extant in Theodoretus the 4. booke & 22. Chapter, went so farre that he attributed moze to the outward Altar than to the liuelie Temples of Christ. Foz when hee had complained that the wicked in the time of Valens the Emperour in the Church of Alexandria, had drawen the virgins naked through the Citie, and had most shamefully violated them, and also beaten and slaine them, he added, that they being not satisfied with those heynous déeds, deuised moze gré-

1.Cor.9.13

Cyprian. Augustine

The sacrifices of the newe Testament.

That there be no Altars among vs. Bythap Tonstall.

Heb.13.10

Petrus Alexandrinus.

nous

nous things, to wit, that they violated and polluted the Altar of the Temple. Also Optatus Mileuitanus in the 6. booke against Parmenianus: What is an Altar, (saieth he?) Euen the seate of the bodie & bloud of Christ. Such sayings as these edified not the people, but rather draue them to the Ethnicke and Jewish Rites, when as of a certaine foolishe blinde zeale they borowed both Altars and other Rites as well of the Jewes as of the Ethnickes. Origen also in the 10. Homilie vpon Iosuah maketh mention of an Altar. Optatus Mileuitanus. Origen.

Tertullian. Likewise Tertullia in his booke *De Pœnitentia* writeth that there were wont to be certain knéelings about the Altar. Such more sincerelie and wiselie did some of the fathers in stead of Altar put Table, or in gréeke τράπεζα, of which, the faithful take tignes of the Eucharist.

Of the liturgies of Basill and Chrysostome, looke in the defence against Gardiner, Page 2.

The thirteenth Chapter.

Of a Magistrate, and of the difference betweene Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall power.

In Iud. 19. at the end. 2. cohe. in Iud. 8. 2. 3.

NOw it remaineth that I intreate of a Magistrate, who in my iudgement may thus be described: Namely, A person chosen by the institution of God, to kéepe the lawes as touching outward discipline, in punishing of transgressors with punishment of the bodie, and to defend and make much of the good. There are vndoubtedly many persons elected by the institution of God, which are not Magistrates: such be the Ministers of Churches, which neuertheleſſe are kéepers of the word of God and of his law, but not onely as touching outward discipline. Because it is the office of ministers, though the word of God to pearse euē to the inwarde motions of the minde: because the holy Ghoſt ioyneth his power, both to the right preaching of his word, and also to the sacraments which are ministred in the Church. But the Magistrate onely exerciseth outward discipline and punishment vpon transgressors. The minister in the name of God, bindeth the guiltie and vnpenitent, and in his name excludeth them from the kingdome of heauen, as long as they shall so remaine. The Magistrate punisheth with outwarde punishments, and when néede requireth, vseth the sword. Both of them nourish the godly, but diuerlie. The Magistrate aduaunceth them with honors, riches and dignities. The minister comforteth them with the promises of God & with the sacraments. Wherefore the Magistrate is appointed to the end that the lawes should be diligently kept, the guiltie punished, and the good holpen and sostered. And certainely the lawe is a dumb Magistrate: and againe, the Magistrate, is a liuing and speaking lawe, and is also the Minister of God (as Paul saieth) to their praise which doe well: and on the otherside he beareth the sworde against the wicked as a iudge and reuenger of God. Neither tend these things to any other ende than to the saletie of men. The office of a Magistrate. Rom. 13. 3. Luke 22. 1. Sam. 8. 6.

The definition.

2 Howbeit the forme of Magistrates is not of one sort but manifolde: as *Monarchia*, [of gouernment of one] *Aristocratia* [the rule of many good men,] and *Politia* [politike gouernment.] Or else *Tyrannis*, [where one rules for his owne commoditie,] *Oligarchia*, [where a fewe be in authoritie,] and *Democratia*, [when the people beare the sway.] The descriptions and natures of which formes Plato, Aristotle, and other Philosophers, haue elegantly described. Of all these manners of gouernment the best is to be desired. And all men to whom it pertaineth ought to prouide, that a good or tollerable estate degenerate not into an euill one. But if it happen at any time that Tyrannes or wicked princes obtaine the gouernance, that must bee suffered as much as the worde of God giueth leaue. The Iewes were by violence oppressed of the Babylonians: whom neuertheleſſe, GOD admonished that they should obey, & pray for the King although he were a Tyrant, and possessed the kingdom of the Hebrewes most wrongfully. Cæsar also helde Iewrie by Tyrannie, and yet Christ said: Giue that which is Cæsars vnto Cæsar, and the things that are of God vnto God. The Apostles also haue taught that we must obey princes and pray for them. Nero was a most shamefull beast, to whom notwithstanding the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans sheweth that obedience ought to be giuen, not onely for feare but also for conscience sake. Phocas attained to the Empire of Rome, by euill practises, and most cruelly slew Mauritius his prince, and also his children, whom neuertheleſſe the Romans acknowledged for their Emperour: and Gregorie the first, read vnto the people his commandements and writings. But and if thou shalt demaunde what forme of a publike weale the Iewes had, it may easily be knowen. The forme of a Magistrates manifold. Ier. 27. 11. & 29. 7. An example for obeying of the Magistrate. Mat. 22. 21. Rom. 13. 1. 1. Pet. 2. 13. Rom. 13. 5.

The difference betweene the office of a magistrate and a Minister.

At the beginning they had *Aristocratia* [where the best sort ruled.] For God approued the counsell of Iethro, which was, that there should be chosen out wise men and courageous, and such as feared God which should gouerne the publike weale, as it is written in Exodus and Deuteronomie. Yea and God himselfe with his spirit did so inspire these 70. men (whom he had commaunded to bee chosen as helpers of Moses in the gouernment,) as they also prophesied. On this wise were the Israelites gouerned, although afterward they were ruled by a king. Exo. 18. 14. Deut. 1. 9. Numb. 11. 16. The end of a Magistrate.

That writers are called apostles. Luke 22. 1. Sam. 8. 6.

3 But this must not be omitted that princes in the holy Scriptures are not onely called Deacons, or Ministers of God, but also Pastors: Of whom Ezechiel complaineth for manie causes, for that they cruellie and peruerselie fed the people of God. Homer also calleth his Agamemnō the pastor of the people. For they ought not to beare rule as thēues or hirelinges, to fleece and to oppresse, but to kéepe, nourish, and fede lyke Pastors. They are also called Fathers, wherefore the Senators among the Romans were called *Patres conscripti*, that is, appointed Fathers. Neither was there a greater or more auncient honour in the Commonweale, than to be called, The father of the Countrie. Yea also a Magistrate by the lawe of God is cōprehended vnder this commaundemēt, Honour thy father and thy mother. Princes then owe vnto their subiectes a fatherly loue, and they ought alwayes to remember that they are not rulers ouer beastes, but ouer men, and that themselues also are men: who yet should be farre better and more excellent, than those whome they gouerne, otherwise they are not fit to gouerne them. For we make not a shepe the chiefe ruler ouer shépe, but the Bellwether, and then the shepheard. And euen as a shepheard excelleth the shépe, so ought they to whome the office of a Magistrate is committed, to excell the people. Now must we consider by whome Magistrates are ordained. That is sometime done by the consent of the Senate, sometime by the voyces of the people, or by the will of the souldiers, or else by succession of inheritance. Howbeit these are but instrumentes. But the proper cause of Magistrates is God himselfe, which may be proued by manie reasons. First there is by God kindled a certaine light in the hearts of men, whereby they vnderstand that they cannot liue together without a guide: and from thence sprung the office of a Magistrate. The lawe of God also commaundeth to obay Magistrates. And before the lawe giuen by Moses, as it is written in Genesis, God ordayned that he which sheddeth mans bloud, his bloud also should be shed, not rashlie in deede or by enery man (for that were verie absurd). We may then gather by those wordes, that a Magistrate was plainelie instituted by God, that he should punish manquellers. Paul also writeth that, all powers whatsoeuer they be, are ordained of God. And Christ answered vnto Pilate, Thou shouldest haue no power against me, except it had bin giuen thee from aboue. By these testimonies and reasons it is proued, that God is the true and proper cause of Magistrates. Exod. 22. 28. Ezech. 34. Homer. Magistrates are called Fathers. Exo. 20. 12. Deut. 17. 12. By whom Magistrates are appointed. God is the first appointer of Magistrates. Gen. 9. 6. Rom. 13. 1. The office must be distinguished from the person.

4 But here some cauill saying: If all Magistrates be of God, then must all things be rightlie gouerned: But in gouerning of publike weales we see that many things are done naughtilie and peruerslie. Doubtlesse, vnder Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabolus, good lawes were despised, good men killed, and discipline of the Citie was vtterlie corrupted. But if the Magistrate were of God, such thinges had neuer happened. This reason neither can nor ought any thing to moue vs, because the office is to be separated from the person. And certainlie it may be that he which hath the office may be a naughtie and wicked man, when as neuertheleſſe the authoritie it selfe is good and very profitable. For there is nothing so good, but that men by their naughtinesse may vse it ill. Wherefore it is no maruell, if there haue bin kings and Emperors which sometime haue abused the power giuen them, which notwithstanding they were not so able to corrupt, but that men by it receiued many good thinges and commodities, as I haue before shewed. By the testimonie of Daniel, it is most manifest that Magistrates are of God: For (saith he) he giueth and translateth kingdomes at his owne pleasure. Furthermore, we see that the Monarch hath sometime bin in the East, sometime in the South, afterward in the West, and sometimes in the North: and that otherwhile there haue bin good princes, otherwhile euil: sometimes haue reigned noble men, and sometime men of obscure kinred. And we perceiue, it oftentimes happeneth that riches or power further not to the obtainement or holding of a kingdome, and to thinke that these thinges are done by chaunce without the prouidence of God, it is most absurd. The office is distinguished from the person. Dan. 2. ver. 12. & 37.

5 Some Astronomer perhappes will say, that these chāges or alterations are brought in by the Starres: But Daniel, the Minister of trueth, saith that it is God which The alterations of Princes must not be attributed to the chan- Starres.

changeth times. For euen as he hath in the yeare appointed the seasons of times, so as it pleaseth him both he sometimes establisheth princes, and sometime taketh them away. He cast downe Saul, and he also promoted Dauid. And he foretold that he would so doe, least it might haue seemed to happen rashlie or by chaunce. Yea & kingdomes and publike weales, may be called certain workhouses, or shoppes of the will of God. For that is done in them which GOD himselfe hath decreed to be done, although princes oftentimes vnderstand it not. God called the Medes and the Assyrians, to afflict the Israelites: and those when it seemed good vnto him he expelled and take away. He raysed vp the Persians against the Chaldeans, and the Grecians against the Persians, and lastlie the Romans against all other nations. Who diuided the kingdome of the Hebrewes into Iuda and Israell? God verilie did it. Ahias the Silonit did foretell that it should so come to passe, and sayd that the word was come forth from the Lord that it should so be. Who ouerthrew Achab? who caused Iehu to be annointed, but onelie God? But there are certaine tyrants, which destroy publike weales. I graunt it, but our wickednesse & sinnes deserue it. For there be oftentimes so grieuous sinnes, & so manie that they cannot be corrected by the ordinarie Magistrate, and by a gentle and quiet gouernment of things. And therefore God doth then prouide Tyrantes to afflict the people: And yet for the most part he tempereth & qualifieth his punishment in placing among them good and godlie princes. After the fall of Nero, he set vp Vespasian: After Domitian he sent Nerua and Traian: After Commodus, Pertinax and Seuerus: After Heliogabalus, Alexander. But they which say: the wicked actes of Tyrantes are not of God, yet doe those thinges spread abroad into kingdomes and Empires: Therefore Empires and kingdomes are not of God: they I say make a false Syllogisme *A secundum quid, ad simpliciter*: that is, from that which is in some respect, vnto that which is absolute. Neither is this a perfect conclusion. Certaine thinges in a Magistrate are not of God, therefore the Magistrate himself is not of God. Or else they reason ill frō Accidentes: For vices and wicked actes happen to publike powers, but are not ioyned vnto them by themselues, or by their owne nature. But some man will doubt: If the Magistrate be an Ethnick and also a Tyrant, whether it be lawfull for a godly man to vse his helpe and ayde. What else? Paul appealed vnto Cæsar a most wicked Tyrant.

1.Sam.16.1

Esa.10.5. & 12.

1.Kings.11 30.

The cause why Tyrants are placed.

After Tyrantes God causeth good Princes to succeede.

A false argument.

Whether a godlie man may vse the helpe of a Tyrant. Acts.25.11

But it may seeme, he did against his owne preceptes. For in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, he reprehended those Christians which pleaded causes at the iudgement places of the Ethnickes. He iustly reproued the Corinthians because there were Christians among them which might in the Church haue decided their causes: Neither was it conuenient that Christians should contend with Christians at the iudgement places of the vngodlie. But Paul when he appealed vnto Cæsar, had not to doe with Christians, but with the Iewes and president of Rome. Wherefore seeing he had not a faithfull Magistrate, neither could it other wise be done, and his life also was sought, he did not ill in crauing the tuition and helpe of the common Magistrate, although he were an Ethnicke. For euen as we vse the Sunne and Moone, so also is it lawfull to vse the publike and ordinarie Magistrate, what manner of man soeuer he be.

1.Cor.6.1.

6 The Christian Church did euen so, when as yet there were no Christian Emperors. For Paulus Samosatenus was condemned as an heretick, and being a Bysshop was cast from his dignitie. But because he would not goe out of the house which belonged to the bishop, there was sute made vnto Aurelianus the Emperour, and ayde obtayned at his handes, who compelled him to deliuer his house vnto the newe Bysshop. Who can say that the Church herein sinned, because it vsed ỹ publick Magistrate, though he were an Infidel: But let vs returne from whence we digressed, and let vs constantlie beleeue that ỹ Magistrate is of God, though oftentimes (our sinnes deseruing the same) many thinges are by him done wickedly and vniustlie. Howbeit Hosea the Prophet saith yet to be against vs whē he saith: They haue reigned but not by me. But we must vnderstand that Hosea entreated of tyrantes which neither regarded lawes, neither noursished the good nor take away the euill frō among the people, and therefore they reigned not by God, but by their owne lustes. They regarded their owne affections, and not the lawe of God. Further they inuaded kingdomes, being stirred vp by their owne lustes, and driuen by their owne ambition: not as they which felt the calling of GOD vnto a kingdome. Neither did they take authoritie vppon them, with a will to obay God, but to satisfie their owne ambition. Which was not to reigne by God. But that they were not promoted to the kingdome by the will of God, that is contrarie welneare to the whole scripture. For God called Nabuchad-

The church vsed an Ethnicke Magistrate.

Hosea 8.4.

How Tyrants may be said not to reigne of God. Luke 19. Rom.13.

chad-nezar his seruant, because he would vse his labour to afflict the Israelites, whereas notwithstanding, it might haue bin said that he reigned not by God, because he fought against the Iewes for his owne pleasures sake, and not of a zeale to fulfill the will of God. So that the saying of Osea the Prophet is nothing against vs, but that we may beleeue that the Magistrate is of God, and that we ought to obay him. Paul saith, Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers. The same is written to Titus. And in the first Epistle of Peter the 2. Chapter. And Paul to Timothie addeth, That we should praie for them. But the Papistes and they which will be called Ecclesiasticall men, will not giue eare hereunto: For they cry, that they are exempted from publike and ordinarie powers, whereas yet the Apostle vsed no exception, when he said, Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers: Againe, He which resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. Yea and Chrysostome also vpon that place, saith, that the Apostles, Prophets, Euangelistes, and Monkes are comprehended vnder that Lawe. And Chrysostome wrote these thinges of Ecclesiasticall persons: whenas neuertheleelle he himselfe was Bysshop of Constantinople, and we had then Christian Emperours.

Rom.13.1.

Tit.3.1.

1.Pet.2.13.

1.Tim.2.2.

That the ministers of the Church are not exempted from the ordinarie power. Rom.13.1. Iuer.2. Luke the 3. Centur. of Magd. Bul. locke. fol.6. Chrysost.

7 But it is a woorde to heare the arguments which these false ecclesiastical mē vse. In the Extrauagants *De Maioritate & Obedientia*, in the Chapter *Vnam Sanctam*, Bonifacius the eight whom they write to haue entred in as a Fox, raigned like a Lyon, and dyed like a dog, saith ỹ there be two swordes in the Church. And least he should seeme to speake it rashlie, he citeth these woordes out of the 22. Chapter of Luke: When I sent you without bagge or scrippe, did ye at anie time want anie thing? They saide vnto him, No. Christ added: But now I saie vnto you, let euerie man take his scrippe and wallet, and he which hath none let him sell his coate, and buye a sworde, They saide vnto him, behold heere are two swordes. Christ answered, it is sufficient. Boniface saith: Two swordes are sufficient for the Church: namelie, the spirituall sword, and the temporall. Wherefore they which saie that Peter had not an outward sword, doe seeme not to vnderstand the woordes of Christ, wherein he saide vnto Peter: Put vp thy sworde into thy sheath. Thy sword (saith he) and not an other mans. For he had a sworde of his owne, although he were bidden to put it vp. But there must needes bee some other kept in these woords: seeing what powers so euer they bee

Verse.35.

Ioyn Tyrants may be said not to reigne of God. Luke 22. Rom.13.

The Popes two swords are sufficient for the Church. Luke 22. Ier.47.6. 2.Cor.10.4. Mat.26.52. fol.6.

ordained by God. And there would be a great confusion, if, two swoords being in ỹ Church, the one should not be gouerned by the other. So then the Temporall swoorde ought to bee gouerned by the spirituall. And to make this Argument more plaine: The Church (saith he) hath two swoordes, but it vseth not them after one and the selfesame manner. For it exerciseth the spirituall swoorde, but the temporall swoorde ought to be drawen onelie at the becke & sufferance of the Church. This is so obscure, that it may in a manner seeme to be a riddle. Howbeit this is his meaning, that the swoorde of the Emperour ought to be drawen onelie at the will and pleasure of the Pope: That when he commandeth, he must strike: and by sufferance, that is, he must goe forward in striking, so long as he listeth and will suffer it. These things therefore must be in order: and the order is, that the temporall swoorde be reduced vnto God by the spirituall. For as saith that Dionysius, (who is thought to be the Areopagite, whereas he is another) All inferiour things are referred to the cheefest, but yet by a meane. Wherefore (saith he) the temporall swoorde must be drawen at the Popes becke, that so it may be referred vnto God. Thus we see it to be done at this day: For so often as the most holie father doth hold vp his finger to make war against ỹ Lutherans, he will haue the Emperor forthwith to obay. And if any prince will not with competent submission obay him, straightway legates are sent vp & downe, that all other Kinges and Princes should bend themselues to his becke, and to bee and withstande him that will not obaie him.

The Emperours swoord subiected to the Pope.

The Popes preferred himselfe aboue all Kings and Princes.

8 Boniface addeth moreouer, that he himselfe is aboue all Kinges and Princes. For principalitie is to be esteemed according to the dignitie of the things which be exercised by it. *Me* (saith he) exercise spirituall things, and they temporall: their swoord therefore is inferiour to ours, and they vnto vs. He addeth also an other reason: They pay vnto vs tenthes, but tenthes are paide by the inferiour vnto the superiour: wherefore seeing kings and Princes pay tenthes, they confesse that their lands and reuenewes belong to the Church, and that they are subiect vnto it. Besides this, he which blesseth, is greater thā he which is blessed: but Bysshops consecrate & annoint Kings. The Glosse addeth, that of Kings, onely the right shoulder is annointed, but Bysshops haue their heads annointed. Kings are annointed with Oyle, but Bysshops with Chresme: So then we must needes confesse that Kings are inferiour to

Bysshops. Furthermore Kings receiue their crowne and scepter of Bysshops. For who (saith he) inuested Saul, and who Dauid; but Samuel? Who annointed Iehu, but a Prophet sent by Helizeus? The thing also which is exercised by Bysshops is greater, than that whereabout Kings are occupied. For Christ saide vnto Peter: Whatsoeuer thou shalt binde in earth, shalbe bound in heauen. This power is greater than all humane power. And God saide vnto Ieremie: I will set thee ouer nations and kingdomes, that thou maist roote out & destroy, scatter and plant, therefore wee are greater than all the power of Kings, and are exempted from their Lawe: So that the prophane and lay powers of Emperours and Kings must bee iudged by Ecclesiasticall persons, and ought by vs to be appointed, and may by vs be ouerthrowen. For vnto whom it belongeth to builde, to the same it pertaineth to destroie: Therefore the spirituall Magistrate ought to iudge of the Ciuill Magistrate. But if the spirituall offend in any thing, of whom ought he to be iudged? The lesser (saith he) ought to be iudged of the greater. Then of whom shall the Pope which is the highest of all be iudged? Of no man (saith he) except God onelie: because he that is spirituall, is iudged of no man, but he iudgeth all things. Hath he not trimlie erected his tyrannie? He calleth onelie himselfe spirituall. The Glosser although he were otherwise grosse ynough, yet could he not be so much a blocke, but that he sawe these things to be spoken verie absurdlie. Howe (saith he) is the Pope spirituall, if he be vnpure and wicked? He expoundeth himselfe by this distinction: There is (saith he) one manner of spiritualtie of the person, and an other of the state: Then, if there be some spirituall person, he maie reprooue all men by a brotherlie admonition, but hee ought to be reprehended of no man: for that he being spirituall cōmitteth nothing amisse. But otherwhile some person which is not spirituall in life and manners, ought neuertheless to be called spirituall because of his degree: as are manie Bishops and Popes. Wherefore we must call the bishop of Rome, whatsoeuer he be, spirituall and most holie. Howbeit, what else is this, but to teache vs to lie, and that if they will haue a shamefull harlot, yet they must be called most holie? Boniface at the last concluded that all emperours and Kings must be subiect to his power onelie. And he addeth a reason: vnlesse wee will together with the Manichees appoint two beginnings. Which ought not to be done: for Moses sayde not, In ỹ beginnings, but in ỹ beginning God created heaue & earth: wherefore (saith he) we define, determine, & pronoūce, ỹ all men ought of the necessitie of saluation, to obay ỹ Pope, as the chefest power. And thus (trimlie for) thy he concludeth that all ecclesiastical persons are exempt from the ciuill Magistrate.

1.Sam.10. 1. 1.Sam.16. 1. 2.kings.9. 1. Reasons why the Pope will not be iudged of any gouerned of any man. Mat.16.19 Ier.1.10.

1.Cor.2.15

Two manner of the spirituall tie of the Canonists.

Gen.1.1.

9 Before I come to confute this boasting more than Thrasonicall, I thinke it expedient to speake of two manner of powers: namelie, of the Ecclesiasticall power and Ciuill power. In that it is saide that the ecclesiasticall power is preferred, aboue all Ciuill function, it is somewhat that they say, so it be rightlie and aptlie vnderstood. All Ecclesiasticall power is established by the word of God, so as without it, it is none at all. But the word of GOD is a common rule, whereby all thinges ought to be directed and tempered. For it teacheth in what manner the outward sword & publike wealth ought to be gouerned: And generally allo it theweth how all things ought to be done of all men. So Ambrose when as Theodosius the Emperour raged in cruellie & without all consideration against ỹ Thessalonians, perswaded him, ỹ in all punishment of death, there should be xxx. dayes space after the sentence giuen, least the Magistrate shoud doe those thinges in a rage and furie, whereof although he afterward repented him, yet they might not be any more remedied. So many Bysshops oftentimes in thinges most weightie, vsed their authoritie, and manie times either put away cruell warres, or else pacified them, and euen while warres were in hand preached Sermons out of the word of God. So that the Ecclesiasticall power after this manner comprehenteth all thinges, because out of the word of God it findeth how to giue counsell in all thinges. For there is nothing in the whole world whereunto the word of God extendeth not it selfe. Wherefore they are farre deceiued, which vse to cry, what hath a preacher to doe with the publike weale? What hath he to doe with warres? what with Potecaries? What with Cookes? But let the tell me: when the Minister of the word perceiueth the lawe of GOD to be violated in these thinges, why should he not reprehend them by the word of God? Why should he not admonish them? Why should he not exhort them to cease from sinne? Doubtlesse it is his part to correct sinners, not in deede with the sword or punishing by the purse, not by imprisonment, but by banishment, but after his owne manner, that is, by the might and power of the word of God.

Again,

The Pope decreed that he must be as head of ecclesiastical saluation.

Of the two powers, Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall.

Cardinall Cusanus in Concordia Theodosius.

The practise of the word of God hath all men subiect to it.

From the Ciuill power is exempted

Again, the Politicall power is extended to all things which pertaine to politicall power. But after what manner shall ciuill power require good motions of ỹ minde and inward repentance? It cannot cause these things: yet it muste wishe they were had, and vse those meanes whereby they may be had. For it ought to haue a care that Bysshops, pastors, and teachers in the Church, doe teach purelie, reprehend fatherlie, and by the word of GOD administer the Sacraments. This in deede the Magistrate doth not by himselfe, but he ought to haue a regard that those may be in a readinelle which should doe them well. Wherefore either power extendeth most amply, and comprehendeth all thinges, but not after one and the selfe same manner. And the rule of either of them is to be taken out of the word of God, the which doth plainelie appeare to be in the Church.

Two kinds of subiection.

10 Againe, there are two subiections, one is politicall and ciuill, whereunto all men are subiect: who if they offend in any thing against the lawes, do looke at the iust Magistrates hand for imprisonment, punishment by the purse, banishment, death, & eternall punishment: neuertheless if they doe well, honours, rewardes, dignities, and prayse. In this sort the ciuill power is not subiect vnto the Ministerie of the word, because it cannot in this manner be punished. The other subiection is spirituall, that is, of faith and of obedience. For straightway, as wone as men heare of their duetie out of ỹ word of God, and that either this thing or that is to be done, or this or that to be auoided, they giue place, beleeue and obay, because they perceiue that it is the word of God which is spoken. And these are the endes

The saying of Valentinian the Emperor.

of either power. And so must be vnderstood that saying of Valentinian the Emperor, out of the Tripartite history: which we also haue in the distinction 63. the Chapter Valentinianus. Chuse (saith he) such a Byshop vnto whom we which gouerne the Empire, may sincerelie put vnder our neckes, and vse his admonitions as it were medicines, &c. By which wordes is vnderstood that it belongeth to the Ecclesiasticall power, to admonish out of the word of God for saluation. Albeit the same Emperor afterward erred: For when he had appointed Ambrose Prelate of the Citie of Millaine, the people did chose him to be Bysshop: which when the Emperor knew, he gaue thankes vnto God after this manner: I had appointed him ruler ouer the bodies of men, but thou wouldest haue him ruler ouer the soules &c. Valentinian did not

The error of the saide Valentinian.

The office of the Church must deale by the word now by the sword.

Bysshops ought to haue a care, not of the soule onelie nor of the bodies onelie

rightlie put a difference betweene offices: why so? Ought Bysshops to haue a care onelie ouer soules, and not ouer bodies also? What if they giue themselues vnto Gluttonie or drunckennelle, or liue licentiouslie touching outward behauiour? Must they not reprooue these things? Yes truelie must they, neither must Princes haue onelie a care ouer the bodies of men, and neglect their soules. For we doe not imagine that a Prince is a Neteherd or Swineheard, to whom is committed a care onelie of the flesh, bellie, and skinne of his subiectes, yea rather he must prouide that they may liue vertuoulie and godlie. But what if Christian princes, when they are by the word of God admonished of publike and most grieuous sinnes, will not heare, neither amend that which they haue naughtilie committed? What say shall the Bysshop do in this case? Ambrose excommunicated Theodosius the Emperour, when he exercised so grieuous tyrannie against the Thessalonians, Innocentius also excommunicated Archadius, whē he had exiled Iohn Chrysostome, which freelie and truelie admonished him, as we haue it in the distinct. 96. Chapt. *Duo sunt*, and in the distinct. 18. in the Chapt. *Quoniam quidem*. And they be the words of the 6. Synode, where it is decreed that euerie yeere there should be had two Synodes. And if that princes would hinder them, let them be excommunicated.

Eusebius.

11 But what doe I make mention of these latter things? Let vs reade Eusebius in the 6. booke, the 34. Chapter: where he saith that Philip the Emperour, who lined in the time of Origen was the first Christian prince, and that he would haue bin present together with the faithfull on Easter Euen, & haue communicated with them in prayers: but ỹ bishop, because he was a wicked and naughtie liuer, reiected him among them ỹ were put to penance, that he should make open confession before the Church and confesse his sinnes, otherwise he could by no meanes be admitted vnto the Communion. This did the Bysshop of that time against the Emperour, and chiefe Monarch of the whole world. Wherefore, the ciuill power ought to be subiect to the word of God which is preached by the Ministers. But in lyke manner the Ecclesiasticall power is subiect vnto the ciuill, when the Ministers behaue themselues ill, either in things humane, or things Ecclesiasticall. For these powers are after a sort interchangeable, and sundrie waies are occupied about the selfesame things, and mutuallie helpe one another, euen as Aristotle

Aristotle. Aristotle vnto Theodectes calleth Rhetoricke and Logick interchangeable artes, because either of them are occupied in the selfesame thinges, after a sundrie manner. The Ecclesiasticall power, is subiect vnto the Magistrate, not by a spirituall subiection but by a politicke. For as touching the Sacramentes and Sermons, it is not subiect vnto it, because the Magistrate may not alter the worde of God, or the Sacramentes which the Minister vseth. Neither can he compel the Pastors and teachers of the Church to teach otherwise, or in any other sort to administer the Sacraments, than is prescribed by the worde of God. Howbeit Ministers, in that they be men and Citizens, are without all doubt subiect together with their landes, riches, and possessions vnto the Magistrate.

Mat.17.27 So Christ payed tribute, so also did the Apostles and the whole primatiue Church there being most holy men. Their manners also are subiect vnto the Censures and iudgements of the Magistrates.

12 We say moreouer that Ministers are subiect vnto the Magistrate, not onelie as touching those things which I haue rehearsed, but also (as I before signified) concerning their function. Because, if they teach not right, neither administer the Sacramentes orderly, it is the office of the Magistrate to compell them to an order, and to see that they teach not corruptlie, and that they mingle not fables, nor yet abuse the Sacramentes, or deliuer them otherwise than the Lord hath commanded. Also if they liue naughtilie and wickedlie, they shall put them forth of the holy Ministerie. This did Salomon, who deposed Abiathar, and put Sadock in his place, as it is written in the first booke of kinges the 2. Chapter: And in the new Testament. Iustinian displaced Siluerius and Vigilius. And this I doubt not, but was done sometime by other princes. But how iustlie, I will not presentlie declare. This one thing I will say, that it was lawfull in the causes now alleaged. But some man will say that I speake now of the fact and not of the right: yea but I speake also of the right. For the king ought to haue with him the lawe of God written because he is ordained a keeper, not onelie of the first table, but also of the latter. So then he which offendeth in any of them both, ranne in daunger of his power. But although a king may remoue an vnprofitable and hurtfull Byshop, yet cannot a Byshop (on the other side) depose a king if he haue offended. Iohn in deede reproued Herod, but he displaced him not of his kingdome. Ambrose and Innocentius excommunicated Emperours, but they proceeded no further. Yea and Christ called Herod a Woulfe, but he toke not away his kingdome from him, and he payed tribute vnto Tiberius a most wicked prince. Neither was he at any time author to any man to shake off his yoke.

Princes may put the ministers out of their places, if they behaue not themselues well. Verse.26.

Mat.14.4. Princes of the Church haue no authoritie to depose Kinges and Princes. Luk.13.32. Mat.17.27

Wherefore let Popes take heede: by what right they remoue at their owne pleasure kinges and Emperours out of their places. This did neither anie of the Prophets, nor the Apostles, nor yet Christ. The popes boast that they haue great power: but if the same by anie it consisteth wholie in the worde of God. Let them teach, preach, and admonish, if they will exercise their power, otherwise the ciuill and temporall power, which they so much boast of is farre from the Ecclesiasticall Ministers. Briefle, as there is found no king nor Emperour so great that is not subiect to the worde of God, which is preached by the Ministers: so on the other side is there no Byshop, which hauing offended, but ought to be reproued by the ciuill Magistrate. What difference soeuer there be, the same (as I haue said) is wholie as touching the manner of reproouing. This the Ministers of the Church doe by the word, and Princes by outward punishmentes. But our false Ecclesiasticks wil be princes and reigne, and yet Christ would be no king. And when he was sought for to the end he should be made a king, he vtterlie refused it, yea rather he plainlie confessed, that his kingdome is not of this world. He said also vnto the Apostles: Princes of the nations doe beare rule ouer them, but ye shall not so doe. Peter also whose successors these men prouoke themselues to be, warneth Ministers that they should not exercise dominion ouer the Clergie: But these men will haue pisons, souldiers, and swordes, and stirre vp warres as they list themselues.

Iohn.6.15. Ioh.18.36. Mat.20.25. 1.Pet.5. ver.3.

13 Perhaps they will obiect vnto vs the Assamonites out of the olde Testament, who for a certaintie were both kings and Priestes, and confounded both the powers. That Philozie indeede is written in the bookes of the Machabites. But we must see whether they did it rightlie or else wickedlie and ambitiously. Doubtlesse I thinke they did it not orderly: for God by his word, had many times adiudged the kingdome to be giuen vnto the Tribe of Iuda, euen vnto the tyme of Messias. And contrarilie he commaunded the Leuites that they should possesse no landes, and much lesse to occupie a kingdome among their brethren. But if a man had rather say, that they did this by a certaine secret reuelation and hidden iudgement of God, he shal not further the

Of the Asamonites or Machabees. Machab. Gen.49.10 Psal.89.39 Numb.18. 20.

the cause of these men; seeing that which is done after this manner must not be drawen to an example: For I think rather that they offende in so doing. Certainlie they did wel, when they deliuered their country from tyrannie: but that being performed, they ought not to haue taken the kingdome vpon them: and God declared plainely that the same Act of theirs displeased him. For as we gather out of Iosephus, that house afterward was neuer voyde of troubles. They further obiect vnto vs, that Peter slue Ananias and Saphira, and that Paule strake Elimas the sorcerer with blindnesse. This is true in deede, but they did these things by the word of God, not by violence, not by the sworde, neither by helpe of an executioner. Let these men doe the same things by the worde, and we will regard them. Why doe they not heare Paul vnto Timothie: Let no man going on Gods warfare, wrap himselfe in cares of this life? If they will goe on warfare for God, why doe they in such sort hinder themselues with worldly businesse? Haue they so much leasure from their owne affaires as they can haue a care ouer other mens? Let them answere plainely: I woulde they at this day abide that any king should attempt to teache the Gospell or administer the Sacramentes: They would not suffer it. Neither did God himselfe also suffer it. But he strake Ozeas with Leprosie when he woulde haue burnt incense vnto God. Why then doe they inuade the boundes of other men? These functions ought to be separated, because either of them requireth a whole man apart by himselfe: yea rather there hath scarcely bin found any one man, at any time, which coulde rightly execute either of them, so hard is the execution of them both. Howbeit both of them doe one helpe another: for the politick Prince giueth iugement: and y Ecclesiasticall in deede both not giue iudgement, but he teacheth how iudgement ought to be giuen. Haue not respect (saieth he) of persons in iudgement. Afflict not the poore and straunger, receiue no bribes, and so forth. So on the other side, the ciuill Magistrate preacheth not, neither administreth the sacraments. But vnlesse these things be rightly ordered, he ought to punish the Ministers. And to be briefe, there are two things to bee considered of vs in this comparison. In the Ciuill Magistrate is to bee considered both the power and also the man which beareth it exerciseth the power. He in respect y he is a Christian man is subiect to the word of God: and in respect that he beareth authoritie and gouerneth, hee ought also to be subiect vnto the same worde

2.Par.26. ver.16. Why these functions ought to be separated, Deut.1.16. In the ciuill Magistrate and Ministers of the Church is to be considered both, by the person & the office.

of God; seeing out of the same he ought to seeke rules to gouerne and beare rule. In the Minister of the Church also is to be considered both the ministerie it selfe, & also the person which executeth it. As touching the person, y minister is subiect vnto y Ciuil power. For both he is a Citizen, and he also payeth tribute as other men doe, & is vnder the correction of manners. But as concerning the Ministerie, he is also subiect some waie vnto the Magistrate. For if either he teach or administer the sacraments against the word of God, he must be reprehended by y Ciuil Magistrate. And yet must he not seeke for rules & reasons of his function at the same Magistrates hand, but out of the word of God. By this distinctiō we may easily vnderstand the differences and agrément of either power.

14 Now resteth that we come to that Thraso Boniface, to confute his Arguments. First out of that saying which the Apostles answered, Behold here are two swordes, and Christ added, It is sufficient: he gathereth that the Church hath two powers and both of them committed vnto him. To this I answere, that it is possible, y sometimes there may be two swordes in the Church, but they haue not alwayes bin therein, neither perhaps shall euer hereafter be. What outward sword had the Church in the time of Christ and of the Apostles and Martyrs? But yet now (they will say) it hath: I graunt, because Kinges and Emperours are Christians which in olde time were Ethnickes. The Church also hath husbandrie, trade of marchandize, the art of building, and other such like. For they which exercise these things, are members of the Church: but that commeth to passe as the Scholemen speake accidentally: sith there may be a Church though it had none of these things. So now because there are princes in the Church, it is saide to haue an outward sword. But because princes in our time are a part of the Church, it doeth not therefore follow that the sword of Princes is the sword of Ministers: euen as although there be in the Church husbandrie and the trade of marchandize, and also the Art of building, it cannot thereby be gathered, that Ministers are husbandmen, marchants, and Carpenters.

To the arguments of Boniface. How the Church may be said to haue two swords

15 Now come I to the place of the Euangelistes: The Apostles saie, that they wanted nothing when they were sent without wallet and scrippe: vnto whom Christ said: Let euerie one take vnto him his scrippe and wallet, and he which hath none, let him sell his coate and buy a sworde. What would Christ signifie by these words? Nothing else

Luk.22.35.

trulie but to shew that the state and condition of times afterward, should be farre otherwise, than it had béene before. Hitherto saith he (while I was with you,) ye felt no greefe, neither wanted you any thing. But now harder times are at hand, now shall ye haue néede of coates, scrippes and swoordes. By these woordes he declared that he should depart from them, and that he woulde send them into the whole worlde to teache and preache the Gospell in which Ministery, they should mete with so manie aduersities, that they should thinke themselues to haue néede of swoordes. It is a figuratiue speech, whereby is vnderstoode one thing by an other, as is that in Genesis when the Lorde said, that

Gen.6.6. he repented that he had made man. For God is not in verie déede touched with repentance, but he doth that, which men repenting haue béen to doe: that is, he changeth the fact. And in verie déede he then by the floud destroyed mankind which he had created. So now he instructed not his Disciples to fight with the swoorde, but onelie by a certaine circumlocution describeth the condition of the time to come. And euen as a long rode oftétimes signifieth tranquillitie and peace, so in this place a swoord noteth troublesome

Chrysost. and vnquiet times. After this maner Chrysostome interpreteth these woordes when he

Rom.16.3. erpounded this place of Paul, Salute Prisca and Aquila. The Lorde (saith he) hath not broken the lawe, which before he made,

Matt.5.39. saying: And hec which striketh thee on the one cheeke, turne vnto him the other. Bleesse those that curse you: pray for them that persecute you. How then doth he commaunde his disciples to buy themselues swoordes: Ye ment no such thing (saith Chrysostome:) For it is a figuratiue kinde of spéche, whereby he signified, that he should be taken away from them, and that they should be afflicted with manie calamities. These woords are not so to be taken as they appeare at the first sight. In

Mat.10.27. an other place, Christ also saith: That which ye haue heard in the eare, preache vppon the house toppes. And yet we neuer reade, that the Apostles stode vpon the house tops when they preached vnto the people: Neither in verie déede had it béene decent, that leauing the appointed place and the Temple, they should haue spoken from the house top. The sense was, ỹ those things which they heard priuately, they should speake openly and manifestlie. The Lorde also said: Destroy this

Iohn.2.19. temple, and in three dayes I will restore it: Which also is spoken figuratiuelie: For he commaunded not to ouerthrow the Temple of Salomon (as the Euangelist himselfe interpreteth, but he vnderstode that which he spake as touching the temple of his owne bodie, wherein (as Paule saide) dwelled all Col.2.9. the godhead bodilie. But to returne to the matter: That Luke so meant, Chrysostome prooueth by these thinges which followe: to wit, that it might be fulfilled of the sonne of man which was spoken of him: And he was Mar.15.28 counted with the wicked. But the Apostles Esa.53.12. vnderstode not Christ: for he thought that they had treated simply, and spoken (as the woordes sounded) of an outwarde swoorde: And so did Boniface wholie interprete the same. And in that Christ addeth: It is ynough, he vnderstode that two swoordes are sufficient in the Church, so as there ought none to be neither more nor feawer. But Chrysostome vnderstandeth it far otherwise. For when Christ perceaued that the Apostles vnderstoode him not, he by that answere declared that he woulde let that matter passe. And indéede so is a Scholemaister wont to say vnto a Childe, which yet vnderstandeth not that which is taught him: It is well. Otherwise vndoubtedlie two swoordes were not sufficient against all the aduersaries of Christ. Moreouer there should haue néeded Coselets and shieldes. Chrysostome therefore concludeth that the spéeche was figuratiue and spoken in a parable. Furthermore if the exposition of Boniface be receaued, we must thinke, that the Church in the time of the Apostles, should haue had two swoords, which is moste farre from the truth.

In the old time the Church had not two swoords.

16 Howbeit let vs come to that which Christ said vnto Peter, Put vp thy sword into Mat.26.52. thy sheath. Thy swoord (saith Boniface) not Boniface. an other mans swoord. Now what gathereth he by these woordes? Although Peter haue his swoorde, yet if he be commaunded to put it vp, how can he haue it drawen: or to what end hath he a swoorde, if he may not vse it? But perhaps Boniface will answere: I haue néeded a swoorde, but I vse it not, otherwise than by the hande of an other. Nay, I vse not mine owne swoorde, but the swoord of the Emperour and of other Princes. For they ought to drawe the swoorde at the assignement and sufferance of the Church. I would gladlie demaunde, whether Christ, when he bad Peter to put vp his swoorde, meant this, that he should indéede vse it, as he lifted and would him selfe, but yet by the labour of an other man. Assuredlie that which a man doth by an other, he séemeth to doe it himselfe. If a man, by monie or giftes, get one to kill his enimie, although he do it not with his owne hande, yet neuertheleste he should be a murtherer: otherwise Princes do not with their owne

That which a man doth by an other, he is saide to doe it himselfe.

owne hande kill the guiltie, but commaunde the hangmā to do the execution. There is in this answere of Boniface a deceit of Equiuocation. For we demaunde whether an Ecclesiasticall Minister may beare the office of a Magistrate, and vse a ciuill swoorde: and they remit vs to the swoorde of Peter, a man otherwise priuate. But Bernard in his 4. booke *de Consid.* vnto Eugenius, séemeth thus to interprete the two swoords. I graunt that Bernard hath some such like things, but yet not the same altogether. Howbeit we must remember in what time Bernard lined, he lined at that time when things were corrupted in the Church. And if a man reade those his bookes *de Consideratione*, he shall see that hee grieuously complaineth of the corruption of his times. Eugenius was by the Romanes excluded the Citie, and perhaps he deuised howe to restore himselfe. Wherefore Bernard exhorted him to preache the Gospell, that he would deale against the Romans, rather with the woord & with sermons than by the swoord. Eugenius saide: What meanest thou? Wouldest thou haue mée to séede Serpents and Dragons, and Beastes? Yea (saith Bernard) assaple them, howbeit with the woorde, not with the swoord. And in an other place hee saith: If thou wilt haue both swoordes, thou shalt lose both. Neither are we to thinke, that Eugenius would by himselfe haue fought: but peraduenture hee assayed to moue war by others: from which purpose Bernard dissuaded him. And thus much of him.

Bernard.

17 But that which Boniface added, that those swoords of the Church ought to be ordered (namelie that the one should be subiect to the other, which he prooueth by this saying of Paul; Those powers which be ordained, be ordained of God) manifestlie testifieth how he wresteth ỹ scriptures. For this word *ordinata* ỹ is, ordred, is in Greeke written τετεγμένοι, which is nothing else than instituted or appointed. Notwithstanding, put the case it be so as Boniface hath erpounded it, what maner of order I beséeche you shall this be? Certainlie such as the minister should teach, and that the ciuill power should heare & beléeue. But this toucheth not the Pope, which teacheth not at all. The lowest things (saith Dionysius) are by meanes reduced to the highest. Wherefore Boniface concludeth, that the externall swoord is brought vnto G O D by the spirituall swoorde. In verie déede I will eastlie graunt, that the swoorde of the spirit which is the woorde of God, is the meane whereby the other swoord, namelie, the externall ought to be tempered and directed vnto

Rom.13.2.

God. But why doeth not the Pope retaine this meane? Why vseth he not the woorde? Why teacheth he not? Why preacheth he not? Princes which goe astraie, are not by him reduced into the right waie: nay rather on the contrarie part, the Pope and Bishops of the Church are sometimes rebuked, and iustlie reprooued of Princes. Doubtlesse Aaron being high Priest, fell grieuouslie in making the golden calfe, and obeying the follishnes of the people. Moses blamed him grieuouslie who as it appeareth, was a ciuil magistrate. For toward the end of Deuteronomie, he is called a king. And when the priests abused the monie which was offered for the reparations of the Temple, who remedied that but onelie Ioas the king? I will not speake of Dauid and Salomon, and others which distinguished the lots of the Priestes, and orders of the Leuites. And I will not nowe prooue these things by any more examples, séeing they are manifest enough by themselues. Wherefore I graunt that the ciuill power may be corrected by the ministers through preaching of the woord of God. But the Pope vseth not this kind of gouernment, but rather an incredible tyrannie. They boast moreouer, that they themselues are greater in dignitie, for that they exercise spirituall and heauenlie things: whereas Princes are occupied onelie about earthlie and ciuill matters. We it so: For we denie not but that ministers are occupied, about things greater and more diuine than magistrates are. But doeth the Pope alone minister them? May rather, he neuer doeth it at all. Wherefore if the dignitie of the ministerie depend of those things, then will it followe, that many Bishops and Priests doe in dignitie farre excell the Pope which neuer preacheth, and to fewe or none administreth the Sacraments.

The Pope vseth not the swoord of the woord.

Exod.32.2. It is ỹ part of Princes tomenne to admonish and correct Ecclesiastical men.

Deut.33.5

2.Kings.

1.Par.23.

2.Par.8.14.

2.Par.29.5

18 Let vs come to the Tythes, by the payment of which Boniface laboureth to proue, that all Princes are subiect vnto him. This argument séemeth to haue some shewe, because at the first appearance it agréeth, with the 7. Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Paul prooueth the dignitie of Christ to be greater than the dignitie of the priesthoode of the Leuites. For thus he gathereth: Abraham paide tenthes vnto Melchisedeck, at which time Leui was not yet, but was at that time in the loynes of Abraham, and so was tythed in him. And he which payeth Tythes vnto an other, confesseth himselfe by the same thing to be his inferiour. Christ was priest according to the order of Melchisedeck. Whereupon the Apostle concludeth that the

Of the Tenthes.

Heb.7.

Leuiticall priesthood was much inferior vnto the priesthood of Christ. I haue opened the fountaine from whence Boniface deriued his Argument. The place is very darke and needeth explication: And moreouer Boniface doth not aptly apply it to his purpose. First we must vnderstand that Tythes in the olde time pertained vnto Ceremonies, and that

They pretended the Leuites as of Melchisedech represented Christ

as well in Melchisedeck, as in the Leuites: Because in either Priesthood, they were referred vnto Christ. And either Priesthood was in very deede a figure of Christ. For euen as the Leuiticall priest entered once euery yeare into the most holy place, and that

Hebr.9.7. Hebr.7.3.

neuer without bloud: So Christ by his owne bloud, entered once into the Tabernacle, that is into heauen. And againe: Melchisedeck, for that he had neither Father nor Mother, resembled Christ, who in respect of his is God had no mother, & in respect of his is man wanted a Father. But what signified the tenthes in either priesthood: Truely they signified nothing else, but that behoued the olde fathers to acknowledge that whatsoeuer they had, came from Christ. By that ceremonie, the people worshipped Christ himselfe. And if a man will compare Melchisedeck & the Priesthood of Leui together, although both of them

That of Melchisedech did more represent Christ than that of Leui.

seeme to be a shadowe of Christ, yet shall he perceiue that he is more expressile and manifestlie signified by Melchisedeck, as the Epistle to the Hebrewes testifieth. Boniface saith: We receiue the Tithes of all lay men. We take them in deede, but now that Christ

Heb.7.&c.

is come, the paying of Tythes is no more a ceremonie, as it was before the comming of Christ, when by Tythes men worshipped Christ which was to come in the flesh, and confessed, that they ought vnto him, both themselues, and all that they had. After the very which manner they payed the first fruites of all they had. Neuertheless our men in these dayes receiue Tythes: but by what lawe? Truelie not by the ceremoniall lawe, but by a morall Lawe: since it is requisite that the Minister should be sustained by the people: For the labourer is worthie of his re-

At this day the tenthes is no more a ceremonie but his pendo.

Mat.10.10

ward: And he which serueth the Gospell ought to liue by it. So then, whether stipendes be paid vnto Ministers out of landes or out of houses, either in readie mony or in Tythes, it maketh no matter, so that they be not maintained dishonestly but honestlie. In deede these rewardes in some places doe retaine the olde manner of Tythes. Howbeit in many places they are not called Tythes, but stipendes or wages. And doubtlesse they be rather rewardes which are due to the labours of Ministers than Tythes.

19 And as concerning the Argument pro- pounded, we must vnderstand, that such rewardes and stipendes are thinges inditferent: for they are sometimes paide vnto inferiours, and sometimes to superiours. For tributes, which are giuen vnto kinges and princes, are their stipendes which we giue vnto them, partlie to nourish and sustaine them, and partelie to confesse that we are subiect vnto them: and lastly that they may haue wherewithall to defend both vs and the Common weale. And sometime inferiours also doe receaue stipendes. For princes pay them vnto souldiers: and yet can we not therefore say, that the souldiers are greater than kinges and princes. Notwithstanding I would not be thought, that I speake these thinges to diminish the dignitie of the Ecclesiasticall Ministerie, but that it may be vnderstood that these mens Argumentes are verie trifling. Neither doubt I to affirme that the Church it selfe which payeth the stipend vnto the Minister, is greater than the Minister. So that if we speake of Tythes as they are at this day giuen vnto Ministers, it followeth not that they should be greater which pay them. But in that kinges and Emperours are consecrated and annointed of Bishops, and in that they receaue the crowne and sword of them, it nothing helpeth their cause. For if we speake of the ciuill power, that is not giuen by the Bishop but by God. But this is there done, to the intent that after the king or Emperour is chosen of God in such manner as is agreable, prayers should be made for him in the assemblie of the Church, that God may confirme and strengthe his heart that he may increase godlinesse in him, and powre into him the feare of his name, prosper his counsels, and so make happie his actions, that they may prooue profitable vnto the Church and vnto the publike weale. And the Bishop, while these thinges are in doing, is the mouth of the Church, and goeth before it in erpzelling the prayer. And this annointing was deriued of an old ceremonie and custome of the Iewes. And that the king receaueth not his power of the Bishop, but of God, euen their owne decrees doe testifie. In the distinct. 96. in the Chapt. *Si Imperator*, Gelasius saith, that the Emperour hath the priuileges of his power at the hand of God. What doth Boniface then arrogantlie challenge to himselfe? Euen that which belongeth vnto GOD onelie. For as Paul saith: All power is of God. In the Code, *De Iure veteri enucleando*, Lawe the first, Iustinian declareth that his power was giuen him by the Pope

Stipendes are paid of, vnto inferiours.

Pope Boniface his argument is inferior to Bishop Hostiensis.

The Church which payeth the Minister is greater than the Minister.

Why kinges be consecrated by Bishops.

Exo.40.10

Tythes were the power is giuen by God, not by Bishops.

Wherein the power of the keies consisteth.

Ier.1.10.

The Bishops keies be no efficient cause of the Churches

tie of God. And the glosse in the Extranagats *De maioritate & obedientia*, in the Chapter *Vnam sanctam*, towardes the end saith, that power is giuen vnto kinges by GOD onelie: and that therefore they doe in deede receaue the crowne of the Bysbop and the sword from the Altar.

20 But let vs more nerelie examine the Argument of Boniface: I (saith he) giue power vnto Emperors: Therefore I am greater than Emperors. Let this most blessed Thrasonicall were me: Who consecrated him when he was chosen Pope? Truelie the bishop Hostiensis: Let vs therefore conclude that the bishop Hostiensis, is greater than the Pope. And if that followe not, then is also the Argument of Boniface weake, because, (as I haue shewed) it is layd vpon a rotten foundation. For it is not the bishops that giue power vnto kinges. Moreouer haue there not bin manie Emperors which were neuer consecrated by bishops, and yet notwithstanding were Emperors no whit the lesse? Neither were the old Grecian Emperors so annointed. It is therefore a new inuention. But what if I proue that the cheefe bysbop was sometime consecrated by the ciuill Magistrate? Undoubtedlie Moses consecrated Aaron though neuertheleste(as hath bin said) Moses was a ciuill

Many Emperors haue neuer been consecrated by the Pope.

pzince. So that Boniface labozeth in baine about his consecration, because he gathereth nothing thereby. He boasted moreouer of the kaies: We(saith he) haue the power of byndinq and losing. But the power of the kayes consisteth herein, that ye should preach the word of God truelie. For he which beleeueth the Gospel, is losed; and he which beleeueth not, is bound. But when ye neither preach nor teach, neither can ye binde nor lose. And farther this subiection which we haue graunted is spirituall: namelie of faith and of obedience: and not ciuill and with dominion. Afterward was Ieremie objected, vnto whom the Lord said: I haue appointed thee ouer nations and kingdomes, &c. First I demaund here what kinges Ieremie directed, or from whom he take away their Empire, and what new kinges he ordained? There can be none shewed. Therefore what doe these wordes signifie: I set thee ouer nations and kingdomes? Nothing else than that by the spirit of prophesie, and word of God, he should foretell what kingdomes God would ouerthrowe because of sinne, and what new ones he would institute. Why doe not the Popes so exercise their power? Let them set before kinges and princes of the earth the threatninges of God, and let them in this

Rom.13.1.

Iustinian.

manner be ouer nations and kingdomes. Could Ieremie be called the cause of the ouerthrow of kingdomes? He was not properlie the efficient cause, but onelie a certaine occasion. For when he had admonished the king of Iuda, and he beleeued him not, the prophet by his preaching was some occasion, that he should be condemned & ouerthrowen. So Paul saith: To some we are a sauour of life vnto life, and to other the sauour of death vnto death. When as yet the Apostle properlie killed no man, but his preaching after a sort brought death vnto those which would not beleeue. If is God therefore that pulleth downe and ouerthroweth, planteth, and scattereth: neither disdayneth he sometimes to call vs his fellow workers.

ting of kingdomes.

2.Cor.2.15

21 Boniface goeth on: The late power ought to be iudged by the Ecclesiasticall. But by what kinde of iudgement? Uertlie by this, that in the Church is set forth the wrath of God against sinners, and that they be admonished & corrected by the holy scriptures. Neuertheleste that Bysbops may expell kinges and put them out of their kingdomes, where is that permitted? From whence haue they it? What charters will they bring for it? Againe that is most intolerable which he saith: namely that the Pope can be iudged of no man. And yet Iohn the 23 was in the Councell of Constance deposed, and not onely by God, but also by men. Thus doe these men make and repeate Canons, and the same they allow and disalow, as often as they thinke good. Pea and Emperours haue sometimes thrust out and put downe Popes as it is before said. Paul to the Galathians saith, If an Angel from heauen preach any other Gospell, let him be accursed. If the Pope (which may be and in times past hath bin) obtrude wicked opinions, who shall pronounce him accursed? Shall he in no wise be iudged of anie man? The Church (no doubt) shall giue sentence vppon him, & the Magistrate, (for that he is the principal part of the Church) shall not onelie iudge together therewith, but shall also execute the sentence. Further it belongeth to the Magistrate to prouide, that the goods of the Church be not giuen to the enemies of godlynesse. So as if Bysbops become enemies of the Church, a faithfull Magistrate ought not to suffer the goods of the Church to be wasted by them. The Canonistes haue this oftentimes in their mouth, that for the office sake is giuen the benefit. Therefore when they doe not their office, ought the Magistrate to suffer them to inioy their benefices? But let vs heare how Boniface pro-

The Pope ought to be iudged of the Church

Gal.1.8.

The Magistrate is the principall part of the Church.

He may execute the sentence of the Church against the Pope.

He must reuerence the Bishops in their true newes.

ueth

neth that he can be iudged of no man. Be-
1.Cor.2.15 cause, He that is spirituall (saith he) iudgeth all things, but he himselfe is iudged of no man. A godlie and well applyed Argument I promise you. But let vs see what kinde of iudgement Paul writeth of in that place. Verilie he speaketh not of the common kinde of iudgement, whereby men are either put to death, or put out of their rowme, he intreateth there onelie of ỹ vnderstanding of things diuine, and which auaile vnto saluation. These thinges (I say) belong properlie vnto the iudgement of the spirituall man. But as touching iudgement seate and knowledge of ciuill lawes, Paul neuer thought of them [in that place] which is eallie perceaued by
1.b. ver.12. his woꝛdes: We receaue (saith he) not the spirit of this world, but the spirit which is of God. If thou wilt demaund of what vse the spirit is giuen vs: He aunswereth: To the end, we should know those things that are giuen vs of God. And because the spirit of this woꝛld cannot giue iudgement of things that be diuine, it is added: The na-
Verse.14. turall man perceiueth not those things which be of the spirit of God. The spirituall man iudgeth all things. What? Doth he iudge
Peter and Paul were iudged by the Ciuill power. Acts.25.10 also ciuill and publike causes? No not so: but he iudgeth those thinges which belong to the saluation of men: he himselfe is iudged of no man. Assuredlie, both Peter and Paul, were iudged by the ciuill power, vnto which Paul appealed, that he might be iudged there: and yet were they spirituall. But that place must thus be vnderstood: He that is spirituall in that he is such a one, cannot in things diuine and such as pertaine to saluation, be rightlie iudged of any man, which is not indued with the same spirit that he is of. The wicked sort and woꝛldlinges, account him oftentimes foꝛ a seditious, vnpure, and infamous fellowe: But onelie God and his spirit loketh vppon the heartes. Lastlie Boniface concludeth, that there is one chiefe power onelie, and that belongeth to the Pope, least we should with the Manichees seme to make many beginninges. And he addeth: that God in the be-
Gen.1.1. ginning, and not in the beginninges created the woꝛld. We also detest the Manichees
Note. We affirme one beginning, not many. and affirme, that there is one onelie beginning, and pronounce one onelie fountaine, and offspring of all powers, namelie, God and his woꝛd, without which there can be no power either ciuill oꝛ Ecclesiastical. Foꝛ the foundation of either of them dependeth of the woꝛd of God, and so we make but one beginning and not two. Further if Boniface will vꝛge these woꝛdes in Genesis; In the beginning God created, &c. there ought to be but one onelie king in the woꝛld. Foꝛ when Paul said: One Lord, one Faith, one Ephe.4.5. Baptisme, he added not: One Pope.

22 At the length our Thraso commeth so farre, as he excludeth them from the hope of saluation, which acknowledge not the Pope foꝛ the chiefe head and Prince of the Church. A scrifsme of Popes. But when there were two oꝛ three Popes al at one time, which thing both happened, and also indured foꝛ the full space of 60. yeares, Two or three Popes 60. yeres together. it must nedes be that those which at that time were of Boniface his opinion, should confesse themselues then to be Manichees, and to haue eſtablished two beginnings. Againe, what thinke they of the Gretians, of the Persians and Chꝛistians which dwell in the East part, seeing they acknowledge not the Pope, who neuerthelesse reade the scriptures, beleeue in our Lord Jesus Chꝛist, and both are, and also are called Chꝛistians: All those Boniface excludeth from the hope of saluation. This is the ambition and vnspeakeable tyrannie of the Popes. When we obiect vnto the Papists these woꝛdes of Paul: Let euerie soule submit it selfe to the higher Rom.13.1. powers, they aunswere: That euerie soule ought to be subiect vnto the higher power, but yet to their own, not to other mens power: otherwise it were nede that Frenchemen should be subiect to the Spaniards, and the Spaniards to the Germanes, which because it is absurd, it is concluded, that euerie man ought to obey his owne Magistrate. But now the Clergie acknowledge the Bishops foꝛ their head, and that they should be subiect vnto them: And the Bishops acknowledge the Archbyshops and Primates, and they lastlie the Pope. After this maner (say they) we obeie the Pope and satisfie Paul. What haue we to doe with Kings, and the ciuill Magistrate? Polweit this is nothing else than shamefullie to abuse the woꝛdes of the Apostle. Doe they not see that they diuide The Papists make a diuision of a kingdome into two parts. the publike weale into two bodies, which ought to be but one bodie onelie? Foꝛ when they diuide the kingdome of the Cleargie from the kingdome of the Laitie, they make in one kingdome two peoples, and set ouer eyther people his Magistrate: and thereby it commeth to passe that the Clergie which be Frenchemen, seme not to be Frenchemen, and the Germans seme not to be Germans, and this maketh not conuinction but diuision. Besides this, of what power (I beseeche you) speaketh Paul? Verilie not of Bishops oꝛ Archbishops, but of that power which beareth the swoꝛd. He doth not without a cause (saith he) beare ỹ sword. He speaketh

keth of ỹ power to whō tribute is paide. For (saieth he) euen for this cause ye pay tribute. But Bishops neither beare swoꝛde, nor yet require tributes of ỹ people. Wherefore Paul speaketh not of them. And though ỹ in Germanie Bishops haue the swoꝛd, & gather tributes & customes, they doe not ỹn respect ỹ they be Bishops, but in ỹ by accident they haue ỹ ciuill power ioyned to thē, how rightly, let thē selues see to it. But it is manifest ỹ Paul spake of the ciuill power, vnto which he commaunded that euerie soule should obey.
Origen. Neither is the interpretation of Origen probable, wherein he affirmeth that Paul saieth Euerie soule, and not euerie spiritu: Because (saith he) the spirituall man is mooued with no affections, neither possesseth any thing in the woꝛld, therefoꝛe he is not subiect at al to outward power. And so Paul commandeth euerie soule, that is euerie liuing man to obey the ciuill power. But what? Was not Chꝛist spirituall? Who was moꝛe spirituall? And yet he acknowledged the superiour power, and payed tribute. What say you to the Apostles, were not they spirituall? And yet neuer exempted themselues from the ciuill power: nay rather, they obeyed it, & taught others to obey the same also.
Lodi part.4 cap.3.sect.9 23 But let vs see further what answer our Boniface men make. They say ỹ they haue not this power oꝛdinarily, & by the right of their function, but graūted them by the priuileges & giftes of Princes. And why (say they) is it not lawfull foꝛ vs to inioy the priuileges & liberalitie of Princes? Notwithstanding we ought here to haue a regard not what pꝛinces haue don, but what they ought to haue done. God woꝛt doubt hath made subiect euery soule to ỹ higher power: it was neuer lawfull foꝛ any Prince to breake that lawe. Neither doeth humane reason see better than the pꝛouidence of God what should become of the affaires of mankind. And the euent it selfe hath sufficiently declared, howe much that remissenesse of Princes hath pꝛofited. Foꝛ after that Bishoppes and false Ecclesiastickes got themselues once from the subiection of the ciuill power, they straight way became farre woꝛse than they were befoꝛe, and made the people which were committed to their charge nothing the better. Wherefoꝛe let them cease to say that Emperours and Kings haue giuen them these things: let them rather heare the woꝛde of God, wherein they are commaunded to obey Pꝛinces. But they haue not onely withdrawen themselues from obedience towards pꝛinces, but haue also claimed to themselues an immunitie oꝛ frēdome. And an immunitie is a libertie from doing of homages, and bearing of ciuill burdens. And among burthens, are numbred tributes and customes. What is Immunity. Tributes, & Customs. Tributes are those which are payde of lands and possessions. Customes are those which are payde of marchandize, & of those things, which are either carried out oꝛ brought in. These things Vlpian calleth the Sinowes of the common weale, as without which it can not either consist oꝛ be gouerned. By what right therefoꝛe and reason haue these men withdrawen themselues from the publike vtilitie? With what face doe they boast of such liberalitie of Pꝛinces, which neither Chꝛist, noꝛ the Apostles, noꝛ the Pꝛophetes vsede? And although they haue this (as they say) by the giftes of Kings and Emperours, yet must they take heede that it be not hurtfull vnto the Citizens, and while they themselues be eased, others bee aboue measure burdened. And yet are they not by priuileges and lawes of Pꝛinces exempted from all burdens. In deede they are freed from personall burdens: and that not without great reason, which euen the Ethniche Pꝛinces sawe also. In the digestis *De vacatione & excusatione munerum*, in the lawe *Pretor*, Vlpianus saith: If a man haue gotten a benefice, and cannot without hurt of conscience be absent from it, he is acquited. And Constantine the Emperour, in the Code *De Episcopis & Clericis* law ỹ first & second, exempteth them from personall and vile burdens. Personall burthens are those which are accomplished by the industrie of the minde, and labour of the bodie. Vile burdens are these: as to burne lyme, to digge sand, to kēepe the Conduites, to heate the bath, and such other like sort: from these burdens they are woꝛthily exempted, because the ministerie, by vile exercises would growe vnto contempt. And they are made frē from personall burdens, because when they should giue their mindes to holy things, they ought not to be wꝛawn to other thinges. Pꝛinces therefoꝛe haue rightly graunted these things to Ecclesiastical men, that they should not be absent from the studie of Religion, & because they should not be contemned of the common people.
Vlpian. The Ministers exempted frō personall and vile burthens and why. Which be personall and vile burthens.
Whether it were lawfull for Pꝛinces to exempt Ecclesiastickes all men from their subiection.
Justinian.
24 But what if a man claime himselfe to be a minister, onely by his apparell and garments, and doeth nothing in the Church, should this immunitie also be graunted vnto him? No vnboubtedly. Yea Iustinian in the Code *De Episcopis & Clericis*, in the law *Generaliter Sancimus*, saieth, that he meaneth onely of those, which diligently giue themselues to holy things, and not of Vagabunds and Idle persons which onely bragge of the name

name of the ministerie. Moreouer Ministers are not losed frō ordinarie charges although they be exempted from extraordinarie burdens. Ordinarie burdens be those which are alwayes imposed by the commandement of the lawes: extraordinary are those, which be erected onely for some present necessitie, and afterward cease. So that if Ecclesiasticall men haue manors or landes as other Citizens haue, they ought to pay for them. For the Church when it receiueth possessions, it taketh them together with their burthens.

Ordinarie burthens and extraordinarie.

Why they be free from extraordinary burthens.

But they are free from extraordinarie burdens, because in the olde time Ecclesiasticall men were poore, and besides necessarie foode and apparell had nothing remaining vnto them, or if perhappes there remained any thing, all the same whatsoeuer it were was bestowed vpon the poore, but now it is cleane contrarie: for both they abounde in riches, and they bestowe verie little vpon the poore. And yet if any great necessitie happened, they were also constrained to pay extraordinarie charges: as if there were any high wayes to be amended, and any bridges to bee made, or any shippes to be builded for transporting of an armie as appeareth in the Code, by the lawes of Emperours. Neither doeth brotherly charitie suffer, that when other are burthened, they should lie still idle in wealth and riches: neither is it to be abidden, that they shoulde bee eased and others charged.

Sometimes they are not exempted from extraordinarie burthens.

2.Cor.8.13

25 Yet ye Pope in his decretals (*De Immunitate Ecclesiæ*, in ye Chapter *Non minus*, where the words of the Lateran Councell are cited, and in the Chapter, *Aduersus consules*) will haue the ecclesiasticall men to be vtterlie exempted. And Boniface the 8. in 6. *De immunitate Ecclesiarum*, in the Chapter *Clericis Laicos*, permitteth them not to paie any thing: yea and hee excommunicateth the Prince, which taketh tribute of a Minister of the Church, and also the minister himselfe which payeth it. This lawe as being to cruell, Benedictus the 11. after a sort mitigateth in the Extrauagants *De immunitate Ecclesiæ*, in the Chapter *Quod Olim*. Yet he permitteth not the Prince to doe any thing without asking Counsell of the Bishop of Rome. For he inueigheth both not excommunicate those Princes which receiue tribute of ecclesiasticall men, but onelie those which exact it of them. Seeing hee permitteth not, that Princes should exact anie thing in their owne right, which yet he sometimes permitteth in case of necessitie: as in danger of Religion and life: so that first there be had the consent of the Bishop & clergie, and afterward also the Pope to allow of the fact. So long then hath he decreede that they must tarry. So these men exempt themselues from the obedience and tributes of Princes and Kings: which (as I haue before said out of Vlpian) are ye strength and stoiues of the common weale. When I thinke vpon these things, I call to remembrance a prattable saying of Diocletian: of whom, when a Philosopher had desired an immunitie, This request (saide he) dilagreeth with thy profession. Thou (said he) professest, that thou will ouercome thy affections, but thou thewest that thou art ouercome of anarice. So these men professe themselues to be spirituall, but in a spirituall man there is nothing more required than charitie, which counselleth vs not to liue franchised & securely, when others are oppressed with cares and burthens. Aquinas bringeth a place of Genesis, to shew ye Priests are exempted from tributes, not indeede by the law of God, but by a law made by Princes, and yet neuerthelesse agreeing with the law of nature. For Pharao King of Egypt prouided, that the Priestes should not pay the fift part of their fruite for tribute, when as neuerthelesse so much was exacted of all the Egyptians. Wherefore he concludeth that Priestes are exempted. This place is diligentlie to be considered. First let vs note that the Egyptian Priestes had their daylie liuing out of the treasurie of the King. They had promises giuen them to liue by. Afterwarde it came to passe, that when the hunger waxed great, all the Egyptians solde their landes vnto the King, therewith to buy corne to satisfie hunger. But when that famine was past, the King restored the lands vnto ye owners: yet vpon this condition, that euery yeare, they should pay him the fift part: but of the landes of the Priests, there was no fift part payde. And no maruaile: because they soulde not their landes vnto the king, seeing they were maintained at the common charge. Yet it is to be thought, that they paide so much tribute of their landes, as they were wont to pay before the famine. Neither doubtlesse can any other thing be gathered out of that place, except that Priests ought to be maintained of the common cost. And in that they payde not the fift part, that happened for an other cause, as we haue nowe declared.

A saying of Diocletian.

Thomas Aquinas.

Gen.47.22

26 They allege also the 7. Chapter of Esdras, where Artaxerxes prouided that when he had laid a tribute vpon the Iewes, there should be nothing leuied vpon the Leuites in the name of a tribute. But this is not to be marueiled at, seeing the Leuites had no landes to pay tribute of: in as much as to them

them pertained onely the oblations, first-fruites and tenthes, for which cause they were released of tributes. Also Iulius Cæsar in his Booke of the French warres saith that the Druids which were the French Priests, paide no tributes. But Plinie in his 16. booke and 44. Chapter writeth that the Druids had no landes. And yet are not these things spoken to this ende, that I would not thinke it lawfull for Magistrates, to deale somewhat gently with Ministers, and to beare somewhat with them: because they must alwaies applie themselues to holy things, and studie for nothing else. Whereby it commeth to passe that they can not increase their substance: yea rather they seeme oftentimes suffer great losse, neither haue they their substance but during their life. Onely this I disallow, that they claime vnto themselues immunitie both reall & personall, that they vtterly refuse both ordinarie & extraordinarie charges, and that by tyrannie or contrarie to the authoritie of the word of God: and for that the Pope will not suffer Princes to exact tributes of Bishops and Ecclesiasticall men after their owne minde: and because they will not yeelde them if they be required. The word of God hath otherwise commanded, when it saith: Let euerie soule bee subiect to the higher power. And therefore (saith he) ye paie tributes, None is exempted, neither woulde Christ himselfe bee exempted.

Plinie. The Druis paid no tributes.

It would be honourable in the magistrates to beare some what gently with the Ministers.

Rom.13.1.

Chrysost. Chrysostome vppon that place of Paule: It may (saith he) seeme grieuous vnto Christians, for that they being the Children of God, and appointed for the Kingdome of heauen, are subiect vnto the Princes of this worlde: But he answereth: While we are in this life, our dignitie is hidden. For it appeareth not what we shalbe. Wherefore whilest we liue here, let it not be grieuous vnto vs to do reuerence to Magistrates, to giue them the way, and to honor them, these things are full decent and well beseeme th saints. Now that we are regenerate by the word and the Spirite, it might seeme that we neede no Magistrate. Whereupon the Iewes, because they were the people of God, take it verie greeuously, that sometime the Babylonians raigned ouer them, sometime the Persians, sometime the Grecians, sometimes the Romanes, and other nations which were strangers from God. The Anabaptistes and Libertines crie, that it is a thing vnworthy for a Christian to suffer a Magistrate ouer him. The clergie of the Pope also haue shaken off this yoke from themselues. But the Apostles, which foresawe that this would come to passe, did oftentimes vrge that the ciuill power should be obeyed. Which precept is two wates transgressed: One is when men saie, that they will not obey the Magistrate and doe seditiously take armes against him. The other waie is, when they circumuent him by subtiltie and guile, so as he cannot execute his office. For in Countes there be such, as flatter in the eare of Princes, dispraise and praise whom they list, accuse the good in stead of the euill, and commend the euill for good. So according to their mind some are made gouernours ouer countries, and other some are displaced. Wherefore Diocletian said: A god, wise and warie Emperour is oftentimes set to sale by his subiects. The Prince is at home in his palace, they that are familiar with him accuse and defend before him whom they will. Yea and among the Romanes, the Senators were many times circumuented. The course of iustice, is by many deceites hindred: neither doeth it much force, whether it be done by violence or by guile, because the publike weale is hurt both waies, and the institution of God contemned. And thus farre as touching these things.

Rom.13.3.

Acts.4.29.

Dan.3.18.

2.Mach.7.

Eusebius.

Weein two maner of waies is gainst the Magistrate

A saying of Diocletian.

27 Neither must we here passe ouer that, which hath bin often said that the Magistrate must not be obayed, if he commaund anie thing against the word of God. For when he so doth, he is no Magistrate. Because (as Paul saith) He is the Minister of GOD to good: So as if he commaund thinges contrarie to the word of God, in that behalfe, he is not his Minister. But thou wilt say, that sometime grieuous, troublesome, and difficult thinges are commaunded, which neuertheless are not against the word of God. What is to be done in these cases? We must obay. For we are commaunded to obay our Pastors though they be seuere, so that they commaund nothing against the word of God: which if they doe, we must aunswere them with the sentence of Peter, who saith: We ought rather to obay God than men, Nabuchad-nazer would haue his Image worshipped: The faithful Hebrewes aunswered: Thy Image O king we will not woorship. Antiochus commaunded the Hebrewe woman, to eate swines flesh: but she chosed to die together with her seuen sonnes, rather than to commit anie thing against the law of God. Also the Martyrs both in the olde time, and also in our time, suffered most extreme punishmentes and most cruell deathes, because they would not sinne against the Lawe of God. Eusebius Cæsariensis writeth that Constantius the father of Constantine fained vppon a time as though

An example of Constantius the first.

he would put out all the Chriſtians, which would ſtand to their Religion, out of their honors and offices. But they which were godlie in deede, fréelie gaue ouer their dignitie, and choſe rather to leaue their honors, than to depart from Chriſt. But this turned to their good: for the Emperor imbraſed the: And thoſe which had denyed Chriſt for to kéepe their dignities, be itterlie removed from his perſon; ſaying, that they alſo would not be faithfull vnto him, which were vnfaithfull to God. Afterward Conſtantius, the ſonne of Conſtantinus being an Arrian, went about to drawe the faithfull Byſhops to his hereſie. But they choſe rather to be baniſhed than to followe that wicked purpoſe of the Emperor. Afterward Iulian the Apoſtata opened the Temples of the Idols, & labored to driue the Chriſtians to the Ethnick Religion and worſhipping: yet ſuch as were godlie in deede, held the Religion of Chriſt, more deare and nere vnto them than their life. Yea and Achilles in Homer

Constantius the ſecond an Arrian.

Iulian the Apoſtata.

Achilles.

faith: I will obay princes, but yet ſo they command thinges honeſt and iuſt. And thoſe thinges not onelie belong to ſubiectes but alſo to inferiour Magiſtrates. For what if the ſuperiour prince commaund the inferiour Magiſtrates to receaue the Maſſe in their Cities, vndoubtedlie they ought not to obay. If a man will ſay: he is the ſuperiour power, and therefore ought to be obayed: I will aunſwere, in thinges that be ciuill and humane let them obay, aſmuch as behoueth, but in no wiſe againſt God. We muſt alwayes runne vnto that principle:

Of meane or inferiour powers.

Propter quod vnumquodque eſt tale, id ipſum eſt magis tale. That is to ſay: That whereby a thing is ſuch as it is, is the more ſuch it ſelfe. And therefore if we obay the Magiſtrate, for Gods cauſe, much more muſt God himſelfe be obayed. So then the inferiour Magiſtrate ought not in ſuch caſes, to haue a regard what the ſuperiour power chargeth, but what GOD himſelfe hath commaunded.

28 There be ſome which ſay, that before we depart from the obedience of the Magiſtrates as touching Religion, we muſt expect the conſent of the Church. They which thus ſpeake let them conſider, that Chriſt neuer ſo commaunded: euerie man for himſelfe, is wholie bound to the lawe of God, whether others conſent or diſſent. If the godman of a houſe haue manie ſeruantes which he commaundeth to doe his worke in the countrie, but ſome of them when their Maiſter is abſent will loyter, ought the reſt therefore to be idle, becauſe ſome conſent not to their common buſineſſe? Did Paul when he was called to preach Chriſt, tarie for the conſent of his other brethren? No truelie. But as he writeth to the Galat. When it had pleaſed God to reueale vnto me his ſonne, that I ſhould preach him among the gentiles, I did not ſtraightway aske counſell of fleſh and bloud, neither went I to the Apoſtles which were before me, but I went into Arabia. Wherefore he taried not for the conſent of other, but ſtraightway obayed his calling. So alſo ought we to doe: after that God hath opened vnto vs his trueth, we muſt not tarie. In deede, if the thing be doubtful and darke, we muſt tarie for a conſent. But our cauſe is manifeſt, and without all obſcuritie. Which if we will omit till a conſent be had, the thing it ſelfe is loſt and good occaſions broken off. Tyberius would haue brought Chriſt into the number of the Gods, howbeit he thought that the conſent of the Senate ſhould be had. But the Senate would not, and by that meanes it came to paſſe, that, while conſent was expected Chriſt could not be counted among the Gods: whereas Tyberius had bin able to bring it to paſſe by himſelfe. But I pray you let them tell vs, for whoſe conſent will they tarie? For the Byſhops conſent? But they no doubt will neuer conſent, ſince they are ſworne enemies of the trueth.

Want waiting not for conſent.

Gal.1.16.

When a conſent muſt be attended for.

29 Now let vs returne vnto the inferiour Magiſtrates of whom we ſpake before. We muſt remember what God hath commaunded children concerning their parentes. Honor thy father and thy mother. By which wordes vndoubtedlie, is commaunded honor and obedience towardes higher powers. For they haue the place of parentes, towardes the inferiour Magiſtrates. But let vs ſee what Chriſt hath pronounced as touching this matter. He that loueth (ſaith he) father or mother more than me, is not woorthie of me. The ſame without doubt muſt we think of the Magiſtrate, which is the father of the countrie. We muſt obay him, but yet not aboue the Lord. Yea if he commaund anie thing againſt him, he is both to be hated and alſo denyed. Neither is it lawfull for anie man to profeſſe himſelfe to be a Chriſtian, which will not diſſent from the ſuperiour Magiſtrate in thoſe things which be againſt the word of God. This were to haue a will to ſerue two Maiſters, and to halt on both ſides. If God be God, let vs follow him, and that not by halues, but wholie. But it is to be feared (ſay they) leaſt while we are againſt the ſuperiour power, we bring daunger to the publike weale. To this I will anſwere, contra-

Lo the part 2. cap.4.&c.42.

Exo.20.12.

Mat.10.37

The authors of Demades.

contrarie to that which Demades in the olde time aunſwered vnto the Athenians. Caſſander the Macedonian which ſucceded Alexander the Great, intreated with the Athenians, that they would worſhip Alexander for a God. They ſtayed thereat: But Caſſander ſeemed that vnleſſe they would conſent, he would make warre vppon them. Wherefore Demades ſpake thus vnto the people: That it was to be feared, that while they retained heauen they ſhould loſe the earth. So doe I aunſwere theſe men, onelie changing the wordes: That it is to be feared leaſt while they ouermuch regard and defend the common weale, they loſe heauen. For although the ſuperiour power, doe fume and threaten, we muſt valiantlie deale in a good cauſe. Seeing that God muſt be worſhipped ſincerelie and godlie, although all Magiſtrates and all the world were againſt vs: And therefore if that ſuperiour power commaund anie thing againſt the lawe of God, it muſt not be obayed. So did Nabaoth the Iizraelite behaue himſelfe, he would not graunt vnto Achab his vineyard, which was his inheritance: neither had he therein anie other reſpect, than that the lawe of GOD ſhould remaine inuiolate: wherein it was commaunded that the tribes and families of the Iſraelites, (as touching poſſeſſions) ſhould remaine diſtinct and ſeparate. So by reaſon thereof, it was not lawfull for Nabaoth to alienate his inheritance for euer. Yet a man being farre indebted, might haue ſold his inheritance till the yeare of Iubile, but after that yeare, it returned to the olde poſſeſſor againe. God would by this meanes, that the inheritances of the Iſraelites ſhould not be confounded. Wherefore Nabaoth, would not ſell his auncient inheritance, leaſt the lawe of God ſhould be broken. Him alſo ought the Magiſtrates to followe, and not to giue place in their Cities and dominions, vnto moſt vnpure Maſſes, and papiſticall Idolatrie. The Iewes when they were oppreſſed by the Macedonians, did rather chuſe to ſuffer anie thing than that the Image of Iupiter Olympius ſhould abide in the Temple of God. And when the Romans bare rule ouer them, how great ſedition and tumult ſtirred they vp, rather than they would ſuffer the ſiluer Eagle, or the Image of Caligula to be ſet vp in the holie place? Yea and Valentinian the Emperour, being an Arrian (as both Euſebius writeth, and alſo Ambroſe in his Epiſtles) would haue had the Church of Millaine deliuered vnto him, there to haue celebrated together with his hereticks prayers and holie ſeruices. But Ambroſe would not giue place, but rather abode day and night in the Temple, together with the people, than that the Emperour ſhould finde it voyde, and ſo to poſſeſſe it. If the Hebrewes would not haue the Temple of God polluted with Idols, and Ambroſe ſuffered not the Church to be contaminated with hereticks, why doe faithfull Magiſtrates ſuffer their Temples to be defiled with Idolatrie, and vncleane ſeruices of the Papiſtes?

1.King.21.3 The ſtable of Nabaoth

1.Mach.1.57.

2.Mac.6.2. The contumelie of the Iewes againſt the Macedonians and Romanes.

Ambroſe.

30 They ſay that theſe thinges belong nothing at all vnto them, and that theſe temples are not in their power. What then? If murther ſhould be cõmitted in thoſe temples, or that anie ſhould there conſpire againſt the publikeweale, would they there leaue murtherers and conſpirators vnpunished? And would they ſay, that theſe wicked crimes belong nothing vnto them? Would they willinglie and wittinglie ſuffer theſe thinges? I thinke not, if they were wiſe, and would haue the commonweale ſafelie prouided for. If a man ſhould obiect vnto them: This Temple is not yours, neither maketh it anie matter vnto you what is there done: yes (would they then aunſwere) ſeeing it is in our Citie, euen for that verie cauſe it pertaineth ſufficientlie vnto vs. But wicked actes, far more grieuous than murthers and conſpiracies, are there committed: I meane Idolatrie, ſacrilege, and blaſphemie. And ſhall a Magiſtrate which will be called a Chriſtian thinke that theſe thinges belong nothing vnto him? But (ſay they) the ſuperiour power hath commaunded them to be done. To this I haue before aunſwered at large. Now this will I adde, that if the ſame power ſhould goe about to deſtroy the Citie, or to take away or diminiſh the priuileges, they would neuer ſuffer it: they would rather proclaime warres. Yet notwithſtanding theſe thinges, which are farre more grieuous and cruell, are openlie and manifeſtlie done and ſuffered. And which is moſt grieuous of all: thoſe thinges are there ſuffered, where the Goſpell of Chriſt hath manie yeares béene receiued.

Idolatrie is a more hainous crime than homicide.

31 Now there reſteth (becauſe the Magiſtrate oftentimes excuſeth himſelfe, in ſaying that Eccleſiaſticall cauſes belong not vnto him) to declare that to be vntrue. Although it be manifeſt enough by thoſe thinges that I haue alreadie ſpoken, yet for the more eaſie vnderſtanding, I thinke it good to adde thus much. Firſt I ſay that the Magiſtrate is the képer of the lawe of God, which containeth not onelie the latter Table but alſo the firſt: Wherefore the Magiſtrate is a képer aſwell of the one as of the

Lorde Iesu 1.Sam. 28. verſe.3.

Augustine other. I adde also that which Augustine saith: that not onelie priuate men, but also kinges, ought to serue the Lord. For in the Psa.102.23 Psalme it is written: The people came together, and kinges to serue the Lord. And Psal.2.10. in another place: And now O kinges vnderstand, be learned ye that iudge the earth, serue the Lord in feare &c. A priuate man The difference of the seruing of God of a priuate man and of a King. saith Augustine serueth the Lord, if he cõfesse his name, and liue vprightlie: But this is not sufficient for a king and Magistrate, seeing he ought so by his authoritie and power to serue the Lorde, that he punish those that be his enemies: which vnlesse he doe, he sinneth to consent vnto blasphemours and heretickes. For the king when he seeth these men and suffereth them, is as much in fault as if he should ioyne himselfe with the, & maintaine their wickednesse. Nabuchadne- Dan.3.96. zar, as sone as euer he knew God, made a decree, that whosoeuer spake blasphemie against the God of Daniel, should dye. The like decree Ib.6.23. made Darius afterward. So likewise our Magistrates ought wholie to take away all Idolatries, blasphemies, and superstitions, so sone as euer they shall finde them out. The Ethnick Princes neuer thought that The Ethnick Politicens accounted the care of Religion appertained not vnto their power. Why was Socrates condemned at Athens? I demaund not now, how rightlie or iustlie (for as it is thought in a manner of all men Anitus and Melitus lyed against him.) This I speake for that he was for no other cause condemned, but for Religion: as though he taught new Gods and led away the youth from the auncient and receaued worshipping of the Gods: and he was by a prophane Magistrate condemned. Socrates was condemned by the Magistrate for matters of Religion. Wherefore the Athenians thought that the preseruation and care of Religion belonged Leuit.24.16 to their Magistrate. The lawe of God commanded, that the blasphemour should be put to death, not I thinke by euerie priuate man or by the priestes, but by the Magistrate. The Ethnick Emperours also in those first times did for no other cause rage against the Christians, but because they thought that the state of Religion belonged vnto their iudgemẽt seate. And allureadie as touching this opinion, they were not deceaued. Chrysost. For none (as Chrysostome saith) either Apostle or Prophet, reprooued the people, either Iewes or Ethnickes, because they had a care of Religion: but they were deceaued in the verie knowledge as touching Religion, because they defended their owne as true, and condemned the Christian as vngodlie and blasphemous. Constantine and Theodosius and manie other godlie princes are commended, because they toke away Idols, and either closed vp, or else ouerthrew their Temples. Howbeit they did not these thinges in anie other respect than that they thought the charge of Religion to belong vnto them: otherwise they should haue bin busie fellowes, and should haue put their Sickle into another mans haruest. The Donatists toke this in verie ill part, and greeuously complained thereof in Augustines time, because the Catholick Bishops required ayde of the ciuill Magistrate against them. But Augustine Augustine confuted them by the selfe same Argument which I haue a little before rehearsed: And addeth this moreouer: why did ye accuse Cæcilianus Bishop of Carthage, before Constantine, if it be wicked for an Emperour to determine concerning Religion?

32 Furthermore there is gathered by those things which the same Father wrote against Petilianus, and against Parmenianus, & also in manie other Epistles, how that the Donatists accused Cæcilianus, as it is said, before Constantine & Emperor: who first referred the cause to Melchiades bishop of Rome. And when by him they were ouercome, they againe appealed to the Emperor: neither reiected he their appellation frõ him, but committed the matter to the Bishop of Orleance, by whom they were againe cõdemned. Neither rested they so: but they appealed again to the Emperour, who heard them, decided their cause, condemned them, and by his sentence quitted Cæcilianus. Where are they now, which so often and so impudently crie, that there is no appealing from the Pope, and that the causes of Religion belong not to the Ciuill Magistrate? To whom in the olde time belonged the right of calling generall Councels, pertained it not vnto Emperours? As for the Councell of Nice, the Councell of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon, Emperours called them. Leo the first of that name, prayed the Emperour to call a Councell in Italie, because he suspected the Qætians about the error of Eutiches, and yet could he not obtaine it. And the Bishops were called togther to Chalcedonia, whereat the Emperour was also present, as was Constantine at the Councell of Nice. Neither doe I thinke that they were there present, to sit idle and to doe nothing, but rather to set forth vnto the Bishops what they should do, and to prouoke them to define rightly. Theodoretus telleth that Constantine admonished the fathers to determine Theodoretus. al things by the scriptures of the Euangelists, Apostles, Prophets, and scriptures inspired from God. Iustinian also in the Code, wrote many

Appellatiõ from the Pope to the Emperour in matters of religion.

The right of calling Councels in the Emperours.

many Ecclesiastical lawes of Bishops, of Priestes and other such like. Yea and Augustine Augustine himselfe hath taught that the Magistrate ought after the same maner to punish Idolaters and Heretikes, with the same punishment that he punisheth adulterers withall: for so much as they commit whoredome against God in minde: which is much more heinous, than to commit whoredome in bodie. And loke by what law murtherers are put to death, by the same also ought Idolaters and Heretickes be punished, for that by them are killed not the bodies, but the soules: although the common people are stirred vp onelie against Homicides, because it seeth the blood of the slaine bodies, but seeth not the death of the soules. Surelie it is profitable that the Magistrate should take this care vpon him, and by his authoritie compell men to come to the Sermons, and to heare the word of God: for by that meanes it commeth to passe, that through often hearing, those things begin to please which before displeased. As the histories teach God hath often times made godlie Princes famous through most noble victories which haue had a care of these things. God hath prospered those Princes which haue had a care of Religion.

Whoredom a more grieuous crime than aduulterie.

33 Besides it cannot be denied, but that it is the Magistrates dutie, to defend those Cities, and publike weales ouer which they are gouernors, and to prouide that they take no harme. Seeing then Idolatry is the cause of captiuitie, plague, famine, & ouerthrowing of publike weales, shall it not belong vnto the Magistrate to represse it, and to preserue both the true and sounde Religion? Lastlie Paule teacheth fathers to instruct their children in discipline and in the feare of God: But a god Magistrate is the father of the countrie, wherefore by the rule of the Apostle he ought to prouide that subiects be instructed as common children. Neuerthelesse Kinges and Princes which saie that these things pertaine not to them, do in the meane time, let, giue, and sell Bishoprickes, Abbies, and benefices to whom they thinke gmeet: neither thinke they that this belongeth not to their office: onelie they thinke that they ought not to take knowledge of matters of Religion, and they neglect to prouide that they whom they promote to most ample dignities, should execute their office rightly. This therefore onelie remaineth for them, euen that God himselfe will at length iudge of these things, and reuenge their negligence.

The fourteenth Chapter.

Of the office of Magistrates, especially in exercising of Iudgement.

Kinges for the most part in the time of great quietnesse, as though they had made an end of their labors, vse to giue themselues to sportes and to pleasures. For so Alexander, when he had ouercome Darius, was made feeble through riotousnesse. But farre otherwise did Dauid behaue himselfe. For he thought it not enough to haue conquered his enemie: but thought that the priuate euils and iniuries at home belonged also to his office: since that a publike weale is for- A similitude rupted, euen as is a humane bodie, not onely by outward discommodities, but also by inward euils, as it were by certaine noysome humors. Yea, and such ought to be the ende of warre, that peace among Citizens and domesticall discipline maie be established. And therefore Iustinian in the Preface Iustinian. vpon the Institutions of the Ciuill lawe: The Maiestie of the Emperour (saieth he) ought not onely to be adorned with armes, but also armed by lawes, that eache time, as well of warre as of peace may be rightly gouerned, and that the Romane Prince may not onely be conquerour of his enemies in battailes, but also by right course expell the lewdnes of malicious detractours, and that he may become alwell most religious for the lawe as triumphant ouer his enemies. And the law is, not mans opinion (as some haue foolishly thought) but an euerlasting precept proceeding from nature being the guide, and from the lawe. And that which is here spoken as touching nature, that doe wee much more truely vnderstand of God himselfe, the authour of nature. For that which GOD hath set downe ought to be a lawe vnto vs. And that lawe men doe oftentimes vnderstand by some light of nature, and (as Cicero saieth) by a long experience of affaires, and gouernment of common weales. For things being in such sort marked of wise men, committed to writing, and declared in their kinds and distributed in their parts become at the last a certaine Art, or else some similitude of an Art. Vpian in the Digestes, in the Title *De Iure & legibus*, saieth that *Ius*, that is, right, is so called of *Iustitia*, that is, Iustice. This agreeth not with the Grammarians. In 2. Sam. 8.15. That Writers call it mirth, folenelle.

For they affirme that the word *Ius* is absolute, & that that onely is iust, which is done *Iure*, that is, by law or right; so as they think that *Iustitia* is deriued of *Ius*, but not *Ius* of *Iustitia*. But these things I passe ouer. This is certaine, that that thing is first which expresseth any thing: and the next is that which executeth and worketh that which is expounded. That did Aristotle call Ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν καὶ διακατεχέμενον, which is a remedying of iniurie. Then followeth a certaine habite & prouenelle of doing whatsoeuer is expressed. This may hereby also be proued, that in all Artes there is first a matter to be wrought vpon, then a science. For number is first before Arithmetick, and song before musicke, and euerie thing that may be knowen, before knowledge thereof. Wherefore right goeth before iustice. For δικαιοσύνη, which is righteousnes, is as it were Δικαίου σύνεσις, ỷ is, the inbeing of right. I know there bee some which defend Vlpian, and say that he considered not the verie nature of things in themselues, but so as it is brought forth and breaketh out into Act. But how soeuer it be, the matter is not of great weight. A Prince ought to take speciall hede that he minister iustice, and that he doe it with a god minde and iustly. For it is not sufficient that some god thing be done, vnlesse the same also be done well. And this who so doe, Vlpianus saieth they may be called Priests. For they be Priests and presidents of the lawes. And lawes be holy things; as it is in the Code *De Legibus*, in ỷ lawe *Legis*. Wherefore to giue sentence, and to speake law, is a holy thing. That sentence which is written: namely that Dauid did execute iustice and iudgement, some do so expound it, as they vnderstand, that he did not pronounce al things out of the written law, but euen much according to equitie and reason: sith that also is to doe iustice. But for equitie and reason there is no place, except where nothing is prouided for by the lawes: that is, where neither reward of well doing, nor punishment for wicked actes is expressely appointed. And it is specially to be noted, which is added, namely To all the people. For that betokeneth ỷ he did execute iudgement sincerely and truely, without respect of persons. And this is it ỷ to beare rule as thou maiest be a helpe to the people. Salomon in his prouerbes; By iustice (saieth he) shall the kings seate be established for euer. Contrariwise, Tyrants because of their iniquitie shal soone be taken away. Howbeit to execute iustice is manifolde and hath many parts. For it behoueth both patiently to heare, wisely to know, vprightly to giue sentence, and couragiously to doe execution: Considering that many doe oftentimes iudge rightly: but yet for want of courage they onely haue their sentence in papers. Wee must take hede that the guiltie be punished, that discipline be established, that god lawes doe flourish, that good manners may be preserued. This vertue is most profitable, not onely in peace but also in warre. These things ought a Prince specially to doe. For he should be as it were a certaine liuing lawe. But contrariwise they doe wickedly which thinke that the iudgement of causes doe nothing at all pertaine vnto their office. Such was Anthonius Caracalla, who woulde neuer giue iudgement. And vnto Adrian when he excused him selfe that he was not at leasure to helpe a poore woman, it was answered; Then I would not haue thee to beare rule.

In al Arts the obiect is before the science.

How iustice is to be ministred.

a.Sam.8.15

Pro.16.12.

The parts of right iudgement.

That the charge of Religion belongeth vnto Princes.

2 But thou wilt say: Is it lawfull for Princes to determine of Religion? Undoubtedly it was lawfull for Saule to abandon Witches and Southsayers, sith God commanded them to be taken away. But they which saie that Prophane Princes (as they call them) ought not to deale in these things, they prouide verie ill for the safetie of the Church. For what if a Pastor become a Wolfe, who shall take him away but the Magistrate? Or if the Bishops as it happeneth gouerne not according to the dignitie of the Church nor by the worde of God, who shall punish them? But King Ozias (they say) when he would sacrifice was stricken with a leprosie. And Oza when he had put his hand to the Arke that was falling out of the Cart, was stricken to death. Wherefore Princes (say they) ought not to intermeddle with these things. What shall they then do? They feigne that in the Church there bee two great lightes, and that the Pope with the Bishops be the greater light: & that the Emperour and kings and Magistrates bee the lesser light: These ought to take care, that is as much to say, as destroy their bodies, but the other the soules. So would they haue Princes to be onely certaine herdmen to pamper the bodie. But the verie Philosophers doe not so absurdly iudge. For Aristotle in his Politicks saieth, that the office of a Magistrate is, to prouide that the people may liue well and vertuously. And no greater vertue there is, than Religion. And God commanded in Deuteronomie that the prince should write out for himselfe the booke of the lawe, not onely for himselfe to keepe, but also to compell others to keepe it. And the law containeth not onelie ciuil gouernment, but also Ceremonies and the worshipping of God. And whereas the lawe is distributed into two tables, both of them are committed to the power of the Magistrate. Moreouer Paul saieth, that the Magistrate standeth in the stead and place of God, and that euerie soule ought to be subiect vnto the higher power. From which place (saith Chrysostome) neither Bishops nor Euangelistes nor Apostles be excluded. And Augustine against the Donatistes: It were a godly matter in deede (saieth he) if Magistrates should haue power to punish adulteries, but might not punish ỷ whoredomes of the soule. And he adoeth that kings ought to serue God, not onelie ỷ they themselues may line modestly and godly, but also that they may bring others vnto godlinesse, and defende the worship of God. In all Artes (as saieth Aristotle) there is a certaine respect vnto the principall Art. For example, the Art of Riding commandeth the Sadlers craft. Also the Art of Nauigation is about that Art which maketh Oers and sayles, wherefore seeing the office of a Magistrate is the chiefe and principall science, he ought to rule all the partes of a Common weale. In deed he himself exerciseth not those Arts, but yet ought he to see that none doe corrupt and counterfeit them. If a Phisitian cure not according to the precript of Galen or Hypocrates, or if an Apothecarie sell naughtie and corrupt drugges, the Magistrate ought to correct them both. And if he may doe this in other Artes, I see no cause why he may not doe it in Religion. So Ezechias, Iosias, Dauid, Salomon, Constantine, and Charles shewed verie well that religion belonged vnto their charge. Ozias was stricken and that iustly. For God appointed him to be a king & not a Priest, he notwithstanding contrarie to the commaundement of God would offer sacrifice. But if he had corrected the Priest when he offended, or had made him doe his duetie, there should not any euill haue happened vnto him for that matter. Oza was stricken vnto death because he rashly laide his hand vpon the Arke. The Leuites ought to haue carried it vpon their shoulders: neuerthelesse they laide the same in a Cart. And he was punished for laying bold vpon it when the Cart staggered.

In 1.Sam. 18.3. Wherbeit he implait him a king to beare rule touching Religion. Deu.18.vc. 10.11.&12

Two sorts of lectors.

Two great lights for men in the Church by the papists.

The office of a Magistrate.

What the duetie of Princes is in setting forwarde of Religion, looke the Epistles in the end of this worke.

3 Powbeit because the power of a Prince is feble and without limits, therfore he hath neede of manie eies, manie hands, and manie feete. Wherfore it is described by whom Dauid ruled the common weale, not onelie in prophane, but also in Ecclesiasticall affaires. Ioab being a valiant man, and skilfull in the art of warre, the kinsman of Dauid, and of an approued faithfulnesse, had the rule and gouernment of the warres. That office was due vnto him by promise, because he did first smite and vanquish the Iebusites. Further more Dauid, to the intēt that nothing should be done vnorderlie or be forgotten: he would haue a recorder or maister of the requests, to put him in mind of causes both priuate and publike. Him the Italians call *Referendarium*: The French men, *Maistre des requestes*, A Maister of the requests. Afterward he bent his mind to Ecclesiasticall affaires, and agreed together two families of Priests which were at variance. For those (as it oftentimes happeneth among Ecclesiasticall men) contended for the principall place. For which, although there be wont to be great debate betweene prophane Princes, yet no where greater than betweene them which ought most of all to contemne these follies. The two families of Ithamar and Eleazar contended betweene themselues for the high Priesthood. And least we should thinke that there were two high Priestes, wee must vnderstande that there was onelie one, Abiathar was he, whose sonne Ahimelecke Dauid made equall with Sadoch, ỷ they two might bee next vnto the high Priest. Powbeit some think that those two were as the kings chaplines, that whereseuer he should be, either at home or abroade, he might alwaies by them aske counsel of the Lord. Afterward in the time of Salomō, Achimileck was constrained to giue vp his place, and in stead of him came Sadock. God had then long before commanded that ỷ Priests should be chosen out of the familie of Aaron: So as Dauid admitted not other families, but onlie followed the prescript rule of the lawe of God. This would not the Pope at this day suffer, to wit: that the Emperour should ordaine orders among Bishops and cardinals. And yet neuertheless Dauid did this, and thought not that he did any thing against his owne office. Dauid toke the shildes of Golde of Hadarezer, and whatsoeuer Gold, siluer, and brasse he had gathered out of Beta and Berothay and of King Thoi, he consecrated all wholly vnto the Lord. So in the booke of Numbers, what monie soeuer the Israelites toke from the Moabites they did consecrate to the tabernacle.

2.Sam.8.16

By whom Dauid executed the Common weale.

1.Par.11.6.

In 2.Sam.8 Dauid bestowed gold for the building of the Temple.

Rightlie did Dauid, and as it became a godlie king. For although he were prohibited by the kings lawe that he should not heape to himselfe treasures, yet was there no let but that he might seeke for and keepe those things, whereby the Temple of God might be builded and adorned. Yea and Moses commaunded all the vessels of the Tabernacle to be made of the spoiles of Egypt. God had before forbidden Dauid that he should not build him a Temple, yet he forbad him not to gather together the stuffe for that building. Godlie kings employ all things to the building and beautifying of the Church of God, and in the meane time, contemne not the outward ornaments of Temples: but the wicked Nabucadonezers, and Dionysij doe pull away all, euen with a contempt of God. Neither is it any maruell: In mindes that be vnlike, the indeuours be vnlike also. Howbeit Dauid and other Princes, to whom this care belonged, meant to signifie nothing else saue that they allowed of the worshipping of God. This also doe the Princes of the Papistes at this daie, and euer haue done, and that oftentimes of gods euill gotten. But Dauid caried awaie these things from the Enimies, yea from those enemies, whom he knew to be condemned and iudged by God, that he might not seeme to haue done any thing against the lawe of God. The people for adorning of the temple brought manie bowed oblations, much rather behoued it kings to doe the same. The Ethnickes also consecrated their goodly spoyles vnto Iupiter Feretrius: and whatsoeuer they had taken from their enemies, they committed a part thereof to their goddes. These things may be a sufficient argument that Dauid wrote not this warre in hande for couetousnesse sake, but to augment the glory of God. Euen so Christ, our true Dauid, when he had spoyled the house of his strong and armed enemie, turned all his spoyles vnto his owne vse: and of them which he had before holde captiues, made some Apostles, some Euangelists, some teachers: and god Arts, as Logicke, Rhetoricke, and Philosophie, which before had serued Dinels, he imployed vnto the buildings of his Church.

The care of the Church belongeth to Princes.

4 Doubtlesse clemencie is a godlie commendation and worthie for princes. Which also they themselues vnderstãding doe place it almost in the first front of their Pythes: and of their subiectes will be saluted by the name of Most mercifull. And by three reasons

In 1. kings. 20. ver. 31. That clemencie is meete for Princes.

1. they should be led to be gentle. The first is, because they be Gods lieftenantes vppon the earth, and therefore aboue others ought

That Princes are Gods lieftenantes vppon the earth.

to imitate him. For, to haue mercie and to forgiue, is proper vnto God. Secondlie they rule and gouerne men, not wilde and brute beastes. Wherefore it is meete they should deale curteouslie with them. Lastlie by gentle dealing, they get themselues the good will of the people. Wherefore Salomon in the 20. Chapter of the Prouerbes sayd: That by mercie is the kinges seate established. And Cicero when he prayed or flattered Cæsar said: that his valiant courage, his artes of warre, his victories & his triumphes, were comon vnto him with other souldiers, but that his clemẽcie, his sincere and perfect godnesse pertained to himselfe. Wherefore clemencie is worthie to be prayed, but yet not alwayes to be vsed: For there is a time which requireth seueritie. Clemẽcie is a certaine affection of the minde, whereby we are prone to forgiue, and turne aside from reuenge. And the same (if it be not against iustice, if it doe not violate right and lawes, nor yet bredeth a confusion of thinges) amongest men it is the matter of vertue: but if so be that it bring in those thinges which I haue recited, now is there no vertue there: but it doth degenerate into vice, and is changed into slacknesse, negligence, and foolish pitie. Thus sinned Achab that would be more pitifull than God. So also sinned Saul, which spared Agag the king of the Amalechites, contrarie vnto that which the word of God had prescribed. So then this their pitie, is no vertue but a vice, seeing it hath no iustice ioyned with it. Dauid also was sometime infected with this vice what time as he was ouerpitifull towardes Absolon his sonne, and towardes Ammon.

Verse 28.

Cicero.

Clemencie must be vsed in time and place.

A definition of Clemẽcie.

1. King. 20. 32. 1. Sam. 15. 9

Whether it be lawfull for Magistrates to let the guiltie passe vnpunished.

In 1. kings. 20. at the end.

5 This sentence is plainelie gathered out of the Scriptures, that the Magistrate ought not to let free those whom God hath deliuered to be punished. But some man will obiect, that the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, which ill vsed and betrayed the Hebrewes who fled vnto them, when they were spoyled by the Chaldeans, were sharplie rebuked by the Prophet Amos though not withstanding God had brought vppon them that calamitie. Yea and the Chaldeans themselues are reproued by the Prophet, because they dealt ill with the Iewes. I aunswere, that

Amos. 1. & 2.

Psal. 137. 8.

that the Iewes were not deliuered to the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites to be punished, but vnto the Chaldeans, as the Prophets haue prophesied. Seeing then God reueiled nothing at all vnto these people as touching the destruction of the Iewes to be executed by them, they were iustlie reprehended, and condemned of crueltie. For seeing they were their neighbours, and after a sort a kin, they shewed them not such curtesie and intertainement in that their calamitie, as they ought to haue done. But the Chaldeans are therefore reproued, because they exceeded measure against those which were ouercome. Neither became they cruell against the Hebrewes, to satisfie the will of God, but to fulfill their owne hatred & ambition. But what shall we say to Augustine, who would haue those that were guiltie and condemned, to be deliuered and yelded vnto him by the presidentes of Aphrica, so they would promise to amend and repent? For he said that this was a part of his duetie, & vnlesse he obtained what he desired, he was offended, and complained that he could not obtaine that of authoritie which belonged to his office. Macedonius who had giuen into his handes one that was guiltie, wrote vnto him, that he marueled how this should belong vnto the office of Bysshops, and he alleaged his reasons why it should not seeme so to be. Wherefore seeing there be Argumentes both on the one part & on the other, I haue thought good to set them downe to affirme what must be determined of the question. And for this end is this Treatise: because the guiltie are deliuered by God vnto Magistrates, to the end they should be punished by the Lawes: therefore it seemeth not in their power to let them goe vnpunished. But Augustine taught otherwise.

Reasons of Augustine for the forgiuing of offenders.

6 And in the first place I purpose to alleage his reasons. The first is, when repentance commeth, and promise of amendment, sinnes (as he writeth) are become more veniall or pardonable: wherefore somewhat of the seueritie of punishment must be forgiuen. Secondlie the Magistrate in punishing, ought to seeke nothing else than amendment or correction of faultes. And this is the best way of amending, that he which is guiltie should repent and purpose to line better. Thirdlie after this life there is no place of amendment & correction: and it is daungerous, lest if they should straightway be put to death, they might fal into euerlasting punishments which should neuer haue ende, therefore life must be graunted them that they may repent and amend. Fourthlie it becommeth princes to imitate God, & he destroyeth not the vngodlie, but maketh his sunne to rise vppon the good and bad. And he suffereth and cherisheth them with most ample benefites, whereas notwithstanding he verie well knoweth both what they are and what they will be. So that Princes should much rather pardon offenders, seeing it is vnknowen vnto them what manner of men they will become at the length. He confirmeth his reason out of a place in the Epistle to the Romans, wherein it is said: Doest thou not know that the goodnesse of God leadeth thee to repentance? We (saith he) doe imitate God, when we would not haue the guiltie to bee destroyed but to be kept vnto repentaunce: Princes also should followe this. God doeth not punish verie manie in this worlde, yet doeth he otherwhile bring punishment vpon some, least he should seeme to haue cast off the care of the world. But he suffereth many to goe vnpunished, that we may perswade our selues that once at the length shall be the general iudgement, wherein according to their desertes he will punish them that be obstinate and grounded in sinnes: but those which promise repentance and amendment, he giueth to the Church. Fifthly the heauenly father hath commanded, that we should loue our enemies: but they which are condemned to death for their misdedes, be enemies of mankinde: so according to the word of God we ought to beare them good will. But we can wish no better to them than saluation, that is repentance, amendment and eternall felicitie. Sixtlie, in the Church, they shall not straightway be admitted vnto the holie supper. First their minde shall be tryed by that publike repentance, they shall poure out teares in the holie congregation, they shall craue the ayde and prayers of the Church, they shall fast, they shall goe in the habite of Mariners, and they shall exercise themselues in godly workes. What else is this than to punish themselues iustlie? Wherefore those whome ye shall let goe, shall not escape among vs vnpunished. Seuenthlie that which we desire is easie, not onelie possible vnto you, because ye haue the power of life and death ouer them for whome we intreate. Wherefore, when ye yelde them vnto the Church, ye depart not from your duetie. For you exceede not the charge committed vnto you. Eightlie: that which we require of you, I would not haue you to doubt, but is for your owne profit. For ye as well as other Christians haue neede of mercie, vnlesse ye thinke your selues altogether free from sinne. Then set them free vnto vs, that your faults

Matth. 5. 45.

Rom. 2. 4.

6.

Matt. 5. 44.

7.

may

9. may also be forgiuen by God. Ninthlie it is mete that ye should follow the example of
John.8.11. Christ. He acquited the adulteresse which was guiltie of death, he condemned her not: onelie he exhorted her to amendment, say-
10. ing: Go thy way, sinne no more. Tenthly: After all this, consider ye the fact of Ioseph
Matt.1.19. the husband of the blessed virgin: He being otherwise a iust man, was so moued with mercie towardes his spouse, as although he knew her to be great with child, yet would he not put her to open shame or any accu-
11. sing her of adulterie, abandon her to extreme punishment. Againe ye ought to haue a consideration of mans infirmitie, which is such, as being well weighed, it may not onelie alwage the griefe of the accuser, but also the rigor of the Iudge. Furthermore
12. ye ciuill men, which would be accounted honest, boast euerie where as a token of good nature and gentlenesse, that ye had rather defend in place of iudgement than accuse: therefore ye ought not to be offended at vs, if we seeke the preseruation of them that be guiltie. Neuertheleslie, betweene intercession and defence, there is a great difference: For the that defendeth that which is layd to ỳ charge of the guilty, affirmeth it to be well done, the which we doe not. For neither doe we comfort and excuse thèues and murtherers & other malefactors, but confessing that they haue offended, we make intercel-
13. sion for their safetie. Moreouer, the maner of ciuill men is, that if they see bryoles risen in an other mans house, for that the father would punish the sonne, or the husband his wife, they come betweene them and intreate that the matter may be pacified. And what they themselues would punish in their owne house, they intreate that it should not be punished in the familie of an other. Hereunto,
14. euen you your selues which be rulers of the people of Rome, doe sometime in the Ecclesiasticall Synodes, make intercession for some priestes, that they be not more sharply dealt withall and according to the seueritie of the Canons of the Church. Wherefore that which you graunt vnto your selues towardes the Church, graunt in like manner vnto vs to vse at your tribunall seates and
15. at your executions. Last of all, we while we craue of your power this kinde of obedience, chiefely haue this regard, that vnto the ministerie of the Church, and vnto the word of trueth which we preach, we may winne the loue and good will of the people. For whe they shall perceiue that the Ministers of the word of God and the pastors of the Church, doe so desire & thirst after the saluation euen of most wicked men, they cannot chose but loue them, and gladlie giue eare vnto them.

7 And this last Argument, as it seemeth to me moued him to make these demaundes. Yet doe I not see that other Bishops, especiallie those of the East part, were earnest in this matter, so farre as I might discerne by the most ancient Ecclesiastical histories. But as touching the saluation and repentance of the guiltie, there was no cause why the bishops should so much disquiet themselues, if the Ministers were brought to the pryson of the condemned men, before they were put to execution. For by exhorting them, by warning and teaching them those things which serue vnto repentance and amendment, they might as they doe in our dayes haue brought them by the helpe of God vnto acknowledging of their sinnes, and sound repentance. But I perceiue not that this wholesome ordinance in times past was in vse in the Church, especiallie when the Emperours now professed Christ. Now that we haue rehearsed the reasons of Augustine, I thinke good to admonish you hereof, to wit, that the letting goe of Benhadad which is declared in the 1. booke of kinges the 20 Chapter, is not in all parts conformable vnto the pardoning which the Bishops required of the Magistrates for them which be guiltie. For neither anie high priest, nor priest at all made sute for Benhadad. Further he himselfe made no promise of repentance or amendment, yea, and there was nothing at al specified concerning Religion. Yet there remaineth some likelihod that on both sides he is let goe, whom God had deliuered vnto the Magistrate to be punished.

Howe the repentance of the guiltie might be procured by the Bishops.

1. Kings. 20. ver. 33.

The sentence of Augustine vpon the letting goe of Benhadad vnlike to that which Augustine vrgeth.

8 But after the reasons of Augustine let vs heare the Arguments of Macedonius. First he said: In this letting goe, we seeme to allowe that which we wouldbe haue punished, but it is sinne that we would haue punished: therefore we seeme to allowe of sinne it selfe. So then we make our selues guiltie, because the allower and authour of the offence are both alike culpable, wherefore we are subiect to the same kinde of offence that they be whom we so let goe. Augustine answereth: We while we crave to haue those yeelded vnto the Church, seeke it not to the ende that sinne should goe vnpunished, but rather amended. Euen as God when he maketh the Sunne to arise vppon the wicked, doeth it not that sinne should be escape vnpunished, but (as the Apostle saieth) by his goodnesse prouoketh them to repentance. Moreouer wee would in any wise that sinnes should be punished, howbeit by an other kinde of

The reasons of Macedonius against Augustine. 1.

of punishment, that is, by repentance, not by
2. the sword of authoritie. Secondly Macedonius obiected: The sword of the ciuill power will be in vaine: to what end should there be pysons, Gallowses, hangmen, executioners, & such like, if guiltie persons as you would, should be let goe vnpunished? But Augustine saieth, that these things are not in vaine: because they punish the impenitent and obstinate: but others which promise that they will amende their life, your power and instruments of punishments doe bring them hereunto. For vnlesse they should be terrified by this meanes, they would continue in their mischiefe. So as our intercessions are nothing at all against your seuere power: nay rather if the same were not, our intercessions should haue no place. Moreouer for this cause are they auaileable, that we maie leade a peaceable and quiet life among the
3. wicked. Thirdly Macedonius argued: The punishments that we lay vpon the guiltie, are either iust or vniust: if they be vniust, let them be removed and let them no more appeare in the Common weale: but if they bee iust, wherefore doe you hinder them with your intercessions? Augustine answereth; They be iust against them which bee stubborne and obstinate in their sinnes: but when there commeth promise of amendment and repentance, forsomuch as the guiltie person is changed, the punishments must also be changed or taken away. Hereunto Ma-
4. cedonius addeth: They which are so deliuered, it commeth often to passe, that they afterward fall againe into the selfe same vices, or else commit those that bee more grieuous. Augustine answereth: Seeing this is not done by our fault nor will: neither doe wee make intercession for them that they may become such euill persons againe. Macedo-
5. nius said yet further: Others being corrupted by this example will more vehemently runne astray, and so all things will be filled with theft and robberies. Whereunto Augustine said: God also will easily sustayne this kinde either of reproche or cauillation. Why doe we not also say that euill men are corrupted to commit daylie more and more grieuous sinnes, though the good will of God, whereby he suffereth and cherisheth the
6. wicked? Lastly Macedonius had respect vnto the losses and hinderances done vnto Citizens, and said: It will by this meanes come to passe, that things taken awaie by theft and robberie will not be restored. Vnto this Augustine saieth: It would in no wise be so: for that is reckoned to be no true repentance wherein other mens goods are retained; neither is the sinne forgiuen vnlesse there be a restitution of the thing stolen. But yet be shewed after what maner: namely that if it may be or if the guiltie mã haue other mens goods in his handes. Howbeit otherwhile these robbers and thèues doe straight way consume those thinges which they haue naughtily gotten, doe riotously waste and destroy them, and when as there remaineth with them not one iot thereof to restore: when they haue changed their minde, they must be giuen to the Church, least they bee perpetually afflicted without a cause, and their repentance be hindered. These things haue we heard to be spoken of Augustine and Macedonius, according to both partes of the question propounded. I might adde, that Iames in his Epistle wrote, that iudgement Iames.2.13 without mercie remaineth vnto him who hath not shewed mercie: and also that Eze- Eze.18.32. chiel who vnder the person of God sayeth: I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be conuerted and liue.

A confutation of the reasons of Augustine and Macedonius.

9 Some man perhaps will maruell why Augustine set not downe among his reasons, that the guiltie sort must also be spared because they be ignorant, or be stirred vp by their lustes, or fraile affections, and therfore doe fall into so grieuous offences. Hereunto I answere: Perhaps Augustine comprehended this kinde of Argument when he saide: That mans infirmitie must be considered. And certainlie, to be ignorant and ouercome with lustes pertaineth to imberillitie. Howbeit we might otherwise answere; that he prudently omitted this, because he would not sustaine the person of a defender, but of an intercessour. It was none of his part to minish or extenuate sinne: He confessed those things to be noughtilie done for the which he intreated, but he craued a remission. Furthermore they which committed those things which they knew to be punishable by the publike lawes, knew them to be sinne. Neither can they which be stirred vp with lustes be compared (as of some they be) vnto them that be phrentick and out of their wit, who are rather to be pitied than punished, for as to yet reason raigneth in those men, but in the other it is extinguished or else stopt. Moreouer the phrentick persons doe not procure the euill vnto themselues, but they which obey lustes, doe otherwhile stirre them vp: they seeke occasions, they shunne them not nor yet wrestle against them, neither doe they represse outward actions: which they might doe although they were not yet regenerate. Wherefore the comparison is verie vnlike.

They which be stirred vp with lustes cannot be compared to the phrentike men.

10 But

To the first reason of Augustine.

10 But because the reasons of Augustine (vnder correction of so notable a man) be not firme, therefore must they be confuted. Which as it is easie to be done, so I iudge it verie profitable. First he saide, that sinnes are more pardonable, as he termeth it, when they haue promise of amendment and also repentance ioyned with them, and therefore ought no longer to be punished seuerelie. Vnto this we answere, that ꝑ pardon which followeth faith vnto which is adioyned repentaunce is obtained of GOD, and pertaineth not to the ciuill Iudge, who hath respect to a thing already done, not vnto those things that be present. He added, that the To the se- seueritie of lawes seeke correction, but that cond. those men are corrected by amendment of life and repentance, and ꝑ therfore nothing else must be any more wrested from them by violence. But correctiō is sought for by ꝑ Magistrats, not onelie for his cause ꝑ is punished, but also for other mes sakes, which are terrified through beholding of ꝑ punishmēt, so as they maie desist from that kinde of sinne, which they see is so seuerely punished, or else to beware that they fall not into such heynous offences. Wherefore it is written in Ver.1.&c. Deuteronomie, the 13. Chapter, as touching the stoning of an Idolater: To the intent, that the Israelits may see & feare. Augustine To the third further argued, that after this life there is no other place of amendment & repentance: and that therefore there is a danger, least if they that be guiltie should after this manner be suffered to depart out of this life without repentance, they would fall into those punishments which shall neuer haue ende. To this I answere, That repentance is not denied vnto them which be condemned: For time & space of repentance is giuen them: & there are appointed vnto thē pastors & Ministers of ꝑ word, to admonish them diligentlie of saluation, & to driue faith & repentance into their mindes. Notwithstanding it seemeth that Augustine in this place attributed ouer much vnto that publike repentance, as though the guiltie sort, if they should be put to death without it, might not haue saluation. But the matter is not in such sorte, and those things which be there spoken, if they be somewhat narrowly considered cannot stand together. For seeing that repentance of that kinde is not often renewed, least (as Augustine himselfe confesseth) so notable a remedy should through much frequenting become of no estimation, what shall we doe vnto them, which after that repentance fall againe into the selfe same and more greuous crymes? shall we bid them to dispaire? No verilie. If they beleeue sincerelie, and that they are gaine penitent, no doubt but they shall againe obtaine pardon of God. And if that the sinnes committed after the same publike repentance may be forgiuen without it, why shall not those sinnes also be forgiuen without it which were done in the former tyme? The grace of God is not tyed to those rites and ceremonies which are abolished in our age. In the stead of publike repentance they haue placed auricular confession, which cannot be denyed but was the destruction of the well Church. Further those words of Augustine are to be noted, to wit, that after this life, there is no place of amendment or repentance. For so is Purgatory taken away, if that those which depart from hence, are either exalted vnto glorie or else doe fall into punishment that shall neuer haue end.

Purgatorie ouerthrowen by a testimo nie of Augustine.

11 That doubtlesse which was brought as concerning the imitation of God is of small force, because his counsels far differ from ours. He is exempted from all lawes, & gouerneth all things by his owne free will as it pleaseth him: Howbeit we liue vnder lawes, and must doe not those things which are seene but which are prescribed. God must be imitated of vs, but yet so much as our condition and the lawes laide vpon vs will beare. To the proofe that he brought out of the Epistle to the Romanes: Because God of his benignitie leadeth euill men vnto repentance, it may also be saide, that Princes doe leade such guiltie ones to repentance when as with singular benignitie and gentlenesse, they make the way open for the Ministers of the word of God to come vnto them. God in verie deede commaunded vs to loue our enimies, howbeit that must be vnderstoode, that we doe it so much as the lawes and the safetie of the common weale doe permit. Is it not also commaunded vs that we should account as Ethnickes and publicans, those rebellious and obstinate persons, which will not heare the Church? And yet though we doe this we loue them well ynough. In like manner it is lawfull for the Magistrate to slaie the guiltie, and therewith to keepe charitie towardes them. It was saide also, that these escape not vnpunished, seeing they punish themselues in the Church by fasting, weeping, praying, and by exercising them selues in good workes. Some punishment indeede they sustaine, yet not so much as the lawes require, seeing it is not lawfull for them to kill themselues, when as neuertheless by iustice they ought to be put to death. That Argument derived from a possibilitie and easinesse, because Magistrates

To the fourth. Rom.2.4.

Magistrates haue power of life and death ouer the guiltie, is not firme, for the powers which be ꝑ gouernours of the world haue their sword frō God to take vengeance of them ꝑ be guiltie & to defend honest & good men, and not that they should vse ꝑ same at their owne will and pleasure. And it is certaine that they doe not their duetie, if they let goe ꝑ guiltie vnpunished, seeing they haue receaued authoritie to punish them. He said moreouer: ye allo ꝑ be Magistrates, haue nede of ꝑ mercie of God, seeing (enen like other men) ye passe not ouer this life without sinnes: wherefore yeelde ye vnto others, that it may also be yelded vnto you. Neuertheless it must be considered, ꝑ euerie man ought to giue, not ꝑ which belongeth to another, but that which is his owne. Howbeit, whatsoeuer paine and punishment is forgiuen to the offender, it is not giuen of the Magistrates goods, but it is giuen either of the partie harmed, or else of ꝑ publike discipline and seueritie of the lawes. Which thinges, if they be not kept & remaine safe, there followeth an incredible confused order.

To the fifth. John 8.11

12 And as touching that which is brought of the adultrelle, whom the Lorde Iesus Christ absolued, it serueth not vnto this present question, because while Christ liued vpon the earth, he had no Magistrates office, but was an interpretour of the will of his Father, and he ministred the worde of God vnto the people. Wherefore it was not his part to condemne the adulterelle to death, seeing he toke not to him the sword vpon the earth. Also he could not prosecute the accusation of her, seeing he toke her not in the present crime, neither could he prooue the crime by witnelles: but as a Minister of the word of God, he first gaue a warning of repentance vnto the accusers: after that, according to his office he warned the adulterelle that she should sinne no more. So that we may not gather hereby that the fact of Christ, either diminished or hindered Magistrates from the lawfull punishing of them. Neither doth the example of Ioseph the husband of the blessed virgin anie thing more belong vnto this matter, for he also was no Magistrate. But he would not bring Marie into obloquie, because he was iust. These words haue a dubble sense. First *Tsedec*, sometime among the Hebrewes is mercie, and therefore some thinke that Ioseph spared Marie whom he suspected of adultrie, because he was of a mercifull and pitifull minde: wherefore he determined to put her away, omitting the accusation of the fault. This interpretation if we followe, we cannot otherwise but condemne Ioseph of too much tēdernelle & slacknesse, ꝑ would not prouide to his power, for taking away ꝑ euil of adulterie out of the Commonweale of Israel, according as ꝑ lawe of God had cōmaunded. Or else we will say, that Ioseph, seeing he was prooperlie & truelie iust, would not defame ꝑ adultrie of his wife, because he was vncertaine of ꝑ maner of the crime. For alwel it might be, ꝑ ꝑ maid sinned before they were betrothed as after. If she had falne after they were betrothed, she was held for an adultrelle: but if before, she might only be accused of whoredome. Which crime in deede was no crime of death: yet he ꝑ had donne the dishonor to her, should of necessitie marrie her: yet so notwithstanding ꝑ her parents had giuen their consent. Wherefore seeing he was iust, he would not accuse Marie of adulterie, because he was not sure that it was adulterie. And so to vnwinde himselfe out of these perplexities, he determined to put away his wife. But ꝑ this might not be, God for bad it by an Dzacle. Briefelie, he was no magistrate. Further ꝑ hinde of ꝑ crime did not appeare. Howbeit they of whome we now intreate, be Magistrates, & they must giue iust punishmēt for a fault ꝑ is knowen, & not for that which is vncertaine.

To the sixt. Matt.5.44. Matt.18. ver.17. Matt.1.19. To the 10. Tsedec sometimes signifieth mercie.

13 Moreouer Augustine willed that mans weakenelle should be considered: for if that be somewhat diligentlie weighed, he thinketh that alwell the griefe of the accuser as the rigor of the iudge shall be broken. Profitable and berie godlie is the admonition, because it is euerie mans part to sorowe, that the nature of men so nobile instituted, is fallen headlong into so great an imbecillitie. Howbeit, we must not be led by this sorow (although it be iust,) either to diminish or to corrupt publike iustice. Besides soth, it was inferred that god men say, they had rather defend than accuse before the iudgement seate. I know this hath bin often boasted of, but I affirme that both the dueties be necessarie vnto the commonweale, and that sometimes the one, and sometimes the other is more to be desired as may seeme most conuenient for the partie accused, for the time and for the place. For be that accuseth helpeth the Magistrate, who cannot see all thinges by himselfe. He also that defendeth the partie accused, helpeth the commonweale: he instructeth the Magistrate against the vehemencie of accusers, or their slaunders or calumniations. Neuertheless Cicero said when he accused Verres, that he defended Sicilia. And so earnestlie did he labour, that his accusation should be accounted for a defence. And as for them which runne vnto families, among whome they perceaue either trouble or discord to be raised, if they doe it with this minde, that by their comming they may pro-

To the 11.

nide leaſt the god man of the houſe ſhould exceede meaſure, either in puniſhing his ſeruants or children, or in correcting his wife, they are to be prayſed: but if it be to the intent they may take away all kinde of chaſtiſement and diſcipline, they behaue not themſelues well. Neither alſo did he well, which for a prieſt made intercellion to the Eccleſiaſtical Synode, if perhappes he meant that an aduiterer, a whoremonger or a drunkard ſhould be vnpuniſhed, and honeſt Canons of the Church to be neglected for his ſake. But if he onelie ſought, that he ſhould not be puniſhed ouer charplie or more than was meete, and that he ſhould be gentlie handled, ſo farre as Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline would ſuffer, he ſhall not be blamed. In deede Paul made intreatie vnto Philemon for Oneſimus, which had fled from him. But that ſeruant being now renewed in Chriſt returned of his owne accord vnto his Maiſter. He was no captiue, neither was it a crime of death: Wherefore this example belongeth nothing to the cauſe which we haue in hand.

To the 14.

To the 15.

14 There remaineth the laſt Argument, which as Auguſtine thought was of verie great weight: namelie that it would winne fauour and god will to the word of trueth, which is preached by the Miniſters of the Church. The reaſon in deed is plauſible: For the Church of Chriſt ſeemeth herein to be a amiable and louing, in that it hath carefull paſtors, and ſuch as be verie deſirous of the ſaluation of Chriſtians, and would gladlie haue their offences, though they be grieuous to be forgiuen them. Thus doe ſome ſay, that Conſtantine was allured vnto Chriſtianitie, becauſe our Biſhops had promiſed him pardon for a parricide committed, for he had cauſed his ſonne to be ſlaine. But whether this be true or no, I referre it to the Authors. That goodwill and fauor muſt be wonne vnto the holy Goſpell, I my ſelfe alſo am of that minde, but yet not by ſuch a way, as the lawes and diſcipline, (which be the thinges whereon the commonweale doth depend) ſhould be loſed. Grace vndoubtedlie is preached in the Church of Chriſt, as touching reconciliation with God, which is freelie graunted vnto beleeuers without workes: but yet not to this end that the guiltie ſort ſhould be plucked away from Magiſtrates. This did not Chriſt nor the Apoſtles at anie time: neither doe the holie ſcriptures either in the old or new Teſtament commaund anie ſuch thing: nor yet is it read that the holie fathers in olde time did ſet forth anie ſuch example. Auguſtine was verie milde of nature, and whereas this thing was alreadie vſurped in his time in the Church, and eſpeciallie in the Church of Africa, he would not haue it abrogated. For which cauſe in that Epiſtle, he gaue place both to his owne nature and to the cauſe. And Iames when he ſaith, that Iudgement without mercie remaineth to him that hath not ſhewed mercie, ſpeaketh not of Magiſtrates, but he earneſtlie putteth other men in remembrance to forgiue iniuries and offences: which can neuer ſufficientlie be vrged among Chriſtians. And Ezechiel when he ſaith: I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he conuert and liue, witeth it of God, who is free from lawes. But earthlie Magiſtrates muſt iudge according to lawes. Yea and good princes for their owne part would not the death of ſinners, but their conuerſion, and wiſhe them life, and would beſtow it vppon them, but yet ſo farre as the lawes whereof they be Miniſters doe permit them.

Iames 2.13.

A place of Magiſtrates wrongfullie expounded.

Eze.18.32.

15 Now there remaineth that I declare what I am to ſay as touching this controuerſie. Firſt let vs make a diſtinction between inferiour Magiſtrates and ſuperiour, from whom there lyes no appeale, and who haue abſolute dominion. The inferiours muſt in anie wiſe iudge according to thoſe things which are preſcribed vnto them by ſuperiour Magiſtrates. But the chiefe Magiſtrates, who both may interprete the lawes where they be obſcure, and alſo haue committed to their iudgement thoſe things, touching which there hath beene no decree: thoſe things let them, that they cannot forgiue punishments. Firſt the accuſer, that is the partie harmed, and which complaineth at the tribunall ſeate. For the Magiſtrate is the keeper of Iuſtice, wherefore hee is bounde by his office to giue euerie man his right: which vnleſſe he doe, he is no lawfull Prince. Secondlie the diſturbance of the common weale. Ariſtotle in the 5. booke of Ethicks the 5. Chapter ſaith, That if Citizens ſee that the iniuries doone vnto them are not recompenſed by punishments, they thinke that they liue in ſeruitude, and that they be not now Citizens but bondſlaues. But admit that the accuſer be pacified, yea and that he intreateth for the releaſe of the punishment of him that is guiltie, and ſayeth that he is ſatiſfied, is it yet free for the Prince to forgiue the punishment? No forſooth. Becauſe it is his part to defende the ſafetie of the commonweale: which continueth not, vnleſſe that heinous offences be repreſſed by punishments. While an euill man is puniſhed, others

What we meane by the word Magiſtrates in this matter.

thers doe feare, but the impunitie of one or two maketh euill men the more bould. Wherefore if the Prince neglecting punishments ſlacke the ſeueritie of the lawes, now doth he not well vſe clemencie but he bringeth in publike calamitie. The third thing which hindereth him is the lawes aſwell of God as of nature: Further, the lawes of men which be honeſtlie and lawfullie made. Let him conſider with himſelfe, that people haue not choſen Princes, which ſhould beare rule after their owne pleaſure, but that they ſhould be the Miniſters of lawes. Yea ſometimes they take away the rule from them if they gouerne not according to the lawes. The Perſians had a certaine king called Cabades, that is glorious, who when he fauoured aduulterers againſt the preſcript rule of the lawes, and had made an iniuſt lawe, namelie that aduulterers ſhould not be puniſhed vnleſſe they had beene perpetrated by violence, the ſubiects take the matter in ſo ill part, as they caſt Cabades out of his kingdome. But it is commonly ſaide: that Princes ſhould be inclined vnto mercy and clemencie: I graunt, but yet ſo farre forth as the right of the partie offended, the publike commoditie, and preſcription of the lawes will permit. Moreouer this ſpecially taketh place in doubtfull things, and when lawes are to be interpreted, and when the crime is of that kinde, as a punishment is not appointed to it by the lawes. So then it is not well to deſire of thoſe rulers and Princes in iudgement, that wicked men ſhould be let goe vnpuniſhed. But and if thou wilt ſay, that they now repent themſelues, they will amend their life, and they be chaunged: I anſwere, that the Iudge reſpecteth not what they be nowe, but what they were when they committed the wicked facts. Whereupon Ariſtotle diſtinguiſhing the kindes of cauſes: vnto the kind Deliberatiue he aſſigned the time to come: for they which doe deliberate, take ſpeciall heede vnto that which ſhall come to paſſe if this or that thing be doone. And vnto the kind Demonſtratiue he aſcribed the time paſcent. For thoſe things which be prayſed or diſprayſed, are ſet before our eyes as though they be now doone and be preſent. Vnto the Iudiciall kinde he aſſigneth the time paſt: becauſe it is a Iudges part to inquire whether it be doone or no, and whether it bee well or ill doone.

Wherein not fine times to be taken to let the guiltie paſſe vnpuniſhed.

Teſtimonies for iudging of the controuerſie.

16 But leaſt I ſhoulde ſeeme without manifeſt teſtimonies to haue determined of the controuerſie, I will firſt alleage what GOD ſaide vnto the Iſraelites before the lawe was giuen vnto them. Hee that ſhall ſhed mans bloud (ſaieth he) his bloud ſhall be ſhed by man, becauſe he is made according to the Image and ſimilitude of God. In the lawe of Moſes, the welpaying of punishments was that voyce of the Lorde: Take thou awaie the euill from the middeſt of thee. Of the Idolater he ſaid: Spare him not, take no pitie of him, neither keepe thou him ſecrete, the 13. of Deuteronomie. Of the wilfull murtherer: Let him die. For a slaughter by chaunce, there were aſſigned Cities of refuge: But he which had killed one of set purpoſe, he ſaith not, Let him goe, and giue him to my altar: but he ſaith: Plucke him awaie from my altar. The ſelfe ſame thing alſo is ſhewed out of the newe Teſtament. Wee haue in the Epiſtle to the Romanes, If thou doe euill, feare, for he beareth not the ſworde without cauſe, for he is Gods miniſter and reuenger. Then if God appointed him to be a reuenger, it is of neceſſitie that he ſhould puniſh wickednelle. The ſame thing we haue among the Ciuill lawes, whereof I might alleage many, but I will content my ſelfe with three, which are in the Digeſtes, in the Title *De Pœnis*, The firſt is of Vlpian, which beginneth *Si quis forte*: where it is defined, that a guiltie man muſt bee puniſhed, although he ſhall ſay that he hath certaine ſecrete things belonging to the ſafetie of the Prince, which he woulde reueale vnto him; neither muſt he be ſent vnto him, becauſe theſe things be done and fained for the delaie or ſhifting off of punishment. May rather (ſaieth he) ſuch wicked perſons ſhoulde ſuffer the more grieuouſly, becauſe they hid their ſecretes ſo long from the Prince: becauſe euen yet they would not haue diſcloſed them, vnleſſe there had bin holde taken of them. And if the lawes ſuffer not that executions or punishments be differred or ſhifted off for the ſafetie of the prince, which is a great thing in the common weale, why ſhall they forgiue the guiltie, giuing them hope or promiſe of a better life? Another lawe is in the ſame Tytle, in the Lawe *Reſpiciendum*, and it is of Marcellus, wherein Preſidents are admoniſhed, that they ſhould weigh the matter it ſelfe and the cauſe: and that they ſhould not indeuour to get praiſe either for ſeueritie or for clemencie: let light faultes be lightly puniſhed, and grieuous faultes, ſeuerely: but yet with ſome moderation. The third lawe is in the ſame Title, in the Lawe *Diui fratres*, where it is decreed that the Preſidents ſhould not make the ſentences voyde which had bin giuen. Theſe things doe plentifully teſtifie that it is not the part

Gen.9.6.

Leui.19.20

Deut.13.5.

Exod.21. ver.12.13. & 14.

6.

Rom.13.4.

7.

of Iudges or Magistrates to yelde vnto intercessors those that be guiltie.

Whether the excuse of Dauid wherin he purgeth himself because he punished not Ioab ought to be allowed, and whether a Magistrate maie well let passe a fault without any maner of punishment.

In 2.Sam.3 at the end.

17 But here must we briefely discourse of a question: whether that excuse of Dauid which he vseth in the second Booke of Samuel the 3. Chapter, ought to be allowed. For there be Arguments on eche part. This

Basil.

briefe Treatise I hope will not be vnprofitable. For as Basil saith in the first Epistle: The histories and liues of saints, ought to be vnto vs as a certaine liuely Image of the Common weale of God. For in them we may see, how the lawe of God at all times hath bin obserued or neglected. The fact of

Arguments by which the fact of Dauid is defended.

Dauid seemeth that it may be defended by these Arguments. First that Ioab was gratious and verie mightie among the souldiers, and might not bee punished without a great tumult, and that Dauid was warie least he should doe any great harme to the Common weale, and raise vp more grieuous 1. euils, seeing by the death of such a Prince and Captaine of the souldiers, the kingdome would be weakened. For so it is written of Honorius the Emperour, when he had at Rauenna killed Stillico the lieftenant of his warres, he cut off his owne handes. For after that he was taken awaie, he did neuer 2. any thing worthie of fame. Further that precept of punishing great offences was affirmatiue, neither did it binde at all times. For so are we commaunded to come vnto the holy assembly, to do almes, and such like: howbeit not alwaies but when the time shal serue. Euen so Dauid, although he ought to haue punished Ioab, yet might he waite a time. Further, although he were then let by 3. the power of Ioab, yet was he neuer vnminded to punish. For at his death he commaunded his sonne Salomon, that he should not suffer his graie haires to descend with peace vnto the graue. And Plato saieth, that punish- 4. ments are like vnto medicines, and must not be vsed when things seeme to be so desperate as they cannot be cured: and that Princes be as it were certaine Philitians of the common weale. Yea and God himselfe often- 5. times differreth punishments although (as Valerius Maximus saieth) he recompenseth the slacknesse with the greatnesse of reuenge. Also Saul when he had deliuered the Sabins from siege, and inioyed nowe the whole Empire of Israel, and some had perswaded him to put such to death as had before refused him to be king, yet chose he rather to forgiue them. Dauid also forgaue Semei, & is therefore greatly commended. And Augustine oftentimes maks intercession for Heretickes vnto the Emperours, and not onely for Heretikes but also for murtherers and most vngratious robbers by the high waie, & for Circumcellions. Lastly, Christ of whom Dauid was a shadowe and Image forgiueth all sinnes, and freely receiueth all men into grace. Whereforze in this fact, he departed nothing at all either from his puetie, or from the Image which he represented.

1.Sa.11.12. 6. 2.Sa.17.10. 7. A shewe of Monastiks. 8.

Arguments by which the fact of Dauid is disallowed.

18 Also on the other part there be other Argumentes, and those in my iudgement much more weighties. First, he being the king of Israell, it had bin needefull for him to haue made to the lawes of that Commonweale. And GOD in Deuteronomie commaunded with most effectuall wordes, that the king should prouide that the Lawe might be distributed vnto him, and should alwayes haue the same readie with him, and should rule by the prescript thereof. And it was alreadie written in the 21. Chapter of Exodus: If one shall by happe or chaunce kill an other, I will assigne him a place of refuge: But if he shall doe it by laying in waite, or of set purpose, thou shalt pluck him away from mine Altar. Howbeit, Ioab of set purpose and by laying in waite killed Abner, wherefore he ought in no place to haue bene safe. Further it is written in the 18. Chapter of Exodus, that they which should beare the office of a Magistrate ought to be valiant men, fearing God, louers of the trueth, and haters of couetousnesse. Wherefore Dauid in the punishing of wickednesse ought to haue bin valiant, and to haue feared the power of none: For this is not to haue a kingdome, but a kingdome to haue him. And he is had of a kingdome, which for obtaining of a kingdome, neglecteth iustice. Paul saith that a Prince is the Minister of God vnto wrath, and beareth not the sword in vaine. This duetie ought to haue bin performed by Dauid. In Deuter. the first Chapter God commaunded the Tribunes and Centurions, That they should not haue respect of persons in iudgement. For so onlie the poore men of lowe degree should be bound to lawes, but the mightie, stoute, and noble should escape. But Iudges must neither be bent to wrath nor to mercie. And for that cause in Mars strote where iudgement

Deu.17.18.

Exo.21.12.

Verse.21.

Rom.13.3.

Verse.17.

ment was most seuerelie executed, it was forbidden vnto Orators to stirre vp affections: yea rather the causes were also knowen after a darke manner, least the Iudge should be priuatelie touched with the fauor of anie man. Yea and in the Romane lawes in the title *De pœnis*, in the lawe *Respiciendum*, thus it is written: The Iudges shall not indeuour to get glorie either by gentlenesse or seueritie. Howbeit in light faultes there is permitted some certaine inclinatiō vnto lenitie, & in the greater faultes, vnto seueritie, but yet vsing therewith a moderatiō of benignitie. In which place ỳ glosse rightlie obserued, ỳ there the rigor of ỳ sentēce may be moderated, where there is nothing by name determined in ỳ lawes. And in the Code *de Pœnis*, in ỳ lawe *Decurionum*, it is writtē, ỳ the people must not be heard, if they cry ỳ anie man should either be condemned or deliuered: for that ỳ people is a beast of manie heades. Besides this, the Iudge is no other thing but the lawe it selfe that speaketh: neither can he by anie meanes seeme to be a Iudge, if he depart from the prescript rule of the lawe. And the wise man Syrach prudentlie admo-

Eccle.7.6. nished: I would not (saith he) haue thee to be a Iudge, if thou be not able to take away iniuries: least thou feare ỳ person of the mightie, & cause an offence to arise to thy integritie.

Also it was said vnto ỳ king of Israel which had suffered Benhadad the king of Syria to escape out of his handes: Thy life shall goe for

1.kings.20. Ver.42. his life. Thou wouldest not punish, wherefore thou shalt be punished and shalt render an account of other mens wickednesse. There followeth of this tenderuesse and foolish pitie, an innumerable sort of mischiefes. The gentlenesse of Eli both extinguished his familie,

2.Sam.3.13 & in a manner subuerted the publike weale.

Certaine obiections.

19 But thou wilt say, that God doth patientlie beare these thinges: thou sayest wel. But consider with thy selfe, that if inferiour Iudges so behaue themselues in the Commonweale, how will the prince take that? No doubt but he would condemne them of treason. And doe we thinke, that GOD will not take it to be wickednie done, if he se his lawes contemned and trodden vnder foote? Dauid saw a daunger to hang ouer him: But he had the promise of God, and that was not written in the winde or in the water, but was stable and eternall. And what if he had bin cast out of his kingdome? Yet God could haue reserued him full and whole. Wherefore we se that Dauid was so troubled in that he depended somewhat of men. If Ioab bin a hard matter to haue punished Ioab, yet should he at the least wise haue attempted it. He doth nothing here now, onelie he complayneth of the power of Ioab. In verie deede I deny not, but that punishment may sometimes be differred & that fit occasions may be waited for: but to doe nothing at all, it was to great a lenitie. And surelie there be manie causes why punish- Causes for the which punishmēts may be differred. mentes ought other while to be differred: as appeareth in the Code *De Pœnis*, in the lawe *Si vindicari*. First, least the Magistrate should doe anie thing vnaduisedlie in his wrath. That lawe did Theodosius the Emperour write at the request of Ambrose, when he was by him grieuouslie blamed and excommunicated, because through a wilfulnesse, and rage of minde he had bin ouercruell against the Thessalonians. That history, and cause of the lawe is set forth in Socrates, and is repeated in the decrees, Cause 11. Quest. 3. the Chapt. *Apud Thessalonicam*. Wherefore it is prouided, that betweene the sentence giuen, and execution should be xxx. dayes space. An other cause of delay is, if the woman which should be executed be great with childe. Also a seruāt ought to be differred vntill he haue made an account vnto his Maister, and haue certified him of all thinges. The execution likewise of him against whom a thing is examined by tormentes is differred, ỳ it may be knowen whether he stand to his opinio. For men being oftentimes ouercome with tormentes, confesse those thinges which they neuer thought. Likewise executiō is manie times differred, so often as we are to inquire of other crimes, or of thē ỳ be priuie to thinges. And these onelie (so farre as I know) may be ỳ iust causes of differring punishment. For if a man that is condemned in a prouince, lay that he hath somewhat which pertaineth to the safetie of a prince, ỳ Roman lawes decree, that he should not be heard, because he seemeth onelie to seeke ỳ delay of punishmentes. Neuertheless, if he haue anie thing ỳ pertaineth to ỳ prince, he should haue shewed it before. But now none of these matters cā serue for Ioab, wherfore Dauid should not haue differred his punishment so long.

20 Sometime punishment is forgiuen, Why punishment is sometime forgiuen & sometime forcealed. if a man shall offend vnder xx yeares of age. Albeit an aduilterer is not pardoned, although he be vnder that age. And besides this, it must be considered, whether a man haue sinned by deceite, or by the prouocation of his minde, or by wantonnesse, or rashlie. For in him that hath vsed deceite or laying in waite, the punishment also is augmented. But Ioab vsed both wicked deceite, and hauing called Abner after a courteous and friendlie manner, due him euen before the

publike place of iudgement, and violated the publike faith. Also punishmentes may be augmented, as we haue it in the Digestes *De pœnis*, in the lawe *Amfalsa*: If a fault be committed by a multitude through sedition, then verilie some one man is moze greuouslie punished to the terroz of others. By this lenitie of Dauid some are after a sozte animated vnto detestable factes. Foz afterward Théues were so hardie as to kil Isbosethe at his owne house: Ammon to destroier his owne sister: Absalon to slay his brother Ammon: And Ioab himselfe to kill Amasa. We cannot perceiue that Dauid behaued himselfe on this wise towardes others, sith he commaunded that the Amalechite [which by his owne confession] furthered Saul vnto his death: and afterward, that the théues which had slaine Isboseth, should foythwith be slaine. It may also be perceiued that he somewhat followed his owne priuate affection vnto Ioab, foz he was his owne sisters sonne. But albeit he were not led with anie such affection, yet he made a great theiwe thereof. Foz he that in the selfesame oz in the like cause fozgiueth one man and punisheth an other, cannot seme to be led with the lone of iustice. Dauid in déde was a man of a gentle and méke heart, yet should he not haue polluted that woze of God, and haue set a colour on ý vessel which was bewtifull of it selfe. Foz this was to communicate with other mens sinnes. What shall we therefoze say? Dauid no doubt was holy and feared God: yet so excellent a bodie was not without his blemishes. Euen as there is no day so bewtifull and clére but hath his night: so was there neuer man so holy and perfect in euerie respect, but was corrupted with some sinne. Werilie we ought to follow and imitate the vertues of godlie men, but not to dissemble their faultes.

A confutation of the reasons made on Dauids part.

21 Now will I in fewe wozdes confute those reasons which were brought on Dauids side at the beginning. Ioab was mightie: what then? Alturedie Dauid had God himselfe on his side. Did he peraduenture thinke him to be weake? Furthermoze he had all the Israelites, which so much attributed vnto Abner, ý out of all doubt they would haue ayded Dauid in the punishing of Ioab. That which was brought as concerning ý delay of punishmentes, it is alreadie answered. Foz I say not, that he should straightway haue bin slaine. He should haue bin taken & cast into pzison, his cause was to be knowē: lastlie, punishment was to be executed. But in that he differred ý same euen to his death, the delay was ouer great. But at his death he gaue it in charge to his sonne Salomon. Yea, and Dauid himselfe aunswereth farre otherwise. Let God iudge (saith he.) Trulie this is not the part of a Magistrate to cast the iudgement of causes vppon God. Punishmentes be like vnto medicines: those are not to be vsed except when they may pzofit. But if they had not pzofited Ioab, yet might they haue pzofited others. God differeth punishmentes: therefoze Dauid also doth rightlie differre them. But the doinges of pzinces must not be compared with the doinges of God. Foz God is eternall, and immoztall, but a pzince may die. And what if he die to mozowe? Who shall then take punishment of the wicked? But God if he doe not take punishment to daie, yet will he take it to mozowe, oz when he himselfe will. And further, he hath a thzough triall of all mens mindes, and he séeth foz what cause euerie thing is done. But vnto men is permitted no mitigation in the lawe of God. Saule fozgaue: I graunt, neuerthelesse of his owne: but Dauid fozgaue that which belonged to an other man. Augustine made intercession foz heretickes: Howbeit, this he did least the Ethnikes should thinke that Ecclesiasticall men pzosecute their owne displeasures. Further he did not that to the intent he would take away the lawes of pzinces: but that he knewe that the Emperours did otherwhiles permitte their pzesidentes that they should haue power to remit somewhat of the bitternelle of the lawes and punishmentes made by them, if they did thinke it pzofitable. But as touching Circumcellions, how rightlie he intreated foz them, let he himselfe sée: Foz they were both théues and homicides. We doubtlesse muſt liue by lawes and not by examples. Christ fozgiueth sinnes, and Dauid was a shadowe of him. I graunt that in déde Christ fozgiueth, yet is that in the kingdome of the Church. But Dauid gouerned euen the politicall kingdome. Neither is alwayes the Argument firme enough that is take from figures. Foz otherwile we will say, that certaine harlots, which are mentioned in the holy Scriptures sinned not because they were shadowes and Images of the Church. And Christ himselfe, although he be inclined vnto mercie, and fozgineth manie thinges, yet shall he in that last time be a seuere iudge, and who will not be intreated. And he shall say vnto the vngodlie: Go ye cursed into euerlasting fire. And altogether in the same state be they also which by reason of the power of men remit excommunication and Ecclesiasticall discipline. Howbeit what is to be determined of that,

Dauid bolt otherwise towardes others.

2.Sam.4.6.
2.Sa.13.14
2.Sam.29.
2.Sa.1.15.
2.Sam.4.9.
2.Sa.20.9.
2.Sa.1.15.

1.
2.

No argument taken from figures, not always firme.

Mat.25.41.

that, we haue declared elsewhere in his owne place. But here perhaps some man will obiect: that Dauid is accused of vs without a cause, foz that he in this matter, as at manie other times, followed the guiding of the holy Ghoſt, and foz that cause sinned not at all. Neuertheleſſe, I am not wont willinglie to vse this kinde of excuſe, vnleſſe I se that the thing which is done against the common lawe, be allowed by the holy scriptures. Further I doe not here contend against anie thing, but the excuſe of Dauid. Foz he saide not that he was led by the impulsion of the holy Ghoſt: but that Ioab was mightie and gratious with the souldiers, and might not be kept vnder by the lawes. This excuſe doe I say muſt not be receaued.

Whether Dauid in this matter was guided by the holie Ghoſt.

In Rom.2. Whether a Iudge may iudge another in that crime wherof himselfe is guiltie.

22 Howbeit, seeing they seme to be repzoued which doe iudge others (and truelie not amiſſe, seeing they also are infected with the same faultes,) let vs se whether they iudge rightlie which thinke that Iudges cannot noz ought not to exercise iudgement against others which are accused, when they be guiltie of the selfesame crime themselues. But this were to ouerthzowe all publike weales, and vtterlie to take away iudgementes. Neither is that Paules meaning in the second Chapter to the Romans; but he onelie theweth, that they sinne moſt greuouslie, which with a great feueritie punish others, & ouerslip themselues. Doubtleſſe they ought first to correct and amend themselues. Neuertheleſſe Paul bidden them not to forsake the office committed vnto thē. They ble also foz this purpole to cite the saying of Christ, vnto them which accused the adulterous woman: He which amongest you is without sinne, let him cast the first stone at her. And yet this sentence of Christ is not against iuſt punishmentes, and lawfull iudgementes. Neither commaunded he them that they should not procéede in accusing of the woman, whome they had taken in adulterie. He himselfe was no Magistrate, but the moſt high preacher of God. Wherefoze that which was his office to doe, he executed, in perswading those hypocrites to repentance. And he would first haue had them pzouide, that by a liuelie faith and repentance they should first haue ridde themselues from the sinnes wherevnto they were bound. Neither fozbad he but that they should execute that which the lawe of Moses commaunded. He saw that these wicked men in these punishmentes, were infected with two manner of faultes. First in asmuch as the punishment and paine, which their neighbour was put vnto, was pleasant vnto them: Foz by accusing him before the Magistrates and Iudges, they pziuilie fulfilled vppon him their hatred and enmities. An other fault was their hypocriſie: foz that when as they themselues otherwise abstained not from the selfesame wicked actes, yet by accusing of offenders, they made a shewe, as though they had bin zealous of the lawe. These thinges Christ endeuoged to correct. He condemned not the woman because he was no politicall Magistrate. He accused her not to the Magistrates because he found her not in adulterie. Wherefoze, foz asmuch as he was not a méet witnesse, he was not bound by the lawe to pzosecute such an accusation. But that which pertained to his function, he left not vndone, sith he admonished her, that she should afterward abstaine from sinne. Likewise, when we se anie wicked act done by our neighbours, God requireth not that we should not iudge of it according to the nature thereof. Foz, Woe be vnto vs (as the Pzophet saith) if we shall call euill, good. What which is euill ought to be iudged according as it is. Neither ought we, either to suspend our iudgementes, oz to turne away our eyes from those thinges which are in verie déde euill. But if we ihall séele our selues to be infected in like manner with the selfesame fault: let vs descend into our selues, and with a due chaſtisement repzoue our selues. And thereby shall it come to pasſe, that we our selues being by repentance corrected, may the moze fitlie and fruitfullie admonish our bzother when he sinneth. Neither against this is that sentence in the 7. of Matthew: Iudge not, and ye shall not be iudged: Because in that place is not intreated of the taking away of bzotherlie admonition: but onelie the curiositie of the bngodlie is there repzoued, who when themselues abound in all manner of sinnes, doe moſt diligentlie search out the sinnes of other men, not to the intent they would amend them, but because they delight themselues in the multitude of sinners, and thinke that by fellowship their offence is lightned. The godlie are not infected with this curiositie: as they which continuallie haue their eyes fixed vppon their owne sinnes, and daylie reuoltings: so that they haue no leasure to cōsider of other mens faultes, vnleſſe they be offered vnto them. Moreouer they reioyce not, neither delight themselues in the condemnation of their neighbours: especiallie that cōdemnation which is rashlie done. Foz they knowe that their bzother, which pertaines vnto God, either standeth oz falleth to his owne Maister. But we intreate now of priuate men,

What we are to doe when we se any faults of our neighbours. Esa.5.20.

Matt.7.1. How that saying, Iudge not, & must be vnderstood.

John 8.7. The place of John of the adulteresse.

Rom.14.4.

and not of Magistrates or Pastors: whose part is by office to be inquisitiue, touching the life and manners of those which be committed to their charge. Wherefore all men aswell subiectes as Magistrates ought to iudge sinnes which be layde before them, by admonishing and punishing euerie man according to his calling, least vices doe spread farre abroad.

Whether it be lawfull to release iust punishments which are inioyned by lawes.

In 1. Sam. 11. ver. 13. 23 Of this question there be many Arguments on both parts. For first kings are stirred by vnto clemencie, which would bee done in vaine vnlesse they might forgiue. Also Dauid forgaue seditious men, and sware vnto Semei, that he would not punish him. 2. Sam. 19. Ver. 23. And Paul commendeth Onesimus, a fugitiue seruant, vnto his Maister Philemon & prayeth him to forgiue him his fault. And the vse was among Christian Emperours that in the weeke before Easter, when the memorie of Christ his death was celebrated, the prisons were set at large. And amõg the Iewes the custome was, that in Easter some one condemned man should be set at libertie by the chiefe Ruler. Also Augustine made intercession oftentimes for the Donatistes and Circumcellions, which had not onely troubled Religion, but also had done iniurie to the life and goods of the Christians. Further we reade that it was decreed among them of olde time, that if a guiltie person had fled vnto Churches, he should be without harme. And hereof Chrysostome maketh mention in his Oration against Gainas. Phil. 9. That punishments may be released. Mat. 27. 15.

24 Also there want not firme Arguments on the contrarie part. For first, it seemeth that a godly worke should not be hindred: and it is a godly worke to punish the guiltie, seeing it profiteth the Common weale, and taketh awaie sinnes. Moreouer by this meanes the office of Princes is hindered. For they beare the sword: which if they vse not when time and cause requireth, they doe not their duetie. Besides: he that releaseth punishments giueth of anothers and not of his owne, sith iudgement is the right of God, as it is written in the first Chapter of Deuteronomie. And in the second of Paralip. the 19. Chapter Iosaphat saieth: Exercise iudgement, not onely for man but as it were for God. And the punishments of the lawe can not be taken awaie vnlesse it be by him that appointed them. But God appointed the punishments for sinnes. Wherefore no man should diminish or take them awaie. But that God appointed the punishment of death for grieuous sinnes, it appeareth out of the 18. Chapter of Deuteronomie, where it is thus written, that the people desired that God himselfe would not speake vnto them, because they might not abide so great a Maiestie: and for that they chose rather to heare Moses to be the interpretour: that GOD heard these prayers of the people, and promised not onely that he would giue Moses vnto them, but also pronide that no Prophet should at any time be wanting vnto them. A Prophet (saieth he) will I raise vp vnto you from among your owne brethren. But he addeth: If any man will not heare that Prophet, I will make inquisition against him. Howbeit this place proueth not, that that punishment was the punishment of death. More certaine is the other place in the 17. Chapter of Deuteronomie: If (saieth God) there shall happen a difficult case, yee shall goe vp to the high Priest or vnto a Leuite: and he that shall not heare the voyce of the Leuite or high Priest, or of the Iudge, shal die the death. But that was for changing the state of the Common weale. Samuels counsell was demaunded as concerning that matter, and he was not onely a Prophet but also a iudge; they gaue not eare vnto him therfore they were worthie of death. In deed, GOD might haue forgiuen them, but the Prince could not. Furthermore there is a gate opened vnto mischiefes, when men promise to themselues, that either though grace or reward they shall escape vnpunished. This also may bee proued out of the histories. God commanded that all the Amalachites should be slaine, Saul spared Agag their King: he was grieuously reprehended by Samuel, because this was not lawfull for him to doe. And when the king of Israel spared Benhadad the king of Syria, who God had commanded to be slaine: Thy soule (saieth the Prophet) shall be for his soule. In deede the Prince hath power of life and of death. But yet, as he may not punish him that is innocent, so must he not let him escape that is guiltie. Yea and the Lord saith: Thou shalt take awaie the murtherer from my Altar, and shalt put him to death. Finally, if this should be permitted vnto Princes, iudgements of death would be solde, and the execution of Iustice should be at pleasure of the Magistrate. Thus haue we Arguments on both parts. That it is not lawfull to forgiue iust punishments. Deut. 1. 17. 2. Par. 19. 6. 1. Kings 20. 35. Ibi. ver. 9. Ibi. ver. 14. Deu. 19. 12.

25 But here must we consider, that some lawes there be humane, and other some diuine. And it belongeth much to the state of this question, whether sort they be. For humane lawes, because they proceed of a weake reason, are neuer perfect: neither can they comprehend all things, or foresee all chaunces and circumstances. Wherefore oftentimes, if we should seuerely and sharpely vrge the words of the lawe, many vniust things would be decreed. And so, there is place for sentence, mode of moderation, and interpretation, and correction of the lawe. And moderation is the bridle and rule of humane lawes, when wee consider not so much the words themselues, as the counsell & minde of the writer. Furthermore, Lawiers may interprete mens lawes if they seeme doubtfull, eyther by other lawes, or by examples of former iudgements, or by the ordinance and custome of the Citie: or else according to iustice and iustie of the Common weale: but to correct or change, or to mitigate a lawe, is not any priuate mans part, but the office of the Prince alone, who made the Lawe. Wherefore Augustine in his Booke *Dever a Religione*, A Iudge (saieth he) ought not to iudge of the lawe, but according to the lawe: otherwise all things would be bought. The same thing we haue in the Pandectes, *De legibus & Senatus Consultis*. But nowe can we not say that the lawes of God are imperfect so as they containe not all things. For the minde of God is infinite and most perfect. Doubtlesse it is the part of wise men and diuines diligently to weigh and examine the lawes of God, and to expound some places by other places, to consider the decree and order which the Lord hath made, to discusse things that seeme to be repugnant, and to iudge of two lawes, when both of them cannot be kept, whether is to be preferred before the other. For example: The lawe is that the Sabaoth day must be kept holy: there is another lawe that the Citie must be defended: if so falleth out sometime, that vnlesse we fight on the Sabaoth day, the Citie cannot be defended. Here the better lawe must bee kept, namely, that the safetie of the Citie be defended. For God saith: I will haue mercie, not Sacrifice. And Christ answereth: that it is lawfull to doe good on the Sabaoth daie. The Lawe of God is, that we must obey our Parents. Another lawe is, that we must obey God: the Parentes commaund something, which is against the lawe of GOD: here the better lawe must be kept: to wit, that we obey God. This is lawfull for vs in the lawe of God. But to abrogate or correct, or by moderation to diminish, and put awaie the lawe of God, is by no meanes lawfull for vs. Wherefore let Pighius take heede what moderation it is by which he teacheth vs that we should vnderstand the first precept: Thou shalt loue the Lorde thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, &c. For seeing this cannot be, he saieth, that the words of the lawe must be mitigated by a fit interpretation. Christ gaue and instituted his Supper, and commaunded that the same should be ministred in both kindes. But the Romane Antichrist saieth: that many chances may happen by reason of beardes, of diseases, of shedding of the blood: therefore the Cup must be plucked from the laitie. God in the holy assemblie would haue all things to bee ministred in the vulgar and knowne tongue. Neuertheleste these men say, that their mysteries must not be rashly prophaned: There is no necessitie that the people should vnderstand all things: These things must be committed onelie to the learned and wise. But who hath taught these men this moderation in the lawe of God? The Iewes vsed onelie the lawes of God, therefore the Princes might not mitigate them by interpretations, but humane lawes they may, because they be inacted by them. Why the certaintie of the Lawe must be followed. An interpretation of humane lawes is needfull. Matt. 26. Ver. 26. 1. Cor. 14. 1 Deut. 6. 5. Joh. 18. 23. Acts. 23. 5. Deut. 17. 9. How farre forth the precept that commandeth to punish, doth binde. The interpretation of the diuine Lawes, by whom and how. Compareng together the diuine lawes. Exo. 20. 11. Osee. 6. 7. Luke. 6. 9. Exo. 20. 12.

26 Furthermore some commandements forbid a thing to be done, others commaund or (as the Schoolemen speake:) Some be affirmatiue, others bee negatiue. Those lawes which forbid or denie any thing, doe euermore binde. As for example: wee are bound at all times that we shall not steale: that we shall not commit aduoutrie, &c. But those which commaund any thing, although that they also haue great strength, yet doe they not perpetuallie binde. If any shall giue vs a blowe vpon the right cheeke, wee are commaunded to offer vnto him the left. Alreadie wee ought alwayes to haue a minde readie so to doe: howbeit we are not bounde at all times, and towardes all men thus to doe: For this Christ himselfe did not, but being striken, answered: If I haue spoken euill, beare witnesse of the euill. And Paule: God (saieth he) shall strike thee thou painted wall. We must thus doe when eyther the glorie of God or the saluation of him that hath striken shall seeme to require it. God commaundeth that we should come together to the holie congregation, to celebrate the Sacraments and to giue Almes. Yet doeth he not commaunde that we should alwaies doe these things. But to what purpose is all this? namely hereunto: God commaundeth if any man shall not obey the Judge or the high Priest, that he be slaine. This lawe in verie deede bindeth the Magistrate, yet not alwayes, Precepts affirmatiue & negatiue. Matt. 5. 39. Deut. 17. 9.

waies, but when it may be done: and some-
Somewhat otherwise in Exo. 15. and 18. Leuities. Compare with them and with the 23. & 26. following.
time it happeneth that it cannot be. Neuer-
theleſſe if thou punish not when it may bee,
thou offendeſt the lawe of God. Moreouer
we muſt take heede, that the greater good be
not hindred by the leſſer. Ioab was an euill
man and a murtherer, and worthie to bee
2.Sa.3.27. slaine by Dauid. But when Dauid ſawe that
2.Sa.20.9. he was able to do much with the armie, leaſt
any trouble and ſedition ſhoulde ariſe, hee
wouldee not laie holde of him. And it may be
2. Sam. 19. ver. 23. that he ſpared Semei for the ſelfe ſame cauſe.
1.Sa.11.13. In like maner Saul, leaſt any trouble or ſedi-
tion ſhould ariſe, or leaſt that the election
ſhould be diſturbed, wouldee not at that time
kill the rebels. For otherwiſe he might not
haue forgiuen them thoſe punishmentes
which were appointed by God. Nay rather
he coulde not by ſacrifices haue purged a
ſinne which had bin done with a ſtretched
out hand and of ſet purpoſe.

An anſwere to the Argu-ments of the aduerſaries.

27 Now let vs make anſwere to the Ar-
guments which are wont to bee obiected:
whereas they ſay, that Princes are often
ſtirred vp vnto clemencie, it behoueth to vn-
derſtande what is the nature of clemencie.
And this maie eaſily be vnderſtood by the
contrarie. Cruell is he which in puniſhing
exceedeth meaſure, through a certaine cruel-
tie of the minde, and is not moued at the
miſeries of men. On the contrarie part he
Who is mercifull. 2.ob before Art. 1. is mercifull which cannot abide to execute
puniſhments but releaſeth them, and that
through a gentleneſſe of the minde. And I
adde: Through a gentleneſſe of the minde:
for if he be led by reward or fauour or neceſ-
ſitie to releaſe puniſhments, he is not mercie-
full. This vertue (as ſaieth Seneca,) doeth
chiefelie belong vnto Princes, and them
which beare rule. For kings, are therefore
called pitifull and mercifull, not becauſe they
be ſo, but for that they ought to be ſo. But
priuate men which haue no publike power
of puniſhing, maie forgiue manie things, yea
and oftentimes alſo ought: howbeit they
ſhoulde not bee called mercifull, but gen-
tle. And we ought to knowe, that clemencie
doeth diminiſh puniſhments, not raſhly nor
by chaunce: not after a mans own pleaſure,
but by a right reaſon. And I call reaſon, not
mans iudgement by it ſelfe, but that which
is framed according to the word of God. For
if puniſhments be releaſed vnadviſedly or at
a mans owne pleaſure, nowe can it not be a
vertue, for it doeth violate iuſtice. And ver-
tue is a certaine forme of right reaſon. Cle-
mencie doeth make the lawe ſomewhat to
yeelde. But ſeueritie is by no meanes tur-
ned. And ſometime the one is to be vſed and
ſometime the other. If there happen an out-
ragious cauſe, ſeueritie muſt bee vſed, not
clemencie. Sometime the cauſe is made the
lighter by circumſtances: then there is place
for clemencie. Doubtleſſe clemencie, al-
though it bend the common lawe, yet doeth
it nothing againſt right reaſon. Seeing it
hath a conſideration of the Circumſtances,
and according to that it appointeth puniſh-
ments. And when the mercifull man remit-
teth any part of the puniſhment, this he
iudgeth that he whom he forgiueth, ought
not to ſuffer any more. For he reſpecteth not
the words, but the meaning and purpoſe of
the lawe. Neuertheleſſe when the puniſh-
ment due is altogether remitted, it is no cle-
mencie but pardon, and that is to be hoped
for from God alone. Which the Iewes alſo
vnderſtoode when they ſaid: Who is this that
forgiueth ſinnes? Yet doe the Papiſts bragge,
that they and theirs can giue a pardon of
ſinnes. But thou wilt ſay: If ſo the caſe
ſtand: then might other princes vſe clemen-
cie, but the Iewes might not, becauſe they
vſed the lawes of God. I anſwere, that they
alſo might be mercifull, yet not otherwiſe,
than where no certaine puniſhment was
preſcribed by the lawe of God. In Leuiticus
and in Deuteronomie it is commanded,
That weights ſhould be iuſt, and meaſures
right. He that had done otherwiſe, was to
be puniſhed, yet no certaine puniſhment was
appointed. Wherefore in that caſe there
was place for the clemencie and ſeueritie of
the Iudge. Another lawe there was, that he
which had deſerued to be beaten with ſtaues,
ſhould be puniſhed with no more but fourtie
ſtripes. In this caſe it was in the power of
the iudge, that the partie ſhould be puniſhed
with fewe or manie ſtripes within that
number. There was another lawe that the
ſeruant which had ſolde himſelfe into the po-
wer of another man, ſhoulde be grieuouſlie
puniſhed. But if his maiſter had oppreſſed
him with violence, there was no puniſhment
determined by the lawes. Herein alſo was
place for the clemencie of the Iudge. Where-
fore not in vaine was clemencie often repea-
ted vnto the Princes of the Iewes. For it
was lawfull to vſe the ſame both in the hu-
mane lawes ſet forth by them, as I haue
ſaid, and in the diuine lawes, ſo farre forth
as puniſhments were not preſcribed by the
lawes.

How farre forth the Iewes might vſe clemencie. Leui.19.35 Deu.25.13

Mark.2.29

Deut.25.2.

Exo.20.26

28 And as touching the clemencie of
Auguſtus Cæſar, I anſwere, that that lawe
which we haue, *Ad legem Iuliam maieſtatis*,
was humane. For by what puniſhment con-
ſpirators muſt be afflicted, it was decreed by
princes,

An example of Auguſtus Cæſar.

princes, and ſo that lawe might be miti-
gated by him. He iudged it would be ſuffi-
cient, if he had grieuouſlie rebuked Cinna:
And aſſuredlie we reade in that hiſtorie, that
he was greatlie vexed: and therefore he iud-
ged it better, to remit ſomewhat of the pu-
niſhment. But how ſmall a portion muſt be
remitted, iuſt moderation doth declare. But
humane lawes, when they followe the pre-
ſcript of nature, muſt be accounted the lawes
of God: As to put a murtherer to death.
Herein muſt nothing be remitted by the
Iudge. Doubtleſſe, Clemencie is an habite
wherewith by the gentleneſſe of the minde
we mitigate legal puniſhmentes within the
limites of Iuſtice. Dauid forgaue Semei: I
2.Sa.19.22. graunt, but yet when he perceiued that it
was not lawfull that he ſhould goe vnpuni-
ſhed, he commaunded Salomon that he ſhould
not ſuffer his gray hayres to eſcape vnpuni-
ſhed vnto the graue: Neuertheleſſe, it was
not expedient for Dauid himſelfe to kill him.
For firſt Semei being of the familie of Saul,
he might ſeeme to be moued with hatred a-
gainſt his poſteritie. Further he had confir-
med his words of whom he had beene called
before, a bloudie man. Laſtlie it was not
meete for him to diſturbe that gladneſſe and
gratulation of the people. After this ſort
1.Kings.2.31. he forgaue Ioab, who had killed two better
men. For he ſawe that he was able to doe
much with the armie: Wherefore he alſo
remitted him vnto Salomon. Howbeit it
cannot be denyed, but that Dauid ſinned, both
when he abſolued Amnon of Inceſt, and Ab-
ſolon of parricide. But what Dauid refuſed
2.Sa.13.39. to doe, that did God himſelfe afterward by
2.Sa.18.9. himſelfe. For Amnon was ſlayne by Abſo-
lon, and Abſolon being hanged on a tree,
was thruſt through by Ioab with a ſpeare.
Phil.2. An example of Paul. And whereas Paul commendeth Oneſimus
vnto his Maiſter Philemon, that ſerueth
not much to the purpoſe. For Philemon was
a priuate man, and here was no preſcribed
lawe of God, onelie Paul prayeth him to for-
giue priuate iniurie, which is a common
thing vnto all Chriſtians. He prayeth (I ſay)
Philemon to let paſſe his wrath. And that he
doth not againſt the lawe of God, but accor-
Deu.23.15 ding to the ſame. For in Deuteronomium,
there is a lawe, If an other mans ſeruant ſhal
flye vnto thee, thou ſhalt not reſtore him to
his Maiſter, which muſt be vnderſtoode: ſo
long as his Maiſter is in a rage and vnpati-
entlie diſquieted. This was profitable to the
Maiſter leaſt he ſhould ouermuch feede his
wrath: and vnto the ſeruant, leaſt he ſhould
be ouermuch puniſhed.

Mat.27.15. 29 But the fact of the Romans, in that

An example of the Romanes.

at the feaſt of Eaſter they releaſed vnto the
Iewes ſome man that was bound and con-
demned, we cannot alowe. For God neuer
commaunded, that in their ſolemnities any
guiltie man ſhould be releaſed. Howbeit, the
Romans by this meanes curried fauour with
the Iewes, to the intent they might the more
eaſilie beare that ſeruitude. The ſelfeſame
reaſon it was why Chriſtian princes in the
holy weeke [of Eaſter] would open the pri-
ſons, and let forth guiltie men: inſomuch,
that they were not verie skilful in the lawes
of God. For if they had bin bound for debt,
they had forgiuen not their owne but other
mens. Againe, if for hainous offences, this
had bin to open a windowe vnto miſchiefe.
But princes cannot eaſilie hold the meane.
And in like caſe, as they will haue the Mini-
ſters of the word either to be more wretches,
or elſe after a ſort to be princes and Gods, ſo
doe they either puniſh the guiltie together
with the innocent (as Theodoſius did) or
elſe they ſo ſpare all men, that nothing is ad-
miniſtred ſeuerelie. And as touching Augu-
ſtine, in deede I graunt that he intreated for
the Donatiſtes: yet he denyed it not to be
lawful for Magiſtrates to puniſh Heretickes.
But when the Circumcellions or idle per-
ſons became cruel againſt the Chriſtians,
and that the Church was conſtrained to call
for the helpe of princes, and that now theſe
idle perſons were puniſhed, the Church ſee-
med to be cruell and to proſecute her owne
iniuries. Howbeit Auguſtine deſireth not
that they ſhould be wholy forgiuen, but
onelie that their bloud might not be ſhed.
Yet howſoeuer it were, the example of Augu-
ſtine ought not to preiudice anie mans opini-
on, ſith we liue by lawes, not by examples.
At this day if a man had killed a Miniſter, or
done a robbery, who would intreate for him?
But there was a refuge vnto the churches
for ſuch as were guiltie. Admit it were ſo,
and we alſo doe not take away ſanctuaries,
for God permitted them. For if the cauſe be
obſcure, they may better be there than in pri-
ſon while the ſame be knowen. Neuertheleſſe
the cauſe being manifeſt, God himſelfe com-
maunded, that the wicked man ſhould be
taken from the verie altar and be ſlayne.
Theſe be the thinges which moue me to
thinke, that it is not lawfull for a prince to
forgiue the puniſhment of offenders. And aſ-
ſuredlie the wiſe men haue alwayes held
that commonweale to be well ordered: where
verie few thinges are left to the power of
the Iudges. But ſewe ſuch thinges had the
Commonwealth of the Iſraelites. Yet had
it ſome. That which was deſined by the
lawes,

The example of the Gentiles not to be followed.

Deut.13.8. lawes, was in no wise to be remitted. Let not thine eye (saith God) spare thine owne wife that sleepeth in thy bosome.

What is the office of a king in promotion of godlynesse, looke the Epistles 18. and 36. at the end of this booke.

Of Executioners or Hangmen.

In Iud.8. ver.20. Why Gideon stirred vp his son to kill the enemies. 30 Moreouer Gideon did for this cause perhappes, driue his sonne to slay the kings, that he might inflame his heart from tender yeares, against the enemies of Gods people, as it is written of Hannibal, who from a childe, vowed himselfe against the Romans. Or else he did it, to learn him from his youth to obay the lawe of God: wherein was commanded that the bloud of the next of the kin being shed, should be reuenged. But might not this haue bin committed to an executioner? Why would he so vrge his sonne? To this we may annswere two wayes: First that in the olde time it was not dishonourable to slay the guiltie. Further that it cannot be perceiued, that the auncient Hebrewes had executioners. And that this for a certaintie was no office among the Hebrewes, that which is witte in the lawe testifieth: namelie that a blasphemour being taken, was to stoned to death, as the hand of the witnesses did throwe the first stone at him: neither was putting to death committed to anie particular executioner. And there are manie examples which testifie that it was not ignominious to slaie the guiltie. Saul, when he would haue the priestes slayne, did not call executioners to doe it, but turned to the noble men which were with him, and commaunded them to assaile the Priestes: Who reuerencing their Ministerie, and dignite, durst not obay. Dnelie Doeg the Edomite, was bolde to execute so horrible an acte, who was not of the least estimation with the king. Also Samuel with his owne hand slewe king Agag the prisoner. In like manner, Ioab when he had caught hold of the horne of the Altar, was slaine of Banaia the chiefe captaine of the hoste. Wherefore it seemeth that the Hebrewes in those auncient times had no executioners. But as much as may be gathered by the Historie of the Ethnickes, the officers of punishmentes, called *Lictores*, beganne at Rome vnder Romulus, who (as Plutarch writeth in the life of Romulus) were called so, either of *Ligando*, that is, of binding, or else because the Oetians called them λειτους, or λειτουργες, for that they executed a publike office. Romulus gaue them roddes bound together to carrie, and with them was ioyned an Axe. They had also rodes therewith to binde the Citizens, who being bound, they might either beate them with roddes, or strike them with the Axe. But the men of more auncient time wanted this office: euerie man executed the same, according as it was commanded of the Magistrate without anie infamie vnto him. And in verie deede, that worke of punishing malefactors hath in it no dishonestie or vncomelinesse. For if it be honest for a Iudge or Prince to giue sentence of death against euill doers, why then shall it not be iust and honest to execute the same sentence? Yea and God himselfe in punishing, vseth not onelie euill spirites, but good spirites.

Deut.19.17

The Hebrewes had no executioners.

Deut.13.9. & 17.7.

1.Sam.22. ver.17.

1.Sa.15.33.

1.Kings.2. 34.

Plutarch.

31 But thou wilt say: why are officers of punishment and executioners commonlie so of euill spoken of? First because the common people are greatlie afraid of them: Neither would anie man be punished for his wicked factes. Hereby it commeth, that the sight of the Executioner, driuеth a certaine horror into them. And that the people were so affected, the maner of the publike weale of Rome declareth, where, when ambitious men flattered the people more than was meete, they banished the executioner from the iudgement place, from the sight of men, and from the chiefe house in Rome, as euen the Oration of Cicero for Rabirius doth testifie. The Citizens of Rome were not beaten with roddes, nor put to death. Their extremeit punishment, was banishment. They were caried into Ilandes, and at the length condemned to the Pines. But the latter Roman lawes, which are in the Digests, did quite disanull this exemption. For in verie deede, it was vniust: for a fault worthie of death ought not to be winked at, whatsoeuer Citizen of Rome were Author of it. And there were two principall lawes, whereby the back and the head of the Citizens were prouided for, I meane the lawe Portia and Sempronia, whose power and protection Paul (as we haue it in the Actes) vsed, and by that meanes escaped both roddes, and bondes. This is one cause why the officers of punishment and executioners are so odious.

Why the officers of executioners haue commonlie ill report.

Bloud rightly shed deliuered from the holie ministerie. Num.25.7. 2.kings.18. 40.

The Citizens of Rome were not put to death for as many crimes.

The Lawe Portia and Sempronia. Acts.22.25

32 An other cause hereof is the papisticall opinion of irregularitie, which (as the Canonistes will haue it) is gathered of euerie manslaughter. These men thinke, that a man cannot so iustlie kill anie man, but that the same will let him from being promoted to the holy Ministerie, whereas neuertheless the Inquisitors of heretical leawnesse (as they call it,) doe dailie cause an infinite number, and those innocentes, to be killed

The irregularitie of the Canonistes.

killed. The Popes Legates also in gouerning of Cities and prouinces and making of warres, although they be Cardinals, and Bysshops, doe still continuallie cause bloud to be shed. But in the meane time with great hypocrisie they prouide that the sentence be giuen by a lay Iudge (as they call him,) and so they wrappe themselues out of that irregularitie. Howbeit the holy scriptures doe not so teach. Moses said vnto the Leuites, which with him had killed so many: Ye haue consecrated your handes; So farre was it off, that they should be deprиued of the holy Ministerie. But thou saiest that David was in old time forbidden to build the Temple for his shedding of bloud. But in this place we must marke the mysterie, wherein Salomó shadowed Christ the peaceable king. Saing by him he was expzelled, who without weapons hath gathered together the Church, being the true Temple of God, vnto the true & euerlasting peace. Neuertheless bloud being iustlie and rightlie shed departeth not from the holie Ministerie. For Phinees who held the high Priestes office, thrust though two most impure whoremongers. Elias, a man of the flocke of the Leuites, slewe with his owne hand the Prophets of Baal. And Samuel a man of the same Tribe, did himselfe kill Agag the king, and yet neither of them both were reiected from their office. Neither doe I therefore speake these thinges to commend the promoting of Manslillers vnto holy offices: but this onelie I oppugne, that euerie slaughter and euerie manskilling maketh not a man so irregular (as these men say) that he cannot be ordayned a Minister of ỳ Church. What if a man haue bin a Iudge or Magistrate, or in iust warre hath fought for his countrie: cannot he straightway therefore be ordained a Minister of the Church? Peraduenture he hath obtained excellent giftes of God, and is indued with singular learning, adorned with a pure life, instructed with vorteritie of gouernment and with godly eloquence: cannot the Church (as these men most absurdly thinke,) vse his giftes? Certainlie that was not obserued in Ambrose; He was seruant vnto Cæsar, and decided matters in the lawe, being Prefect of Millaine: And yet was he suddenlie taken perforce to be a Bysshop. I know that Paul requireth that a Bysshop be no striker, yet no man doubteth but that this must be vnderstood of an vniust slaughter or violence. But what should a man here doe? All thinges are by the Papistes handled superstitiouslie.

1.Par.22.8.

Num.25.7. 2.kings.18. 40.

1.Tim.3.3.

33 Finally, the third cause why officers of

Aristotle.

Aristotle in his 6. Booke of Politickes the last Chapter saieth, that good men abhorre this kinde of office: namely, of punishing of men, because it hath an hatred annexed vnto it. For they oftentimes incurre the hatred of men. Howbeit in my iuggement, a good and godly man ought not for that cause to mislike of his office. I remember an answere of Chrysippus, who being demaunded, why he exercised not the office of a Magistrate: If I exercise it not rightly (saide he) I shall displease God: and yet if I doe it rightly, I shall displease men: but I will neither of both. Vnto some he seemed to haue annswered verie prudently, but me thinketh he annswered foolishly. For he shoulde rather haue annswered contrarie, that the publike weale ought to be gouerned and that rightlie, to please both God and good men. Doubtlesse a wise and good man should haue no respect vnto wicked men. By these things it is nowe manifestlie shewed that Gideon in that he by himselfe killed the Kings of Madian, committed nothing that was vnfit for him: neither that he commaunded his sonne to doe a dishonest act.

The answere of Chrysippus.

Of Sanctuaries called Asyla.

34 But because it is written that Adonias caught holde on the hornes of the Altar, and the verie like also is read of Ioab, therefore it seemeth good to intreate somewhat of Sanctuaries; wherein is graunted a liberte to them which flie thither for refuge. They call a Sanctuarie, a holie thing or place, from whence it is not lawfull to draw any man by violence. If we giue credite to Seruius the Grammarian, vpon the 8. Booke of Æneids, the Nowne is derived from α a Particle of depriuing, and σύρω, that is, to draw, and by an ill pronunciation ỳ is changed into υ: or else of the verbe συλάω, that is, to take awaie. As Homer vseth it [in these wordes] ἀσύλων τεύχεα καλά, that is, drawing goodly Armour. Howsoeuer the name is derived, we will not much striue. But yet this I will not passe ouer, that hereof commeth the worde ἄσυλος, that expresseth the right which they inioy that flie vnto Altars, Images, & Temples. Whereupon is vaunted that saying, εἰς τὸν Σκοτεῖον καταφεύγοντες ἀσυλίαν ἔιχον: that is, They that fled into the

In 1.kings. 1.ver.50.

What thing a Sanctuarie is, and whereof it is so called.

Temple of Theseus had the right of Sanctuarie. Certainely, the Temple and the Image they called ἄσυλον. Pollux saieth, that the common orders of Heraldes at Armes were ἄσυλοι, that is to saie, safe men, so that where soeuer they were, they should be kept inuiolate. Plutarche saieth in his Problemes of the Tribune of the people: They made him both holie and also ἄσυλον, that is, inuiolate, neither was it lawfull for any man to lay hands vpon them.

The origall of Sanctuaries. 35 But the beginning of Sanctuaries they affirmed to be by the Nephewes of Hercules. For when he was departed out of the world, they feared the violence and iniquitie of them whom their Grandfather had afflicted. Wherefore at Athens, they builded the Temple of mercie: and they caused a decree to be made, that they which fled thither for succour, might not be pulled awaie from thence. Where of doeth Statius make mention, saying: The fame is, that the Nephewes of Hercules builded an habitation, &c. Liuius writeth, that Romulus and Remus, after Rome was built, opened a Sanctuarie betweene the Castle and the Capitol, in that place which was called Intermontium. So manie as came thither, though they were wicked men, obtained freedome from punishment. Vnto what God that place was consecrate, it is doubted: There be some which think it was dedicated vnto Veiouis, but Dionysius Halicarnassæus freely confesseth ỳ he doeth not knowe. Augustine *De Concordia Euangelistarum* the 1. Booke and 12. Chapter, condemneth this Act of Romulus and Remus, in respect that they for the aduancement and increase of the Citie which they had builded, should graunt impunitie to wicked men, and those armed against their own Countrie, whole lawes they feared: and thereby for a reward of flying awaie obtained impunitie. We deale not (saieth he) by this example in the Church of Christ: wherin doubtlesse is giuen a securitie vnto sinners and penitent persons. So then Sanctuaries haue bin in sundrie places, to wit, in Asia, in Greece, in Egypt. At Rome it was decreed afterward, that the Images of the Emperours should be sanctuaries. Wherefore Philostratus saith: The Sanctuarie of the Image of Tiberius. Furthermore such an immunitie was translated vnto the temples of Christians, vnto Abbeis and Monasteries. For when Princes had dedicated their name vnto Christ, they gaue vnto holy houses those priuileges which sometimes had belonged to Idolatrous Temples and Idols, because they thought that Sanctuaries bee so necessarie a thing vnto the societie of men, as without them the Common wealeth might not consist. Then seeing it behoued to haue those, they committed that honour vnto Churches. But if antiquitie of time should be sought forth, we must rather goe vnto Moses than vnto the Nephewes of Hercules. For Moses was of more ancient time than they. He doubtlesse in manie places of his lawes, hath made mention of Cities of refuge. And in Exodus the 21. Chapter he commaunded in the name of God that manslayers, which willingly and of set purpose had slaine anie man, should be plucked from the verie Altar. But if any man had vnwillingly and vnwillingly slaine a man, he promised to giue them Cities of refuge, which in the 25. Chapter of Numbers he performed, when as now the Israelites had occupied the kingdomes of Og, and Seon, and had giuen them to the Tribe of Gad, Ruben, and to the halfe tribe of Manasses. Moreouer three Sanctuaries were there appointed, to wit: one in the Tribe of Gad, another in the Tribe of Ruben, and the thirde in the halfe Tribe of Manasses. Whereof in like maner, there is plaine mention made in the fourth Chapter of Deuteronomie. Further, when they were past ouer Iordan, other three sanctuaries were opened by Iosua: that is to wit, in the Tribe of Naphthali, Iuda, and Ephraim. But in those they obtained not impunitie except such as by chaunce and vnwittingly had killed a man. The Cities were called Hamiclar, because they to whom such a thing had happened, did gather and assemble there together. For the verbe Calat signifieth to drawe together and to drawe to. Whether the Sanctuaries of the Ethnicks had a prescribed time, wherein they flying thither might there remaine, it appeareth not to me. Howbeit I thinke they were to remaine there, vntill matters were taken vp betweene the parties. But the Sanctuaries of Moses prescribed that it should not be lawfull for such as fled thither, to returne home, vnlesse it were at the death of the high Priest. Which ordinaunce (no doubt) was mysticall. For thereby was shadowed, that our returne into the heauenly countrie happeneth to vs by no other meanes than by the death of Christ.

Augustine

The humors of Sanctuaries.

36 Now let vs recite the causes for which ỳ vse of sanctuaries hath bin thought profitable: and on the otherside, the harmes and impediments of them. For those things being knowen, we shall perceiue, whether it be profitable that Sanctuaries should be open in our times. Verie manie causes of the commoditie of them are reckoned, and those no slight causes. First it commeth sometime to passe that the cause is doubtfull, and that the interpretours of lawes, doe followe rigour more than is meete, and he that is in the state of iudgement sometimes perceiueth that the Iudge is angrie with them, and that his aduersarie is verie mightie. Hereuppon the guiltie man feareth, least that either by the wrath of the Iudge, or by the power of the aduersarie he should be oppressed, and so it is better that he should lie secrete for a time, vntill mens mindes bee appeased, and the lawes somewhat more gentlie interpreted: that if it should be otherwise done, the guiltie man might straightwaie be apprehended and rid out of his life, vpon no verie iust causes. Furthermore, seruaunts by that ordinaunce found a great commoditie. For Masters which had bought thē, did otherwhiles rage most cruellie against them: So that when they perceiued them to be kindled with wrath against them, they fled vnto Sanctuaries, and there called for the helpe of Magistrates. The cause was inquired of, and a Caueat of immunitie being put in, they were reconciled vnto their Maisters. Dī if a maister had bin founde ouer cruel or vncharitable, who would indeuour to constraine his bondman or maide seruaunt vnto dishonest things, he was constrained to sell his bondseruaunts, and so he lost not the value but the dominion ouer them. And those were not accounted fugitiue seruants, as we reade in the Digestes, *De Edicto Edilitio*, in the law *Fugitiuus*. Moreouer, Sanctuaries were profitable in the time of warre: for when a Citie was to be taken, and that there appeared no aide: those that were besieged, did flie vnto the Temples, and that did no small deale profite the Romanes, when the Citie was taken forceably by Alaricus; sith all those which fled vnto the Temples of Peter and Paule were saued. Moreouer the commoditie is manifest, which is gathered out of the lawes of Moses as touching manslaughter comming by chaunce. The cause might not straightwaie bee tried: therefore it rested that it might be knowen, & that the Iudges might decree, whether the homicide were wilfull or whether it were committed by chaunce. But if so be that Cities of refuge had not bin giuen, the daunger was least the reuenger of blood, to wit, the next of kin vnto him that was dead should slaie ỳ mankiller before the cause were lawfully knowē. Yea and some also bee farre in other mens debt and haue not wherewith to pay. And some lawes be verie straite, and decree: that where he hath not to pay in money, he should bide punishment in bodie. Wherefore, they call those poore wretches into bonds and prisons. So that it is profitable to haue a sanctuarie, to the intent the matter may be moderately agreed vpon by certaine conditions. I will not forget that in the time of Basill it happened (as Gregorius Nazianzenus reporteth thereof in his funerall Oration) that a headruler of Valence the Emperour, had an allociate who loued inordinately a certaine noble woman, and was desirous to marrie her: but she refused. The ruler afflicted his allociate. Whereupon violence was prepared to be done vnto the afflicted woman: and therefore she fled vnto ỳ Church. Basill protected her by right of Sanctuarie which was graunted to Churches and Altars. Princes hauing a respect vnto these commodities, not onely graunted these priuiledges vnto Churches, but they also prouided by lawes, that whosoeuer shoulde violently draw awaie any from thence, they should incurre the crime of Treason, as wee haue it in the Code *De iis qui confugiunt ad Ecclesias*, in the law *Fideli*. Wherefore they held this for a crime of death. But on ỳ other side there followed thereof manie harmes and discommodities, which I thinke good in like maner to rehearse.

The first cause.

The second cause.

The third cause.

The fourth cause. Num.35.1. Deut.19.2.

The fift cause.

The causes of Sanctuaries.

37 Thereby it commeth oftentimes to passe, that Maisters be despised by their seruaunts, if they vpon hope to escape punishment doe flie vnto Sanctuaries, & there remaine many daies, in which time their maisters without doubt are constrained to be destitute of the dueties and necessarie seruice of them. Herewithall thus maiest adde, that men doe then more frælie sinne, if they haue Sanctuaries readie whereunto they maie flie. This did Tiberius Cæsar prudently perceiue, who, as Suetonius and Tacitus report, being displeased at so great a libertie, tooke awaie the priuiledges from all sanctuaries. It was come to passe (as Plutarche saieth in his Problemes) that the Priest of Iupiter stode before the gates of the Temple, and they which came and fell downe at his feete should be out of daunger, and if they had bin bound, they were straightwaie losed. After the which maner also, many temples of the Papistes at this day become dens of theeues. For they which be indebted, by keeping of themselues there, be nothing carefull to satisfie their Creditors, they shunne labour, and behaue themselues ill in such Sanctuaries. There happeneth another mischiefe, that they which are come thither and their cause knowen, are founde wicked men, and

Whatsoeuer vnto Sanctuaries belong.

doe escape by the helpe of the Monkes and Priestes: and by this meanes grieuous crimes are left vnpunished. Yea and the Commonwealth it selfe is oftentimes by the like maners troubled: to wit, when as in such Sanctuaries those that be guiltie of treason be defended: as Adonias who hurt the commonweale, and by reason of the Altar remained without harme.

4.

1. kings. 1. 51.

38 That immunitie in such kinde of crimes was graunted vnto those which fled to the Church, Socrates testifieth in the fifth Booke and 6. Chapter of his historie, where he theweth that Eutropius one of the noble men of Arcadia, desired verie much to be reuenged of them which fled vnto the Church. And seeing that was not lawfull for him by the law, he wrested a decree from the Emperour, whereby the right of Sanctuarie of the Church, was abrogated. But within a while after it happened that the same Eutropius himselfe with certaine men of his, incurred the indignation of Cæsar. Wherefore least he should be apprehended, he went to the Church, which thing did not profite him. Against the same man, Chrysostome inueighed in a Sermon, saying, that the Church could not defend him who take awaie the priuiledge thereof. And because Iustinian saw that the same so large and ample immunitie did hurt the Commonweale, therefore he restrained the same, as we may see in the Authenticks, in the Title *De Mandatis Principum*, the Paragraphe *Quod si delinquentes*, where he excepteth homicides, adulterers, and those which rauish virgins. For he writeth vnto his lieftenaunt, that he should in any wise punish such, and should not suffer them to inioy any priuiledges of Sanctuarie. This lawe being otherwise firme and of good authoritie hath the Bishops lawe disabled. For in the Decretalles *De Immunitate Ecclesiæ*, in the Chapter *Inter alia*, Innocentius the thirde wrote vnto the King of Scots: Let none bee taken awaie from the Church though he haue committed grieuous faultes. Further he decreed that they which haue betaken themselues to the Churches, if they be afterward deliuered, cannot any more in respect of that crime, bee punished with corporall paine, but onely by some other ciuill punishments. And before that the rulers of the Church doe render them, let them receiue an assurance from the Magistrates that they doe not put them to death.

What time the primitiue the Popes forbad Sanctuaries doe graunt.

39 But least they might seeme to giue too much libertie, they excepted three cases. First they will not haue common theeues to be defended, who lie in waite vppon the high waies. Secondlie, Robbers by the night, which spoyle the fieldes. Thirdlie they which commit haynous offences in the Churches or the Churchyardes, being animated vpon hope that they shall there be without harme. For such are not protected by the Church, seeing they doe grieuouslie sinne against the Church. This is decreed in the decretals, *De Immunitate Ecclesiæ* in the lawe *Immunitatem*. And as touching seruantes, they decreed, that if they shall flie vnto the Church being armed, they shall not be receaued. That also we haue in the Code *De ijs qui confugiunt ad Ecclesiam*, in the law, *Si Seruus*. Howbeit if young men goe thither and seeke aduocates in the Church, they are receaued: their Maisters are called, who assuring them of impunitie, take them into their handes againe. But other faultes although they be grieuous, as murthers, rauishing of virgins, and aduulteries, they defend: as it is in the decrees 36. queſt. 1. in the Canon *De raptoribus*. And that immunitie they giue not onelie vnto Chyistians, but also vnto Iewes, so that they dissemble not: So doe they in like manner vnto Ethnickes, and also vnto men excommunicate, and vnto hereticks. But they make a difference after this manner: If an heretick come into peril for other faultes, he is defended: but if for hereste it selfe, he inioyeth not sanctuarie.

Furthermore this libertie is not only graunted vnto the Church, but also vnto a Bishops house, although it be not toyned to the Church. Which thing is in the decrees. 17. ans. quest. 4. in the Canon *Id constituimus*. As much priuiledge also they graunt to their beade God, when it is caried about either in pompe, or vnto the sicke. For then, if they take hold by the priest, they haue sanctuarie. Neuertheleſſe, they which liue in a sanctuarie, and haue obtained priuiledge, may there deale with their aduersaries. But if they owe anie thing, and be indebted to the common treasure, the Canonistes in that case decree that it is lawfull for Iudges to cite that man before the Church boye: if he will satisfie, it is well, if not, they procede to the possession of his goods, which afterward they sell, and withhold, vntill all the debt be discharged. But if so be they owe not vnto the commō treasure, but to other men, they haue respit giuen them for thirtie dayes, wherein they may goe forth & seeke some Patron. But if sentence be pronounced against them, they are constrained either to stand to the iudgement, or else to returne to the sanctuaris.

I Bishops house had the power of Sanctua. ans.

When the Pope first went in deede of Sanctuaries

40 Also

40 Also in the time of warre they will, that the rite of sanctuarie shall be of force, to the intent that they which flie vnto the temples may not be killed by the enemies: vnleſſe perhappes they make the Temple their hold, and doe fight from thence. Verie many such like thinges they haue which verie often doe turne to great wickednesse. But yet they themselues doe iudge, that this immunitie must by all meanes be retained. And in deede some of the fathers, and some Councels doe seeme to be on their side. Of Basil and Chrysostome, we haue alreadie spoken before. Augustine in his 1. booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the 7. Chapter, compareth the sanctuarie of the Empire of Romulus with the Temples of the Citie of Rome: in which in the time of Alaricus a barbarous king the Chyistians had immunitie. For when he had taken the Citie of Rome by force, he would haue them all to be safe, which fled for succour vnto the Temple of Peter and Paul. Romulus (saith he) opened a sanctuarie, to increase the number of Citizens: Alaricus to preserue a multitude of his enemies, which is more to be praysed. And in the same booke the 4. Chapter he saith that the sanctuaries of Chyistians were of farre greater power than those of the Ethnickes. And againe, he vseth the example already alleaged. And he added, that the Chyistian sanctuaries were able to defend the Romans being now Captiues: but the sanctuarie of Iuno, which was at Troye, was not able to defend the Troyans from the Grækes: As Virgil vttered in the second booke of his Aeneidos:

The Temples great were spoyld, and Iunoes holy doores were brast,
Both Phœnix and Vlisses false, with them their traine about:
The pray did keepe, and Greekes to them the Troyan riches brought.

Yea moreouer it is said that the same Alaricus restored much of the golde which was taken out of the Vatican. When Boniface the Earle, which vnder the Romans gouerned Africa, had taken one by force out of the Church of Augustine, Augustine in his 187. Epistle to the same Boniface writeth, that he wondred verie much that he plucked a man from them, and he willed him safelie to restore the partie, with all conuenient spæde. And he addeth, that he commaunded his Cleargie men, that they should not take anie offerninges out of his house: and that he had now excommunicated him. This also we haue in the decrees 17. queſt. 4. in the Canō, *Miror*. And in the 188. Epistle, the same Earle made a verie lowlie aunswere vnto Augustine, whome he verie much loued, acknowledging that he had grieuouslie sinned. Behold (saith he) I now restore the man whome I tooke away: yet let it be knowen to thee, that he is most worthie of death. Wherefore we see that grieuous offences in the Church, had defence in right of the sanctuarie. In like manner the Councels greatlie fauored sanctuaries. The Councell of Arausicanum, Chapt. the 5. decreed that none should be plucked away from the Church. The 4. Councell of Aurelianensis, Chapt. the 21. not onelie commanded that this rite should be retained by the Bishops, but will haue them to be excommunicated, which that neglect to doe it. The 12. Councel of Toletanus, Chapter the 10. giueth for sanctuaries xxx. paces about Churches which be of the lesser sort. But vnto the Metropolitans it giueth foure. The Councels of Ilerdenum, & Triburiensis, decreed in a manner the same thinges.

Whether it be expedient to haue Sanctuaries.

41 What shall we then iudge? Must sanctuaries be retained, or abrogated? For so farre as much as I perceiue that the lawe of God retained sanctuaries, but yet of verie straite libertie, and doe see also that the lawes of Nations instituted them: and that otherwhiles there may be iust causes of them, therefore I would determin that they ought to be retained, certaine cautions being obserued. First, that no priuate or publike thinges be hurt by that libertie. Secondlie, that no iniuries be done to anie man, or else vices nourished and maintained through the hope of pardon and impunitie. Further, it seemes that we ought to take heede, that they be not open vnto all kinde of crimes, but that they be graunted for some certaine men: as when one man hath killed an other, neither wittinglie, nor willinglie. Or else, if a god man without his owne fault by the iniurie of fortune, shal be burdened with debt, or in such like thinges. But to graunt sanctuaries for all crimes, it is farre frō godlinesse. Againe, if were good to be decreed, that they should not be manie and much frequented, that men may behaue themselues the more circumspectlie and graulie in their daungerous actions. The olde lawe had one lie fire in the whole kingdome of Israell. But in our Regions there be allwayes manie. For the Canonistes haue marueilouslie indeuored to inlarge that libertie. Notwithstanding it should be the part of a god magistrate to restraine the number of them. Also it ought to be prouided that they which be detained in sanctuaries, when by iudgement they be found guiltie might not casilie scape

With these cautions they may be had.
1.
2.
3.
4.
Numb. 35. 13.
5.

Exodus.

away: And that ỹ prieſtes or Monkes if they make a way for them to eſcape, ſhould vndergoe certaine punishmentes. Howbeit it is come to paſſe that they themſelues alſo are Sanctuaries, as being men that haue extorted and vſurped ſundrie formes of exemption.

The fifteenth Chapter.

Of Exile or Banishment.

In 1. king. 2. at the end.

FOrſomuch as Abiathar was banished to the territorie of his Father, and Semei commaunded to keepe himſelfe at Ieruſalem, the which be kindes of banishmentes, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſpeake ſomewhat of Exiles or Banishments. Firſt we will inquire out the definition of Exile. Secondly, we will ſearche which be the kindes thereof. And thirdly ſhall be diſputed whether this kinde of punishment ought to be vſed in Commonweales: namely, for expelling of an hurtfull man out of their dominions, when they may punish him. And to keepe a right Method, we will begin at the Etymologie of the word. Of the Hebrewes it is called *Makalaſh*. For the verbe *Kalaſh* is to gather or binde together. Therefore did they call Cities of refuge by this name, becauſe they gathered themſelues vnto them, and thither were the fugitiues drawen together. And it may alſo be called *Magnahaſh*, of flying or eſcaping away. The Greekes alſo called exile φυγὴν φυγαδείαν, a *fugiendo*, of flying away. The Latines if we may beleeue Nonius Marcellus, called it *Exilium*, becauſe they that ſo flie alway be without countrie or Land, namelie of their owne. And men were ſaid to goe from one ſoyle to an other, when they fled from anie hurt or punishment which remained for them at home. But they which ſtudie to comfort exiled men, doe call their exiles peregrinations, when as neuertheleſſe there is perceiued no final difference betweene theſe things. For peregrination is taken in hand willinglie and for ſundrie cauſes, not for the auoyding of punishment which ſhould be laid vpon them at home. But ſo men ſpeake, ỹ they by a more milde word may extenuate that punishment: exhorting their friendes by that manner of ſpeach, to take that vppon them as voluntarie which they ſuffer againſt their will. And vndoubtedlie, that flying away comprehendeth in it ſome voluntarineſſe, as are the mingled actions, whereof there is mention in the Ethickes, for they which ſo goe from one countrie to an other: would ſhunne greater punishmentes, which they ſhould incurre by tarrying in their owne countrie. Alſo vnto exiles they haue ioyned thoſe which vulgarlie are called *Banna*. Betweene them are perceiued ſome differences, although not great. But hereof we reade in the digeſtes, in the Title *De interdictis & relegatis*.

The odious obſerued in the recitall of this Oration place.

The Etymologie of Exile.

The difference betwixt Exile and Peregrination.

What manner of Exile was in vſe.

Banna.

2 Theſe thinges being ſet downe after this manner, it will not be hard to enter into the definition. Whereforе we will ſay, that exile is a flying away, wherein the guiltie for this cauſe doe goe from one countrie to an other, that they may auoyd the punishmentes of lawes or elſe ſuffer them. Wherefore it is a flying, but not of euerie ſorte, becauſe otherwhile men doe flie either pouerty, or ſcarcitie of graine, or the diſtemperature of the heauen, or elſe ſickneſſe, & the plague: but they returne when they will, and therefore it was ſaid: That they may auoid punishmentes or elſe ſuffer them. And that latter [particle] which is added, belongeth vnto them which be caried into the Iland or vnto the Mines. And whereuppon theſe thinges beganne it is eaſie to be ſhewed. The Romane commonweale either is conſiderd, [as it was] when the libertie thereof ſtoode, or elſe when afterward it began to be ruled and gouerned by one king. So in like manner Exiles were of two ſortes: to wit, one in the time of libertie, and an other vnder princes. When it was a free Citie, banishment was enough (if they were Citizens,) when the queſtion touched their life. But afterward the Emperours commanded that Malefactors ſhould be caried away vnto the Mines or into the Iſlandes. Wherefore Cicero in his Oration for Cæcinna ſaid, that Exile was the hauen of punishmentes, not an execution of death. And he added that the citie of Rome by their lawes punished no offence by banishment. Neuertheleſſe, if any would auoyd pyſons, bondes, and other punishmentes, thoſe fled into exile as vnto an Altar. Neither muſt it be read vnto Armes, Adaras, as corruptedlie ſome copies haue. For if that the parties which were guiltie, would in a biding at home hazard the extremitie of the lawe, the citie ſhould not be ſo ſone taken from them as their life. But when they would none of that, the Citie was not ſaid to be taken from them, but cõtrariwiſe they were ſaid to leaue it. And in the firſt Philippick

The diffinition of Exile.

The Romane Lawes puniſh no offence by Exile.

non ad arma,

pick Oration he ſaieth: They which were condemned for capitall crimes had no ſooner choſen a Citie, but they were admitted into it, whither they came to dwell. Furthermore out of a certaine Oration of Iulius Cæſar, (which is deſcribed by Saluſt in the conſpiracie of Catiline) it is gathered, that the auncient Romans did imitate the Grecians, ſo that they puniſhed the Citizens with ſtripes, and put the condemned to death. After that, were made the lawes of Porcia, and alſo certaine other lawes, which would not that a Citizen ſhould be puniſhed with death, but graunted him to goe into Exile. Cicero in his Oration for his houſe, ſaid, that Exile was not by expreſſe name layd vppon them which were condemned, but they were forbidden water and fire, to wit, that by a certaine ſpace of miles they might not inioy the vſe of humane thinges. And certainelie it behoued Cicero himſelfe to be abſent fiue hundreth miles from the Citie. So then the Citizens of Rome were not by expreſſe name ſent into Exile. But as touching the thing it ſelfe, there ſeemed to be but ſmall difference. In deede they were not layd hold vppon, but they were conſtrained to depart, except they would liue of the ayre. Wherefore ſo often as thou ſhalt reade in the hiſtories, (while the Commonwealth ſtood) the name of Exile, we muſt after this manner interprete the ſame.

The Romane commonweale conſidered of two maner of waies.

Diuiſe of banishment among the Grecians ſir. 03. 15. parag.

3 Among the Grecians alſo there was a kinde of Exile which they called ὀστρακισμὸν [to wit of ten or xv. yeares] which was not laide vpon men becauſe of crimes, neither was it counted among punishments, neither did it bring any infamie vnto them that were exiled, but it did rather moderate enuie. The name is deriued of ὄστρακόν, by which word is ſignified a ſhell. For there were certaine ſhels, wherein was written the name of him that was to be baniſhed. We might call the ſame a banishment by lot. For did they onelie liue thus in exile, which excelled others in riches, fauour, and power, but alſo they which excelled in eloquence and wiſedome. Wherefore Damon the Scholemaiſter of Pericles, was caſt forth in this reſpect, becauſe he was wiſer than the reſt. Ariſtides alſo, when at the incitation of Themiſtocles, this kinde of banishment ſhoulde haue bin decreed vnto him, was preſent in the aſſembly. By whom ſafe as it happened, a certaine man of the Countrie, who hauing the right of voyces, and could not write, praied Ariſtides, whom he knew not, that in the ſhell which he had, he would write the name of Ariſtides. To whom Ariſtides ſaid: Doeſt thou knowe that man? He denied that he knewe him. For what cauſe then (ſaieth he) wilt thou caſt him out? The countrie man ſaid: becauſe they oftentimes call him iuſt: but we Athenians cannot abide ſo great iuſtice. The manner therefore was in the gouernment of common people, to vſe verie great indeuour, that none in the Citie ſhould excell. Pea and Ariſtotle in the 5. Booke of his Politicks, *De conſeruando ſtatu Democratico*, maketh mention hereof, counſelling that if any man in a Citie ſhould excell ouermuch, he ſhould be removed from thence, becauſe ſuch men for the moſt part would beare rule ouer others.

The Etymologie of Oſtraciſmus.

Thebanishment of Ariſtides.

There is moreouer another kinde of Exile which is called voluntarie: and it is not of one forme onelie. One is called φυγὴ ἐπὶ φόνῳ, that is, for the cauſe of ſlaughter yet not of voluntarie, but when a man is ſlaine of one vnwittingly and vnwillingly. When this happened, they for purging ſake removed their habitation, for menquellers haue alwayes bin counted vnpure. Wherefore in the Pandects in the Title *De pœnis*, in the lawe *Aut facta*, in the *Paragraphe Euentus*, a Lawier ſaieth, that ſuch a kinde of Homicide was accuſtomed to be purged by baniſhment. And he added thereto the verſes of Homer wherein Patroclus ſaieth, that hee Patroclus. when he was a childe, vnwittingly ſlue his companion, and that his father brought him vnto Peleus to be purged, and ſo the purging being performed, a companion was giuen vnto him. And in Herodotus the firſt Booke, Adraſtus is recited, who to be purged came Adraſtus. vnto Cræſus. And Euſtacius an interpretour of Homer teacheth that thoſe purgings were vſed to be miniſtred with blood. So that to goe from one countrie to another for purging ſake, is reckoned among voluntarie exiles. Howbeit Oreſtes who willingly and Oreſtes. wittingly killed his mother, came for purging ſake to the Iſle Tartaria. Pea and Liuie in his firſt Booke writeth that Horace when he was returned a Conquiſher and had ſlaine Horatia his ſiſter, was abſolued of ỹ ſlaughter, but was commaunded to depart into another Countrie, that he might make ſatiſfaction for the murther. And in the olde ſcriptures he that had committed a ſlaughter vnwittingly and vnwillingly, retyred himſelfe into a Citie of refuge. But Plato in his 9. Booke of Lawes ordained that they which willingly had ſlaine a man ſhould be baniſhed for euer, and ſuch punishment he called ἀειφυγίαν: but they which vnwittingly and vnwillingly had committed ſlaughter, ſhoulde be banished for the ſpace of one yeare.

A voluntarie Exile.

What manner of punishments were.

A voluntarie Exile of a man accused.

4 Also there was another kinde of voluntarie exile, as when a man was sued to condemnation, and before that the Action was commenced, it was lawfull for the partie accused, to flie, because he would not abide iudgement, as he that dispaired to be quit. After that for: sled Verres, as testifieth Asconius Poedianus. So likewise fled Cicero himselfe when he sawe that he should be inferiour to Clodius his accuser. And in the Oration for Cluentius it is shewed, that one Fabritius, when he was risen from ẏ bench, went his waie. Liuie also writeth in his second Decade, the 6. Booke, that one Fuluius, before ẏ day came for the chusing of officers, went his wayes vnto the Tarquinij. And in the 3. Booke *Ab vrbe condita*, he writeth that the fellow officers of Claudius Appius went to dwell in another Countrie. Wherefore it was lawfull for them which would, when sute of lawe was or should be commenced against them, to depart into exile. The Romanes as touching this matter did imitate the Grækes. For Demosthenes, as it is in his Oration against Aristocrates teacheth, that this was lawfull. Yet canst thou not iudge, but that it might be, that they could let it. Some such thing as this, Dauid in the holie historyes seemes to haue done, when he fled not onely into desert places, but also vnto Achis king of the Philistians. Also Absolon when he had slaine his brother, fled into Gessur. Likewise Ieroboam, when he sawe that he incurred the crime of Treason, departed away. Notwithstanding in these things there was somewhat otherwise than was in the institution of ẏ Roman lawes. For ẏ Israelites being once spoken of fled only, because they stode in the feare of themselues, when as yet they were not summoned to appeare: but the others, namely the Grækes and Romanes, had it graunted them by lawes that they might depart away when the sute was commenced.

1.Sa.21.10.
2.kings.13.7.

2.kings.11.40. The difference betwixte the Israelites & Romane Exile.

5 There was yet another kinde of voluntarie exile: as when they had stode to the triall of lawe, and abiden iudgement, yet would not paie the penaltie awarded, whether it were money or some other thing else, they might flie awaie. But some demaund whether it were more grieuous to preuent iudgement by flying awaie, or else to flie after iudgement was now giuen. And the first in deede is thought of many to haue bin a lesse matter, because they should seeme to depart away of their owne accord, whe as others were in a manner cast forth. Againe, because ẏ former which expected not iudgement, did by flying into another Countrie, after a sort retaine their dignitie and degree. And this is gathered by the Oration of Cicero for his house. Also it is to be noted that when sentence was pronounced against any man of things touching life and death, so that he was let from [the vse] of fire and water, that was done otherwhile for a time, and otherwhile for euer. And sometime such banished men were forbidden to haue accesse to certaine places: and an other while was appointed them a certaine space, howe farre they should be distant from the Citie. And for the most part there was no certaine place of banishment limited, but it was left frée vnto the exiled men, that they might be whereso euer they would, so they kept the limites of distance from the Citie or from Italie. Wherupon (as we noted before out of Liuie) Fuluius went to the Tarquinij, and Milo, to Massilia. In this state the thing was, when the Romane libertie stode.

Under the Emperours the lawe was made more straite, as it is in the Title *De Interdictis & relegatis*, in the lawe *Exilium*, Marcellus maketh three sortes of Exile. The first, if one or two places be forbidden, as if a banished man should vtterly refraine from Murina or Bononia. The seconde he calleth *Latam fugam*, namely when as all places besides one were for: bidden. To this kinde of exile belonged the banishment of Abiathar and Semei. The thirde kinde he nameth *Deportatio*. Exiled men of the first kinde were called *Interdicti*, that is, prohibited, but the others *Relegati*, that is, sent awaie. Plutarche in his Booke of Exile, maketh mention of the first kinde, while he comforteth a friend, because he is excluded but from one Citie alone. And this kinde of Exile is called ἐξοία, whereas *Relegatio* is called περιοία. Therfore Dionysius in a certain Epistle of his to Iohn the Apostle, reprooued some, which thought they could περιοίσειν τον ἥλιον τῆ εὐαγγελίᾳ, that is, Banishe the sunne of the Gospell. Under which saying he called John the Euangelist the sunne of the Gospell.

What maketh more for the kindes of Exile.

What was the nature of Exile deportatio was.

The Exile which they called *Deportatio*, was a certaine grieuous punishment. For the guiltie were deliuered to publike seruants, and being put into a ship were sent away farre off into desert places. Wherefore Terence in the Comedie Phormio saith, that that wicked fellow should by common consent be banished into desert landes. They that were thus banished or carried awaie, were cast from the Citie, neither could they make a Testament, or obtaine any thing for themselues. Otherwhile men were banished vnto the Pynes, that is, to doe a publike worke.

Men banished vnto Pynes.

worke. There was also another Exile, when a man was commanded to keepe his house, to whom at that time the house was in stead of a prison. Briefely, what time as the libertie fell, banishments were imposed by the sentences of Iudges. Therefore Ierom in his 2. Apologie against Rufinus, writeth that in his dayes were no banishments but such as were ordained by Iudges. Furthermore there was some kinde of banishment dishonest, but another onely miserable. Wherupon Cicero in the Oration for his house: A dishonest banishment (saieth he) it is, if it shal be the punishment for sinne: but if it happened though condemnation, it was onelie dishonest in the opinion of men, but not in verie deede: because men are sometime iustly, & otherwhile vniustly condemned. Then he added that Exile is a name not of dishonestie but of calamitie. And to omit nothing, there be founde other two, not properly but Metaphorically called Exiles or banishments. One, which the auncient Fathers in their writings oftentimes bewaile, namely the state of this our life, wherein we are expelled from the kingdome of heauen or perfect regeneration. But the other is praise worthie, whereby we are banished from our own selues, the flesh and the world. Howbeit if it be asked vnto what kinde of punishment their flight belongeth which leaue their native Countrie, least they should contaminate themselues with superstition & idolatrie: We answer that it is voluntarie, for they flie from those mischiefs which at home would hang ouer their heades by Tyrants. For if they should tarie at their owne house, they must néeds enter either into ẏ one or ẏ other: sith either it should behoue them to goe to the Masse, or else to suffer grieuous torments.

Banishment ioyned to a mans house.

A dishonest banishment

Exiles name not of dishonestie but of calamitie.

Two Exiles figuratiuely spiritually called.

Exile of men that flie for Religion.

6 The third point of the question propounded, is whether at this day it be lawfull for Christian Magistrates to vse Exiles. Which if it be graunted, it is demaunded whether kinde must be chosen. But that this kinde of punishment is lawful, manie Argumentes perswade. First of all God commaunded Adam to be banished when he cast him out of paradise. The same punishment he laid vppon Caine. Wherefore he saith: This day doest thou cast me out from thy face. But God therefore did not slay him, because of ẏ scarcitie of men, or else for some other causes vnknowen vnto vs: yet neuertheleste cõmanded him into Exile. So ẏ (as I sayd before,) there were certaine Cities of refuge appointed by ẏ lawe of God, vnto which they retyred theselues, which vnwittinglie cõmitted murther. Also it is manifest

Whether Christian magistrates may vse Exile for a punishment.

That it is lawfull.

Gen.4.14.

out of the booke of Iudges, that Giphtha, being cast out from his brethren, lined in Exile in the land of Tob. And king Dauid, when Absalon was returned out of Gessar, banished him from the Court to his owne house. Salomon also vsed banishmentes against Abiathar and Semei. And as we haue it in Amos the 7. Chapter, Amasias commanded the Prophet in the kinges name, that he should depart out of the bounds of Samaria. Likewise in the lawe of God, the leapers were banished out of the Cities frõ the congregation of men vnto solitarie places. Yea and excommunication it selfe séemeth to be a certaine kinde of Exile. Insomuch as Christians are commanded to shunne wicked men: neither is it lawfull to admit those into societie. Also naturall reason admonisheth vs hereof. For Cities are said to be certaine bodies, and for the health of bodies, Philitiãs haue bin accustomed to remoue naughtie humors and corrupt members, thinking it a great deale more safe, that they should be cast away, than that they being kept, should disturbe the whole bodie. The same thing is obserued in vines, which euerie yeare are pruned, least the vnprofitable twigges should hurt the fruite. Also the vnprofitable braunches of trées are wont at certaine times of the yeare to be shed and cut away. Herewithall concurreth, that all sinnes are not alike, and that therefore all are not to be punished with death. Wherefore it appeareth that there is place left for banishment, neither is this kinde of punishment vnprofitable to them that are punished. For if they should dwell among their owne Citizens, aswell the fault committed, as also other kinde of punishmentes would dailie be cast in their teeth.

Iud.11.2.

Amos.7.

Leui.13.46
Numb.5.2.

7 On the contrarie part the Arguments are as manie which dissuade verie much frõ this kinde of punishment. First that the lawe of God hath not prescribed a iust Exile, seeing that which it commaundeth as touching Cities of refuge, belonged not vnto a iust Exile. Further it behoueth that punishmẽts be such as either they should make him better that is punished, or at the least wise, should terrifie others from sinnes: but Exile séemeth to perfourme neither of both. For they which are driuen out of a Citie, are not therefore made anie thing the better, but rather become ẏ worse. Put the case that some man be cast forth of a Citie which professeth the Gospell, he perhaps goeth vnto a papisticall Cittie, and there is made an Idolater. Adde that Euripedes writeth that among other discommodities of banishment, there is taken

That it is not lawfull for Christian Magistrates.

taken away the libertie of speaking, for a
ſtráger dare not in an other countrie ſpeake
4. frælie that which he thinketh. Although that
he will retaine the lawfull worſhipping of
God, yet ſhall he beare many things againſt
the ſame, and hardlie will he be bould to
5. defend it frælie. Oftentimes did Dauid
while he was in Exile lament that he lacked
the holy congregation and communion of
6. the Sacrifices. Moreouer in this reſpect are
banished men made the worſe, becauſe they
become enemies to their natiue countrie,
and conceiue hatred againſt it: and in ſuch
ſort cõceiue it as they dare oftentimes ioyne
themſelues with enemies, and as much as
in them lyeth betray their countrie vnto thẽ.
And thus we reade that Coriolanus did,
when he went to the Volſi. The like Plu-
tarch noting in a boke intituled, The ver-
tue and fortune of Alexander, taught that
banishmentes are oftentimes certaine ſeedes
of warres. Certainlie Dauid himſelfe, when
he liued in Exile, was conſtrained euen a-
gainſt his will, to come into battaile with
the Philiſtians againſt the Iſraelites. But if
a man will ſay, that Camillus a banished
man, deliuered his countrie, and that the ba-
niſhed Athenians ſaued the Citie of Athens
from xx Tyrantes: we aunſwere, that ſo
notable exployctes happen not oftentimes
but verie ſeldome, but we muſt haue regard
vnto thoſe thinges which happen for ỹ moſt
7. part. Furthermore wicked men are not
made the better by banishment, becauſe they
count ỹ kinde of punishment moſt eaſie. For
they ſay with themſelues: Although I ſhall
depart hence, yet the Sunne and Mone are
alſo ſeene in other Regions: and that which
ſome haue done of a bertue, they doe with
diſhoneſtie. For whẽ it was obiected againſt
a Philoſopher that he ſhould be banished, he
anſwered that he was a Citizen of the worꝛld.
Diogenes when he heard that the Citizens
of Sinope had commaunded, that he ſhould
be baniſhed out of Pontus: ſayd, I in like
manner condemne them that they be perpe-
tuallie vppon the ſhores of Pontus Euxinus.
8. They alledge alſo that Themiſtocles who
while he liued in banishment, was verie
much inriched, and ſaid vnto thoſe that were
with him: Yong men, vnleſſe we had peari-
ſhed we ſhould haue bin vtterlie vndoone.
By ſuch examples, baniſhed men are made
the bolder, and ſeldome are the better. Out
of Cælius the 20 boke 1. Chapter, we haue
learned that L. Neracius haying confidence
in riches, was verie proud and malepeart,
ſo that it was a game and paſtime vnto
him to ſtrike a frẽ man on the face: vppon
which fault in verie deede was laid a penal-
tie of twentie fiue peeces of monie called As-
ſes. Wherefore he caried a ſeruant about with
him, which ware a purſe well ſtuffed with
monie: but he at his owne pleaſure did beate
verie manie, and ſtraightwayes commaun-
ded to pay them xvj peeces of that monie. So
then a light punishment doth the moze eaſ-
lie prouoke vnto ſinne. Herewithall adde,
that baniſhed men, ſeeing they know the ſe-
cretes of a Citie, and diſcommodities of the
Citizens, doe verie often ſhewe all thoſe
thinges vnto the enemies. Moreouer to ex-
cuſe themſelues, they defame their owne
Citie: and the Citizens which be therein,
and are held in eſtimation; they affirme them
to be moze wicked than themſelues. And
they ſet forth the examples of Socrates, Ari-
ſtides, and Cicero, who were ſometime bꝛi-
uen into exile. Beſides forth, if the aduoute-
rer and aduouterelle be caſt out for adultrie,
they meete againe together in an other place,
and perſeuere in the ſame wickednelle. And
when men haue robbed in their owne coun-
trie, they being caſt forth of the ſame, will
not ceaſe to rob elſewhere: ſo as their ſinnes
be not hindered by their baniſhment. Alſo
this punishment ſeemes to be much againſt
charitie towardes our neighbors. For when
a prouince or Citie hath wicked men among
them, they ſo diſburden themſelues, as they
burden other Cities and prouinces. Beſides,
they which ſo be caſt forth, if they might a-
bide in their countrie, would be moze dili-
gentlie marked, ſeeing they be there well
knowen: but in an other land, where they
are not knowen, they both ſinne moze
eaſilie and alſo eſcape vnpunished. And at
home Infamie would beare a ſtroke with
them, and they would be aſhamed, when as
in an other place, they liue without ſhame.
If Citizens ſhould ſo ſend out one infected
with the plague as they would commaund
him to enter into other Cities, thoſe Cities
would not onelie put him backe, but would
alſo complaine and that grœuouſlie of their
men. But if it would be thinke, as touching
the ſickneſſe of the bodie, what are we to
iudge concerning the vices of the minde? Al-
ſo if a man by poyſon kill a condemned man,
he ſhould be accounted moſt wicked: How-
beit to ſend miſchæuous men into ſtrange
landes, ſeemeth to be nothing elſe but to in-
fect them. There might be other Argu-
ments and that verie manie to perſwade on
this behalfe, but theſe ſeeme to be the chie-
feſt.

8 Now are we to determine which may
ſeeme to be the right way. Doubtleſſe it ap-
peareth

peareth vnto me that either part is to be im-
braced: and I would ſay, that the vſe of ba-
niſhmentes is after ſome ſoꝛt to be retained,
but not ſo, that baniſhed men ſhould be ſent
vnto others, among whome they ſhould bꝛ-
come the worſe, and to infect them. Where-
fore they ought to be baniſhed within the
boundes of the dominion ſubiect vnto the
Magiſtrate. For wicked men ſhould the ea-
lier be reſtrained, if it were not frꝛe foꝛ
them to wander here and there, and acca-
ding to the greatneſſe of lightneſſe of their
offence, to may they limit vnto them places
moze painefull oꝛ moze commodious. And
Whither Adam was baniſhed. alſuredlie God when he would baniſh Adam
and Caine, he ſent them not foꝛth of his do-
minion. Further the ſaiues of Moſes ſo ap-
In what ſoꝛt Cities appointed for refuge. pointed the Cities of refuge, as he would
haue them to be certaine. But thou will ſay:
Then will all places be filled with bani-
ſhed men: I aunſwere that we muſt not ea-
ſilie be led vnto this kinde of punishment.
For there be other kindes of punishmentes,
as are pꝛiſonmentes, leſſening of ſubſtance,
removing from offices, and diuers other.
Moreouer God ſent not into exile, Core, Da-
than, and Abiron, when they were ſeditious
men: neither did he condemne vnto baniſh-
Ioſua.7. ment Achan an haynous offender. Baniſh-
mentes then muſt be vſed otherwhile, but
not often. The Roman lawes when libertie
ſtoode, did not caſt forth into Exile (as it hath
bin ſaid) although they ſuffered, ſuch as
2.Sa.14.24. were willing to depart. Dauid baniſhed Ab-
ſolon, but not out of the boundes [of his do-
minion.] Salomon alſo commaunded that A-
3.kings.2. ver.26.& 36. biathar and Semei ſhould be baniſhed, but be
caſt them not foꝛth of Ieruſalem, Iephta alſo
Iudg.11.2. was caſt out by his bꝛethꝛen, but yet into the
lãd of Tob which is thought to haue bin in ỹ
tribe of Gad. Neither is there anie nẽde to
take an example of wicked Amaſias, although
he caſt not foꝛth the pꝛophet out of ỹ tribes of
ỹ Iewes: foꝛ he ſent him into ỹ tribe of Iuda.
Alſo ỹ Leapers were cõmaunded by ỹ lawe
to be out of ỹ Cities, & to wander among de-
ſolate places, yet were they not ſent away
vnto ſtrange Nations, neither was it a ſinne
to be ſtricken with lepꝛoſie. So then,
that ſeparatiõ muſt not be counted a punish-
ment, but rather a certaine caution, leaſt
they that were whole ſhould be infected. Er-
communication which was ſaid to be a cer-
taine kinde of baniſhment, doth not vtterlie
caſt men out of the Church: becauſe it is law-
full foꝛ the excommunicates to heare the
woꝛd of God. Further they are admoniſhed
by the faithfull, although it be not lawfull to
be conuerſant with them foꝛ the ſoule ſake.

What ſoꝛt of baniſhment are to be retained.

Moreouer the Church ceaſeth not to pꝛay foꝛ
them, that they may repent and returne into
the way againe. True in deede it is, that ill
humoꝛs are pꝛoken out of the bodie: and coꝛ-
rupt members out of the Commonweale,
vnfruitfull twigges and bowes are cut off,
aſwel from vines as from trées: howbeit be-
tweene theſe things & banished men there is
no iuſt cõpariſon: foꝛ theſe things being cut
off and expelled, cannot hurt as doe baniſhed
men, who are woont to hurt both themſelues
and others alſo. Beſides, true it is which is
commonlie ſaid, that an euill muſt be coꝛ-
rected where it is bꝛed. But ſome man will
obiect that it would be vnpꝛofitable, if bani-
ſhed men ſhould be had in ſuch places: foꝛ
there perhappes they can not doe oꝛ occupy a-
nie thing. Hereunto may be ſaid, they are ba-
niſhed vnto woꝛke. In times paſt leawd men
were ſent away vnto ỹ Quarries & Mines.
And at this day in manie places, they are
ſent into Gallies, that they may neither hurt
themſelues noꝛ others, and that they may
labour with ſome pꝛofite to the Common-
weale. By this meanes might the inconue-
niences which come by baniſhed men be ta-
ken away. Theſe thinges vndoubtedlie are
not ſet downe of vs by reaſons Demonſtra-
tiue, but confirmed as me thinketh by pꝛo-
bable reaſons. This moreouer I thinke good
to adde, that if anie thꝛough feare flie away
of their owne accoꝛd, the Citie is not there-
foꝛe to be blamed, becauſe it could not let
them. But yet it ſeemeth not to be well ad-
niſed, if afterward it foꝛbideth them to re-
turne. Better it ſhould be to ſuffer them to
returne, whome being returned, they may
ſend out vnto ſuch places as they ſhal thinke
to be due vnto their miſdeedes.

Where an euill muſt be corrected

Argumẽtes.

The ſixteenth Chapter.

Whether it be lawfull for a Chriſtian man to goe to lawe.

In 1.Cor.6. HEre nowe the place putteth vs in remem-
brance to ſee whether it bee licenced vnto a
Chriſtian man to trie matters by lawe. In
This things to be ſpoken of. which we will accom-
pliſhe three thinges: Firſt, wee will pꝛoue by firme and ſtrong
Argumentes that it is lawfull. Secondly
ſhall be ſet foꝛth the ſame and waie where-
in this ought to be. And finallie whereas
there be certaine places in the holy Scrip-
tures, which ſeeme to teach the contrarie, and
that certain reaſons are woont to be bꝛought
which are thought to be a let, we will inter-
pꝛete

pręte the wordes of the holie Scripture, any will confute the reasons obiected. As touching the first, the sentence of Paul which we haue in ỹ 1. Epistle to the Corinthians the 6. Chapter plainely perswadeth, that to goe to lawe is not forbidden: he reprooueth those onlie, because they went vnto Infidels. Further because they were ouercome with perturbations of the minde, in that they could not beare iniuries: finally because themselues did iniurie. Remoue thou those faults that are reprooued, and what will remaine, but that causes may be heard betweene faithful men in the Church, and that wise iudges maie be appointed, to discerne & pronounce iustly of causes? In the Actes of the Apostles Paul appealed vnto Cæsar for defence of his owne life, he would not be iudged by the lieftenant of Iurie, because he sawe that his Tribunall seate was alreadie corrupted by the head Bishops and Priests. He chose Cæsar to bee his iudge, with whom his cause might be vnderstoode. Wherefore before the Apostle were laide two vniust tribunall seates, and both of Infidels. That he chose vnto himselfe, which seemed to haue least discommoditie. Euerie godly man (so much as is possible) must escape the iudgements of the faithlesse and vngodly: euen as wee at this day, will not bee iudged by the Pope, who holdeth all for excommunicate, euen so manie as will not be subiect to his Tyrannie. And the verie same Apostle (as we reade in the same Booke of Actes) sent a young mã his sisters sonne vnto the Tribune, who should declare the conspiracie which the Iewes made against him: and so was he saued and sent againe by night vnto Cæsarea. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not forbidden to implore the helpe of publike power.

The first place. Verse.1.

Acts.25.10 Paul appealed vnto Cæsar.

Acts.23.17

Paul caused that the laying in waite of the Iewes should be shewed vnto the Tribune.

2 Furthermore God did not institute any thing which is against Charitie. But iudgement and Magistrates without all doubt are brought in by God, so as they are not repugnant vnto charitie. We reade in Genesis the 9. in Exodus the 18. and in Deuteronomie the first, that a Magistrate and iudgements are instituted by God. The Anabaptists cries that in Christianisme, there is required a farre greater perfection than in the old law, and therefore that arguments must not be sought from thence. These mad men vnder a colour of perfection endeuour to confound the world by a confused order of things. If we should want Magistrates, would not murthers, robberies, and other mischiefes euerie where abound? There is no hope that anie man might let offences to happen. For (as Christ said) they must of necessitie happen. What doe these men meane? Will they haue them punished or not punished? If they will say, vnpunished, what ende or measure will there then be of calamities? But if they will haue them to be punished, by whom at the length, shall punishments be executed? Doubtlesse Magistrates being taken away, if euerie man punish and reuenge at his owne pleasure, all things will be filled with a confused order, and while they saine to folowe perfection, they will bring vs into an vtter confusion of things. Besides this in the 18. Chapter of the Booke of Exodus, and in the first Chapter of Deuteronomie, God prouided with all diligence, that ỹ qualities and vertues of them which should be appointed Iudges might be expressed, to the intent we may plainelie perceiue, that he had a singular care of iudgements. In Esaie it is said: Seeke yee iudgement, helpe the fatherlesse, iudge the widowe: and the like places we reade withall euerie where in the Prophets. And in the Psalmes it is shewed that God hath so great a care of iudgementes, as he himselfe will sit with the Iudges. Wherefore it is said, God stoode in the Synagogue, or in the companie of Iudges: he is Iudge in the middest of them. And in Paralipomenon the Iudges are admonished that it is not the businesse of men which they execute, but the businesse of God: The verie which thing is written in the first Chapter of Deuteronomie.

Matt.18.

Verse.19. Verse.9.

Esa.1.17.

Psal.82.1.

2.Par.19. ver.6.

Deut.1.16.

3 But least these men should thinke that a Magistrate and Iudgements are allured onelie by the olde lawe, we heare that they be established in the Epistle to the Romanes the 13. Chapter, and also by Peter in his Epistle. And that it is lawfull for godly men to beare office, the examples of Ioseph, Dauid, Ezechias, Iosias, Daniel and his fellowes doe plainely declare. And in the new Testament Paul in the 16. Chapter to the Romans writeth: Erastus the Chamberlaine of the Citie saluteth you. And in the Actes of the Apostles, when Sergius Paulus the Proconsull was conuerted vnto Christ, he renounced not his office. And that it belongeth to a Magistrate, to iudge causes, and take away contentions, by punishing and rewarding, it is perceiued by the definition thereof. For it is a power instituted by God vnto the safetie of good men, and repression of euill men, by laying of punishments vpon the one sort and giuing rewardes vnto the other. Yea and it is a most firme reason [to saie:] There bee lawes, therefore there be Iudges. And if there be iudges, there shall also be actions or pleadings

Rom.13.1. 1.Pet.2.13.

That it is lawfull for godlie men to beare office.

Acts.13.12

Verse.23.

Deut.1.9.

Exod.18.19.

Gen.9.6.

Magistrates ordained by God.

Iudgement and Magistrates are instituted by God.

Anabaptists.

Erastus.

Whether be Lawes, therefore also Iudges and Magistrates.

pleadings of causes. And we reade that the Israelites, euen at the verie beginning had controuersies, which they brought vnto Moses. Whereupon Iudges were appointed, when as Moses alone was not able to sustaine so great a labour. And at the last was the lawe giuen vpon Mount Syna, as we haue it in the 20. Chapter of Exodus. Neither could the lawe in a maner bring any vtilitie, except that Iudges had bin appointed, which should execute the same. Aristotle in his Politickes, called Iudges a liuely lawe. Seeing therefore Iudges (as it hath bin said) be the worke of God, and by him are instituted, it is the part of godly men to set them forward. And it commeth oftentimes to passe, that thou art not able to helpe the poore, the fatherlesse, the widowe and straunger, and finallie them which are committed to thy trust, and to deliuer them from their oppressours, vnlesse thou shalt implore the aide of publike iudgements: and to forsake them thou maiest not with a safe conscience. As touching the poore and oppressed, the lawe admoniseth euerie where: and howe those which belõg vnto vs must be holpẽ, Paul vnto Timothie wrote in these wordes: He that hath not a care of his owne, & especially of his familie, hath renounced his faith, and is worse than an Infidell. Elisæus the Prophet offered himselfe of his owne accord to intreate with the Magistrate for the widowe his hostesse. And that we must not straight waie depart from our possessions & fathers inheritaunce, the example of Naboth the Iezraelite doeth testifie, who would not deliuer his vineyarde vnto a Tyrant: and this he did not through a desire that hee had of earthly things, but that he might obey the lawe of God, who after a iuste maner diuided the landes amongst the Tribes and families: as it is contained in the Booke of Iosua, & forbad by the lawes, that they should not be transferred from one familie vnto another.

Aristotle.

Exo.22.21.

1.Tim.5.8.

Elisæus. 2.Kings 4. 13.

Naboth. 1.King.21.3

Iosua.13. Num.36.7.

4 Moreouer if our neighbour can bee brought by the authozitie of the Iudge, from detaining of other mens goods, it shall not be vngodly to lawe against him, that he may at the least wise be pulled from sinne. And Augustine in his Booke *De Sermone Domini in monte* saieth, that a seruant being conueyed awaie from a godly Maister, if it be knowen that he will be marred vnder the gouernment of him that ratyfied him, and that he may be reuoked from thence and recouered by iudgement, he must not be forsaken. It also happeneth oftentimes that the Pastors of Churches are hindered by the wicked from preaching, or from hauing the shape of Christ, and maie bee holpen by the publike power to execute their office freely: then must they not delay to attempt by iudgement. For they then implore the helpe of GOD, when they goe vnto the power appointed by him, and vnlesse they shoulde this doe, they might seeme to tempt God. Sometimes also there maie happen a doubtfull case, and that betweene the godly, for the iust possession of some thing: whereas either of them would yeelde to other, and neither of them will haue himselfe to be trusted, because he scarcely leak be doe challenge that which is another mans: and therefore with one consent they couet to haue that which is doubtfull, to be determined by iudgement, whereby they maie with a more safe conscience possesse that which they haue. And they which indeuour wholy to take awaie iudgements, doe giue an occasion vnto Iulian, Porphirius and Proclus, who slaundered Christianitie that it was an aduersarie vnto lawfull Common weales.

Augustine.

Augustine.

5 Nowe seeing it is proued, that it is lawfull sometime for godly men to goe to lawe, let vs see as touching the other point, with what cautions this must be done. First of all must be prouided, that we mistrust not God, & that we put not confidence in Princes and Iudges. Such men doeth the holy scripture plainely detect, which pronounceth that we ought not to put our trust in Princes, neither to put flesh for our Arme. Besides this let Charitie be kept inuiolate, so as wee account not for an enemie that aduersarie, against whom we haue commenced action. Moreouer the powers of our minde must be examined, and we must take heede, that we be not led vnto this by disturbations of the minde or corrupt affections. For it is better to lose the thing than to make a wracke of the spirit of lenitie and Christian gentlenesse. Neither yet ought we for this cause to goe vnto the tribunall seates, that we maie either increase our patrimonie or reuenue: but the glorie of God & safetie of our neighbour must chiefely be respected. Also it is profitable, that he which is to deale against any man in iudgement, doe consider the imbecillitie of man, and weigh how weake he himselfe also is. For by what meanes (as Augustine wrote vnto Macedonius) the vehemencie of accusing is allwaged. This did Christ commend when he answered the accusers of the adulterous woman: Hee amongst you that is without sinne, let him cast the first stone at her. And as iudgements are at this day, we are to take heede, least with the indeuour of contention, we cast not both

What causes we must goe to with what cautions this must be done. First Lawe.

Psal.146.3.

Ier.17.5.

John.8.7.

our selues & our aduersaries into grieuous and vnprofitable expences. For iudgements are euerie where long differred, sometimes by the treacherie & couetousnesse of Iudges, to the intent that they which be aduersaries at lawe maie be polled. But yet the delaie of iudgements cannot all wholy bee condemned. For oftentimes in the giuing of sentence there must be prouision made against the manifolde and subtill malice of men: for the discouerie whereof nothing is more worthy than delay. For in processe of time many things are opened, which by crafties and subtilties were hidden.

6 But it should seeme that all meanes must be assayed before we come to suite of law: euen in like manner as before warre is moued, all remedies should be sought. And this would be verie decent for Christias that controuersies should be taken vp by arbitrators & common friendes. Which also should not be wholie left vnto Magistrates, for they should be eased of verie great and greeuous trouble. Seeing they are constrained oftentimes to sit all the day long to heare causes, and the time which should be employed about councell matters for the Commonweale, least it should take anie harme, they are constrained to spend vppon aduersaries at lawe. In olde time among the Romans, the degree of gentlemen called *Equites*, did execute iudgement, afterward iudgementes did fall to the Senators, but yet not so as the whole Senate did iudge: for there were some certaine Senators chosen to this purpose. And this most of all is to be regarded, that in contending at lawe, we seeke not those thinges which be ours, but which are Iesus Christes: which being hard to doe, there is nothing more fit to finde out the deceites and pretences of our owne thoughtes than to examine our selues. And seeing a man may see manie causes, for which it shall be lawfull for a Christian man to contend at lawe: let him seeke, wherefore he verie oftentimes omitting those honester sort of causes, had rather now make sute in lawe for riches and substance taken from him. And let him say with himselfe: Manie a time hast thou forsaken the poore oppressed, thou hast not cared for the fatherlesse children being spoyled, thou hast not defended widowes being robbed: yea and thou hast neglected godlinesse, seeing thou hast seene the same contaminated with blasphemies and heresies: And this that thou shouldest not doe, is by expresse wordes forbidden in Deuteromie: Why doest thou now straightway make sute vp lawe for thy field wrongfullie possessed by anie man: doubtlesse these things declare that thou art rather moued thyough couetousnesse than for iustice sake. It is now a common custome, that although we loke vppon the wicked which deface the Commoweale, and which pollute and destroy Cities euerie where, yet in this poynt we are more dumb, than fishes. But if a little of our owne monie & substance be sought for, we straightway flie vnto patrons and aduocates, and vnto places of iudgement. Seeing then these be certaine tokens that thou art carefull for thine owne thinges, and not for that which belongeth vnto God, or to thy neighbour, therefore be that shall perceiue these thinges in himselfe, it is no sure way for him to goe rashlie to the lawe. In the meane time all this might be wed to the aduersarie, that he should desist from sute of lawe, least he breake charitie, least he more sake his owne, than those thinges that belong to God and to his neighbour, least both partes be pressed with too much charges. For perhappes by the calling of these thinges to remembrance, his malice shall be asswaged. This also must be taken heede of, that thou goe not to lawe vnder euerie Iudge. Seeing thou oughtest not to commit thy cause vnto him, whome thou shalt perceiue to be altogether vniust, or rpt, or a contemner of Religion, vnlesse thou be compelled thereto. If Paule appealed to Nero, he did it after a sort against his will. He might not eschape for iudgement seates of wicked men, he chose for him selfe, which seemed more fit for his vocation.

Deut.13. & 17.

Origen. Nazianzene.

Deut.15.8. Deut 24. & 26.& 27.

Acts.25.10

7 But now in the third place must be brought the sentences of the scriptures, by which it seemeth that a godlie man is altogether forbidden to contend in iudgement. In Matthew the 5. Chapter it is written: If a man shall strike thee on the one cheeke, turne thou to him the other: and he that would take thy cote from thee, giue him also thy cloke: and if one constraine thee to walke with him one mile, goe twaine with him. These thinges seeme to perswade, that we should vtterlie abstaine from contentions. Some thinke by this meanes to satisfie themselues because they say that these are councels: but these men be deceaued. For whensoeuer anie thing is offered vnto vs to be done, which we vnderstand doth further the glorie of God, if we may doe it, and doe intermit it, we haue flatlie sinned, because the loue which we owe vnto God, with all the heart, with all the minde, and with all the strength, is not kept. And if these thinges should be esteemed as counselles, and should belong onelie vnto them which be perfect,

An exposition of certaine places of the Scripture, seeming repugnant to the former.

If resistance be forbidden going to Lawe.

Mat.5.39.

fect, it would follow, that Magistrates in not reuenging should be more perfect, than if they punish & reuenge. And a priuate man by reuenging his owne iniurie, should not sinne, although he should perhaps decline frō Christian perfectiō, which things are most plaine absurdities. Wherefore Origen and Nazianzene, who against Iulianus & Proclus say, that to reuenge, is no sinne, but not to reuenge, is better & more perfect: doe answere neither soundlie nor worthie for a Christian man. These sayings must be taken as preceptes & interpreted by comparison, to wit, that we must rather desist from iudgement, and from taking punishment of an aduersarie: rather to suffer a blowe on the cheeke, to abide the losse of our Cloke, and to goe the iourney of two miles, than that charitie should be violated, or that thou shouldest moue the hatred of thy neighbour, or be an office vnto the weake, and shouldest follow those thinges which be thine, and not those which be Iesus Christes.

Reuenge is of two sortes. Lob part., cap.9. Mic.3.

8 And as touching reuenge, the same is of two sortes: one publike, and an other priuate. The publike, which ought to be executed by the Magistrate, is required by God: to farre is it from displeasing of him.

Rom.13.3. Of the Magistrate it is said, that he beareth not the sword for naught. For he is the Minister of God to take vengeance of him that dooth euill. But priuate reuenge is lawfull

Augustine. vnto no man. And Augustine vnto Marcellinus writeth: Not to reuenge, is to abstaine from the desire of reuenge: And there be plainely writeth, that these be without doubt preceptes, and alwayes necessarie as touching the preparation of the minde: but as touching external execution, that must alwayes be done, which we perceiue to make most for the glorie of God, and the saluation of them with whome we deale. For Christ when he

Ioh.18.23. was beaten by a seruant of the high priest, did not turne his cheeke to him, but rather reproued him, when as neuertheless he was readie as touching the minde, both to die, and to be crucified for his saluation.

Acts.23.3. And euen this did Paul shew, when he being striken answered the high priest: God shall strike thee, thou painted wall, who neuertheless was readie to spend both him selfe and his life, for the safetie of the faithful. Wherefore, if a neighbour through our patience be made the worse, we must not stay from reproouing & accusing: so farre is it off, that thou shouldest shewe outward gentlenesse vnto him. Those thinges which Christ spake in these places, belong not vnto Magistrates, but vnto priuate men. And when

Ioh.18.36. he said that his kingdome is not of this world;

Exod.32. ver.11.25.

Ib. ver.32.

Matt.5.38.

Leuit.19. ver.18.

Exod.23. 4.& 5.

Matt.5.39.

he remoueth not away those things which serue to the necessarie administration thereof: but would haue them to remaine perfect and sound. Neither must we thinke, that charitie is violated, when as punishmentes are done by the publike power for great offences. And this doe parentes shewe, when they beate their children: For by that meanes they omit not to prosecute them with fatherlie good will. Torquatus put his sonne to death, for the safetie of the Commonweale: whome neuertheless he ceased not to lone, as it became a father. And Augustine against Faustus the 2. booke saith, Moses slue manie thowsandes for the Idolatrie [committed to the] golden Calfe: but that he kept charitie towardes them, the prayers which he had before the slaughter of them doe declare: If thou let them goe (saith he) it is well, if not, wipe me out of the booke of life. Yea and God himselfe which is the principall charitie punisheth his elect, and chasticeth them, but he ceaseth not to loue them. Augustine.

9 And when it is written: You haue heard that it hath bin said: An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say vnto you, resist not euill at all: We are not to beleeue that the olde lawe fauored priuate reuenge, which in Leuiticus is in plaine wordes forbidden: Seeke not the reuenge of the Sonne of thy people. Yea and rather charitie is commaunded towardes our enemie, seeing euerie man is commaunded to take home vnto him his enemies Oxe and Asse that goeth astray, and to reforce the same vnto the owner: and also to helpe his enemies Asse if it should be fallen and pressed vnder his burden. But in that lawe of rendzing one for an other, the Iudge was instructed what he should doe in the punishing of offences. And Christ when he said: But I say vnto you, resist not euil, amendeth the peruerse interpretation of the Scribes, which taught men to come vnto iudgementes being led with a desire also of reuenge, that they might craue of the Iudge, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, with the desire of reuenge. Christ said: The matter is not so: As much as in thee is resist not euill. Yet be for bidden not, but that if thou for the benefit of an other, and for the glorie of God, wilt attempt the lawe, it may be lawfull for thee. Some obiect, that God would that thou shouldest suffer the taking away of these goods, to the intent that such and such might be punished. If thou by iudgementes dost indeuour to withstand, thou semest how to resist the will of God. Howbeit these men are grossely deceiued: seeing it is no firme consequence:

God will that both we should be sicke and y we should vse medicines.

God would that we should otherwhile be sicke, therefore we must not vse Phisitions and medicines, because God hath prepared these thinges also, and if thou apply not them, thou shalt tempt him. God will both that thou shouldest be sicke, & that thoughe medicines thou be helped. In lyke manner also he will that we should suffer some losse, and that we should not turne vnto blaspheme against God: but he will in like maner that we should not despise the remedies of ỳ iudgements which he himselfe hath set forth. It is onely the minde of the vser that maketh these thinges either good or euill. The Apostles who being sometime kirred vp with a desire of reuenge, craued that fire might come downe from heauen against the Samaritans, were forbidden that they should so desire, because they knewe not of what spirit they were. But euen to the selfesame Apostles, being now confirmed by the holie ghost, and being voyde of perturbations of the minde, it was graunted to slay by the word: For Peter slew Ananias and Saphira. Paul deliuered vnto Sathan, and made Magus blinde.

Luke. 9.55.

Acts. 5.5.
Act. 13.11

The seuenteenth Chapter.

Of Warre or Battell.

In 1. Sa. 3. & 17. & 2. Reg. 2. & 20. & 21.

BEcause in the holie Hystorie, there is often mentiō made of warre: I thought good to speake somewhat of ỳ matter. And as touching the Etymologie of the word, it is called in the Hebrew Milchamah, of Lacham, which is to fall and be cut off, and that either with a sword or with the teeth, because in warre many slaughters are committed. The Gretians betweene πόλεμον and μάχην put the same difference that the Latines haue put betweene *Bellum* and *Prælium*, that is, warre and battell. And it seemeth that πόλεμον hath taken name of πολεῖν, that is, of turning: because manie are the turnings and chances in warre. Whereof perhaps came that saying: Manie be the newes of Warre. In Latine it is called *Bellum*, either by the figure Antiphrasis, as who would say, not good: or else because it is a good thing, and compared vnto peace: or else (as Festus saieth) of *Bellis*, that is, cruell beastes or monsters. Now will we distinguish warre, the subiect doubtlesse into accidentes. Some warre therefore is iust, and othersome vniust. Howbeit to speake truely, vniust warre is no warre: it is rather Theuerie. And iust warre maie thus not vnaptly be defined. It is an Hostile dissention whereby throughe the Princes edict mischieues are repressed by force and Armes, to the intent that men may peaceably and quietly line by iustice and godlinesse. The generall kinde is dissention. For contrarie vnto warre is peace, and as the generall kinde of peace is vnion, so the generall kinde of war is dissention. But because dissention is manifold (for men dissent among themselues either in opinions or in kinde of life, or in will,) therefore Hostile is added. And because there may be an Hostile dissention, which is not tried by weapons, there is also added, By Force and Armes. The efficient cause is the commaundement of the Prince, without which, warre cannot rightly be made. The ende is, that people maie quietly maintaine iustice and godlinesse. Here haue we comprehended the foure kindes of causes. The forme, is Hostile dissention: the matter are the mischiefes which ought to be repressed: the efficient cause is the Magistrate: the ende is, that wee maie liue iustly and godly. But when we say that the Edict of the Prince is required, we vnderstand no difference betweene a King, the gouernment of manie good men, and a Common weale; but we onelie oppose a Prince against a priuate man.

A definition of iust warre.

The generall kinde of peace is vnion.

The generall kinde of warre is dissention.

The efficient cause.

The ende.

2 Hereof are gathered those three properties which commonly are ascribed vnto right warfaring. First, that there is required the authoritie of the Prince: Secondly, an honest cause, to wit, that peace be sought for: Lastly that it be done with a good mind. I am not ignorant that Plato in *Alcibiade. 1.* writeth that men moue warre, when as either they be deceiued, or constrained, or spoyled. But all these things are included in that part wherein I said: To the intent that mischiefes may be repressed. Augustine in the tenth question vpon Iosua saieth, that warre hath a reuenging force, and that therefore it is good right to make warre vpon any nation or Citie which shall despise to correct that which is shamefully committed: and that therefore the warre of the Israelites against the Tribe of Beniamin was iust, for that they being so often admonished, yet would not reuenge a wicked act. And he addeth that the cause of warre is iust, if things taken away by iniurie be not restored. Isidorus also in the 17. booke the first Chapter saith: that warre is rightly taken in hand either for demanding of restitution, or else for the putting away of iniuries. And Augustine in the selfe same former place: The warre (saieth he) is rightly made, which is taken in hand by the commaundement of God. And they which so make warre saieth he, are not so much the Authors of warre, as they be the Ministers of God. The same Father in the 44. question vpon Numeri saieth, that the war which ỳ Israelites made with the Amorrhites was iust, because they had denied vnto them a safe passage, when they required the same. And as touching the efficient cause: that warre cannot be made, without the authoritie of the Prince, it is certaine. For Paule saieth, That he beareth the sword. Therefore he may either giue it or take it from who he will. And in the Code, in the title *Vt armorum officia nisi iussu principis sint interdicta*, in the law *Nulli*, Valentinianus saith, Let no vse of warres be had without our consent. And in the Digestes *Ad legem Iuliam maiestatis* the 3. law: They which make warre or muster me, or gather any armie together without the commaundement of the Prince, are in daunger of the same law. And in the Code, *De re militari*, in the lawe *Nemini*, the selfe same thing is decred, and that not vniustly. For if a priuate man, at his owne assignement will take weapons in hand, he doeth iniurie to the Magistrate: seing if he bee wronged, it behoueth him to make sute vnto the Prince for his right. But if he will with strong hand giue sentence on his owne side, he committeth treason. Yea and he which fighteth in the Campe without commaundement of the Emperour, is put to death, although that the matter otherwise happen well. The like haue we in the Digestes *De re militari*, in the lawe *Desertorem*. And those things which be so taken by the enemie are vniustly possessed, and ought to be restored, because the commaundement of the Prince was not had therein. Wherefore let the banished men at this day take heede what they do, when they denounce warre against their owne Cities from whence they be exil: seing that is no warre but Theuerie. For which cause Cæsar when he went to Rome with his Armie, and that Antonie and some of the Tribunes of the people came vnto him, was glad that he had in his Armie some Magistrate.

Three conditions of iust warre.

Iud. 20.

The Etymologie of the word.

Warre is distinguished or made.

Warre cannot iustlie be made without the authority of the Prince. Rom. 13.3.

3 Now come I to the Question. The Anabaptistes being the furies and plagues of our time, saie absolutely that it is not lawfull to warre. And for the confirmation thereof, they bring certaine godly Arguments out of the holy Scriptures. You your selues (saie they) affirme that it is lawfull to make warre either for the auoiding of reuenging of iniurie, but it is not lawfull in respect either of the one cause or the other: therefore it is in no wise lawfull. For Christ saieth: If a man giue thee a blowe on the right cheeke, reach thou vnto him the left, a man take awaie thy coate, giue him thy cloake also. And lastly he concludeth: Resist not euill. And Paul saieth: Render euill for euill vnto no man. Againe, Reuenge not your selues (my beloued) but giue place vnto wrath. And Christ said vnto Peter, He that striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword. Also Paul out of Deuteronomie citeth that saying: Reuenge belongeth vnto me & I will reuenge. Moreouer, Christ saith: Iudge ye not, and ye shall not bee iudged. But he which maketh warre vppon another man, doeth vndoubtedly iudge him against whom he fighteth: and vsurpeth vnto himselfe the office and authozitie of God, and ingdeth another mans seruaunt. Christ also in the Parable, will not haue the tares to be taken awaie or weeded out, but commandeth that the same shoulde be left vntill the Haruest. Howbeit these men when they will rote out the euill men, they also in the meane time destroy the good. And in the Parable of the wedding, the King himselfe saieth: that he will send his Armie, that is his Angels, and will destroy those which will not come. Paul also vnto the Corinthians saieth: Why rather suffer you not wrong? Why rather sustaine ye not iniuries? And if it bee not lawfull to contend at the lawe, much lesse is it lawfull to make warre. And Christ saieth: My peace I giue you. And Paul: Being at peace with all men. Esaie also and Micheas saie, that in the kingdome of Christ the Speares shall bee turned into ploughshares, and swordes into spades. Furthermore our warres ought onelie to be spirituall. Therefore Paul vnto the Ephesians hath instructed vs with the Armour of God. For our fighting is not against flesh and bloud, but against celestiall wickednesse. And againe, Our weapons (saieth Paul) are spirituall. Also the Fathers when they expound the warres, which are described in the olde Testament, say that those were shadowes of those warres which we must haue with the diuell. Vnto which purpose they cite Gregorie the 23. Quest. 1. the Chapter *Nisi bellum*. Many other arguments besides might I bring, which they are wont to cleaue vnto. But these I thought sufficient. For these being confuted, the rest will easily fall of themselues.

The Anabaptists manner of the Anabaptistes, that it is not lawfull to warre.

Deu. 32.35
Prou. 25.21
Mat. 7.1.
Mat. 5.38
Rom. 1.19.
Mat. 26.52
Rom. 12.19.
Ibidem.
Ro. 12.17.
Ephe. 6.13.
1. Cor. 10.4
Esa. 2.4.
Mich. 4.1.
Ioh. 14.27.
Mat. 22.7.
Mat. 13.29
1. Cor. 6.7.

4 But on the contrarie part, that it is lawfull to make warre, it may be proued

Arguments that it is lawfull to make warre.

by moſt ſtrong Arguments. For firſt in the
Verſe.13. 3. of Luke: when the ſouldiers were come
vnto Iohn, they began to demaunde what
they ſhould doe to obtaine ſaluation. But he
ſaid: Doe violence vnto no man, accuſe no
man falſely, and be content with your wages:
but he commaunded not that they ſhould re-
Matt.8.10. nounce their othe. Alſo Chriſt commendeth
the faith of the Centurion: he ſaide That he
had not found ſo great faith in Iſrael: but he
bade him not that he ſhoulde depart from
Acts.10.4. warfare. Cornelius the Centurion, euen
then when he was in warriers ſtate, heard
that his prayers and almes deedes pleaſed
God. Auguſtine for this purpoſe oftentimes
Mat.22.21. citeth that ſaying: Giue vnto Cæſar the
things which be Cæſars. But thoſe things
are not giuen for any other vſe, but for the
payment of wages vnto the ſouldiers, and
for defence of the Commonweale. And Paul
when he had ſaid, that the Prince beareth the
Rom.13.6. ſworde and is the miniſter of God, therefore
ſaith he: Giue cuſtome vnto whom cuſtome,
and tribute vnto whom tribute belongeth:
for money is the ſtrength of warres. It is
moſt certaine doubtleſſe, which he ſaith, That
Ibid.ver.4. a Prince is the miniſter of God vnto wrath.
And if ſo be that a Prince may chaſtiſe ſedi-
tious Citizens at home, why may he not al-
ſo ſuppreſſe an outward enemie, if he doe
violence and here and waſte the Common
weale? God oftentimes warneth Princes,
that they ſhould releeue the oppreſſed, the fa-
therleſſe and widowes: and ſometime it
happeneth, that this cannot be done with-
out warre. By this meanes alſo there is re-
ſpect had though not to the will of the ene-
mies, yet to their profite. For euen as a fa-
ther, of charitie chaſteneth and puniſheth his
childe, ſo ought a Prince to reſtraine the
fiercenceſſe of an enemie, not of hatred, but of
Chriſtian charitie, and to benefite him, whe-
ther he will or no: and by this meanes the
licentiouſneſſe of ſinning is diminiſhed in
him. And Auguſtine vnto Boniface ſaieth,
that there is nothing more vnhappie than
the happineſſe of ſinners. Further, God in
Num.10.9 the olde Teſtament, made lawes, concer-
Deut.20.1. ning the taking in hande and making of
warres. But euill things muſt rather be ta-
ken quite away than adorned with lawes.
Verſe.5. In Deuteronomie the 20. Chapter God com-
maundeth them to be diſcharged out of the
hoſt which either builded that yere, or plan-
ted, or married wiues, and they which were
of a faint courage, leaſt they ſhould trouble
their brethren. He commaundeth that the
Prieſt ſhould be preſent, and to inſtruct and
warne the people that they ſhould be of valiant courage, that God would be with them, and that although they ſhould ſee themſelues to be exceeded in number and multitude, yet not to haue faint hearts, but to caſt their hope vpon God. He alſo commaundeth that they ſhoulde not cut downe their fruite trées vpon their enemies ſoile. In the 10. Chapter Num.10.9 of Numeri he commaunded two trumpets to be made wherewith they ſhould ſound, and eſpecially in warre: that thoſe being heard, they ſhould not doubt but that the remem-berance of them was before God. In the 31. Chapter of Numeri, he commaundeth that Verſe.2. there ſhould be fought for a reuenge of the Madianites: becauſe that through the ma-king common of their young women, they had circumuented the Iſraelites in their iourney. Againe, he commaunded alſo that that prayer ſhould be common, aſwell to the Ib.ver.27. ſouldiers which fought againſt the enemie, as vnto them which they had appointed to keepe the tardels, and vnto the Leuites, and that ſome part ſhould be imployed vnto the vſe of the ſanctuarie. But this he would not haue done, if by no meanes it had bin law-full to make warre. In the 17. Chapter of Verſe.9. Exodus, whē the Amalachites had done vio-lence vnto the Iſraelites, Moſes commaun-ded Ioſue to take muſter, and to fight againſt the enemie. And in the meane time lifted vp his handes vnto God, Aaron and Hurre ſu-ſtaining his wearie armes: and God ware Exo.17.16. that the warre of the Amalachites with them ſhould be perpetuall. In the 31. Chapter of Deuteronomie God alſo promiſeth victorie Verſe.6. vnto his. One of you (ſaieth he) ſhall chaſe a Leuit.26.8. thouſand: and ten, ten thouſand. Ioſua when he came into the land of promiſe, ſawe the Ioſua.5.13. Lorde armed and ſhaking a drawen ſworde, and heard him promiſe, that he would be the Prince and Captaine of that warre. In the 23. of Deuteronomium: if any Citie turne to Deut.13.12 Idolatrie, God commaundeth that the ſame ſhoulde be ouerthrowen, and that the pray ſhoulde be burned. And when in the firſt of Iudges, warre was to be taken in hande a- Verſe.2. gainſt the Heuites and Chananites and Je-buſites, they aſke counſell of the Lorde what Tribe ſhoulde firſt aſcend: and he anſwe-red: The tribe of Iuda. Dauid in the 144. Pſalme: Who teacheth my handes to fight Pſal.144.1. and my fingers to the battell? But God tea-cheth not euill. And there is a great Empha-ſis in that which he ſaieth: My handes, for he was a man according to the heart of God, yet did he not make warre by his own coun-ſell, but by the commaundement of God.

5 Neither muſt thoſe warres be vnſpoken of, which the Machabees made for Religion, and

Eccle.3.8. and for the commonweale. Eccleſiaſtes ſaith: There is a time of warre, and there is a time of peace: but there is no time for a thing vniuſt and forbidden. While Amnon ſtood 2.Sam.10. 1.&c. to his promiſe, Dauid maintained y league, and ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him. But when as he had reprochfullie handled the Ambaſ-ſadours of Dauid, the warres began. Za-
Verſe.5. charie the 10. Chapter, They ſhall fight be-cauſe the Lord will be with them: Yea, and they be called the warres of the Lord. For ſo
1.Sa.18.17 1.Sa.25.28. ſaid Saul vnto Dauid; Thou ſhalt make the Lordes warre. And Abigail: Thou (ſaith he) fighteſt the Lordes battels. And in the 2. booke
Verſe.15. of Paralipomenon the 20. Chapter. When the king of Syria, had gathered his power a-gainſt Ioſaphat, and he openlie made his prayers vnto the Lord, Iahaziel the Leuite, being inſpired with the holy Ghoſt: This (ſaith he) is the warre of God, not of men.
Acts.13.17 In the new Teſtament, Paul would by the aide of the ſouldiers, be brought vnto Cæſa-ria, that he might not be taken holde of by
Heb.11.33. the Iewes. In the Epiſtle to the Hebrewes it is thus written, The Saintes by faith ſub-dued kingdomes: Whereof no warre may be an exerciſe of faith. And leaſt that anie man ſhould thinke that that place is to be vnder-ſtood of ſpirituall fighting, it is added: They
Verſe.34. ouerthrewe the Armies of Aliants. Auguſtine vnto Boniface the warrier thus wri-teth: Thou oughteſt to knowe that thy ſtrength is the gift of God: Therefore ſo often as thou puteſt on armor, thou ſhouldeſt remember to take heede, that thou vſe them not againſt him that gaue thée them. Be-ſides, in the making of warre, there is neede of patience in the enduring of labours, a ſtout heart in perils, a diligence in the en-terpriſing of thinges, a ſpeedineſſe in perfor-ming, and a Counſell in prouiding. Which thinges vndoubtedlie cannot be had without the gift of God. And Auguſtine addeth, that peace is of will, and warre of neceſſitie. Wherefore we muſt pray vnto God, that we may be deliuered from the neceſſitie of warre, but not frō warre it ſelfe if it be ne-ceſſarie. Of this ſaying, Hoſienſis gathereth, that he doth ill which taketh warre in hand of will, and not of neceſſitie. And neceſſitie oftentimes commeth by reaſon that a Magi-ſtrate muſt manie times for quietie ſake make warres, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to for-ſake the people. Men are two wayes re-tained in their quietie: namelie, by reward, and by punishment, that the obſeruers of lawes may be rewarded, and the contem-ners punished. Wherefore this the Magi-ſtrate may rightlie prouide, and that with-

out blame. The ſame Auguſtine: All things (ſaith he) are at quiet when warres be made. For warres be ſaith are not made for plea-ſure ſake, or vppon a greedie minde of get-ting, or vppon crueltie, but for a deſire of peace that good men may be aduaunced, and euill men reſtrained. Which ſaying is re-cited by Gratian, Cauſe 23. queſt. 1. the Chap-ter *Apud pios*. And in the ſame queſtion in the Chapter *Militare*: To goe on warfare is no ſinne, but to goe to the warre for bootie ſake, is ſinne. And againſt Fauſtus, the Ma-niche, in the 22. booke, of the 73. Chapter: What doe we reprehend (ſaith he) in warre? That men doe die who other wiſe ſhould die, if that were not? But this is the part of an effeminate and weake man, wherefore we condemne a couetous deſire, a crueltie of fighting, and a lulling after dominion. But in that the godlie are defended and the wic-ked ſuppreſſed, that may not be condem-ned.

6 But I heare of a doubt obiected by ſome, that the greater part of theſe Teſtimonies are auouched out of the olde Teſtament. To what end ſpeake they this? Doe they not re-ceaue the olde Teſtament? Vndoubtedlie the holy Ghoſt in the new Teſtament cited very manie teſtimonies out of the olde. Howbeit, the olde Teſtament they reiect not, neuer-theleſſe they ſay that there be thinges extant therein, which are not ſet forth vnto vs to be followed. I graunt that. But thoſe things which be written of warre, belong vnto the lawe of nature, which ought to be eternall. For it is an euerlaſting lawe, that god men ſhould be holpen, and euill men repreſſed. Albeit in the new Teſtament there is no leſ-ſon giuen as touching warrefare. Firſt be-cauſe the Chriſtians in thoſe beginninges had not either a Commonwealth, or their Magiſtrates: Secondlie, becauſe there had bin ſufficient commaundement giuen of that matter in the olde Teſtament. For im-mediatelie after the flood, God made a lawe, That bloud vniuſtlie ſhed, ſhould be required Gen.9.6. [of the manquellers,] and that was to be done by the Magiſtrate. Wherefore it was ſufficient that thoſe thinges were confir-med in the new Teſtament. And that did Paul in the Epiſtle to the Romans, when he Rom.13.3. writeth, that a Magiſtrate hath the right of the ſworde. Yet did not God in thoſe firſt times forſake his Church, although the ſame had no Magiſtrate. For in ſtead of the out-ward ſworde, it had the wonderfull power of the holie Ghoſt. For by it Peter ſlue Ana-nias, and Saphira, and Paul made Elimas Acts.5.5. Acts.13.11. blinde. So thoſe thinges which the Church

An obiectiō that thoſe teſti-monies are out of the olde Teſta-ment.

had not by an ordinarie meanes, it had them then by miracles. They had no languages, they had no Philitiõs, they had no Scholes: but they had from God the gift of tongues, the gift of healinges, and the wordes of wisdome: But now muſt those thinges be gotten of vs by ſtudie and induſtrie. After the ſame ſort God gaue vnto the Iſraelites Manna from heauen, when they were in the deſert and could neither till the fieldes, nor yet haue graine. But whē they were come to the land of promiſe, they lacked Manna, therefore they began to till and eare the land, and to liue vppon their labors. So was it with the Chriſtians at the beginning, yet in the meane time they vſed a ciuill Magiſtrate. For if they had offended in anie thing, or if they had bin commaunded anie thing, they might not eſcape, becauſe they were Chriſtians: yea, and they alſo went a warrefare with the Emperours which were Ethnickes. For there is a ſpeciall mention made of that famous Legion of Thebes. And Euſebius in his firſt booke and fift Chapter ſaith, that the Chriſtians went a warrefare vnder M. Aurelius the Emperour in Germanie: And that they in a great drought prayed to the Lord, and obtained rayne from heauen. Moreouer the Goſpell, as it forbiddeth not the vſe of the Sunne and Mone, ſo it forbiddeth not the iuſt vſe of warre.

Whether vnto a iuſt warre the authoritie of a Magiſtrate be alwayes required.

7 And whereas I ſay that the Authoritie of a Magiſtrate is required, there be ſome which thinke that this is not generallie true. Wherefore they vſe this diſtinction: that it is one warre whereby we inuade our enemies, and an other whereby we defend our owne. They confeſſe that it is not lawfull for warre to be made without commaundemēt of the Magiſtrate. But in the defending of our goods, if it be a ſudden violent aſſault, they ſay that oftentimes it is no ſafetie to expect the rule of the Magiſtrate. For ſo it is lawfull to a good man and one that is a priuate perſon, being aſſailed on the way by a theefe, to defend himſelfe with his weapon, which neuertheleſſe they ſo temper, as it may be lawfull with moderation of ſuch defence as is faultleſſe. It may alſo be (ſay they) that ſome Citie is ſuddenlie beſieged by the enemie: where if the aſſant of the Prince be expected, all thinges will come into danger. But he that is ſo oppreſſed by a theefe as he cannot craue the tuition of the Magiſtrate, he is now no more a priuate man, for the Magiſtrate himſelfe armeth him, and giueth him the ſword in his hand to defend himſelfe. For he will not that a Citizen ſhould periſh without a cauſe. The ſame aunſwere may be made for the defending of a Citie. For the lawes themſelues will in ſuch a caſe that Citizens ſhould defend themſelues. And that they ſhould doe that, they are bound thereunto, both by the lawes, and by the royall authozitie of the Magiſtrate. Wherefore Hoſtienſis ſaith well, That warres are vniuſt which are taken in hand, neither by the commaundement, nor by the ſecret conſent of the Magiſtrate. But Abraham ſay they, although he were a priuate man, yet he armed his owne familie, and deliuered Lot. And Sampſon a man priuate, yet made he great ſlaughters of the Philiſtians. Howbeit Abraham & Sampſon, although they ſeemed to be priuate men, yet in verie deede they were not. For God had alreadie choſen them, and would haue them to be princes. For of Sampſon it is read, that the ſpirit of the Lord came vppon him. Theſe examples none ought to followe, vnleſſe he be ſuch a one as feeleth, and hath a ſure triall in himſelfe of the ſame vocation. Howbeit, Abraham they ſay made a league with Eſcol and Mambre, and that they were mighty men and princes: And therefore Abraham by their furtherance armed ſouldiers. But foraſmuch as I in the definition added, By force and armes, therefore they ſay it is not lawfull to vſe wiles. Yes in deede, it is lawfull. For what dooth force againſt a foe, if fraud or force thou vſe? And wiles are included in thoſe wordes: Force, and Armes: ſith there is a certaine force in wiles. So Abraham alſo did when he diuided his Armie, and by wiles ouercame his enemie when they feared no danger. And after the ſame manner did the Iſraelites, when they beſieged the Beniamites. The like did Ioſua in the beſieging of the Citie of Hay. Howbeit, in the placing and practiſe of wiles, we muſt take diligent heede that the couenantes, and leagues be not violated. For we muſt keepe faith, euen with our enemie. But wiles herein conſiſt, that we keepe our counſels ſecret from our enemie. Yea, and this doth God himſelfe. For Chriſt ſpake manie thinges vnto the people in parables, and ſaid that it was not giuen to them to vnderſtand thoſe things, but he expounded them ſeuerallie vnto his Apoſtles. Wherefore, wiles when they be referred vnto iuſtice, cannot iuſtlie be condemned.

Gen.14.14
Iudg.15.8.
The reaſons of Abrahams & Sampſon.
Iudg.14.6.
Gen.14.15
Whether it be lawfull in warres to vſe wiles.
Ioſua.8.4.
Mat.13.11

8 Howbeit therein ſeemeth to be a greater difficultie that we ſaide, warre muſt be taken in hand for the ſuppreſſing of wickednelle. For how can the ſouldiers know, with what minde the Prince maketh warre? For it may ſo be that he though be make ſhe we of other

other cauſes, yet he may in verie deede, be led either with cruelte, or with ambition, or with luſt. I anſwere: So long as the warre appeareth not to be vniuſt, the ſubiects muſt obey the Prince: this ſhall in the meane time be ſufficient for them: But if they plainelie perceiue that it is vniuſt, they muſt rather obey God than men. For although the Magiſtrate doe giue thee a verie ſtraite commandement, yet there is no power may binde thee againſt the Lorde. And vndoubtedly ſubiects in this caſe muſt not be negligent, and be caried with a blinde obedience onelie: they muſt be as inquiſitiue as they may. For neither muſt our wordes alſo be blinde. Theſe things I ſpeake of ſubiectes, ſith vnto mercenarie ſouldiers they doe not appertaine: Becauſe they without any iuſt cauſe doe willinglie and of their owne accord caſt themſelues into theſe ambiguities, and into theſe ſnares of conſcience. But ſubiects muſt in any wiſe obey their Magiſtrates in good things, and in things indifferent.

Acts.4.19.
Let ſubiects take vp no quarrel ouer the quarrel make a warre.
Mercenarie ſouldiers.
In what things ſubiects muſt obey their Princes.

9 And although warre be iuſt, yet muſt it not ſtraightway bee taken in hande. All meanes muſt be attempted, rather than we ſhoulde come to battailes. Yea and for the ſparing of Citizens bloud, cõditions muſt oftentimes be received though they may ſeeme ſomewhat vnreaſonable. Ezechias the godly king, made no doubt to melt the Ornaments of the Temple, to redeeme the neceſſitie of battell. But when that nothing preuailed, he fled vnto prayers and craued helpe of the Lorde. Howbeit thou wilt ſay, that this is the part of a cowardly man, and of one that diſhonoreth his ſtocke to graunt vnto ſuch maner of conditions: May the ſame is rather a true magnanimitie of minde. For Cicero when he would erecēdingly commende Cæſar, ſaid that he was accuſtomed to forget nothing but iniuries. And Auguſtine: This (ſaieth he) he ſpake either as a true prayſer, or as a great flatterer. And if ſo be it were not true, yet he ſhewed what maner of one he ought to be. Iniuries (no doubt) muſt be forgiuen as much as is poſſible: ſeeing warre is amongſt the terrible and cruell remedies, which muſt not be appliyed, vnleſſe that extreme neceſſitie ſeeme to require. For Phiſitions doe not feare to cut, but when it ſeemeth that in a manner the whole bodie is put in hazard. And beſides that many terrible and cruell things doe happen in time of warre, thou canſt not in verie deede after thou haſt once begun, appoint an ende when thou wilt. Therefore Homer rightly ſaide: That there is ſome ſacietie of all things except it be of warre. That this is true, we haue to much experience in theſe dayes. For our Princes ceaſe not from warres, vnleſſe they bee deſtitute of monie. And they pronounce warres oftentimes vpon light cauſes, onely of a blinde prouocation without any graue iudgement or deliberation of their counſell. But there ought to bee a certaine meane way appointed, that neither we be to vehement nor yet to ſlacke. For although we ought not to be hard in forgetting of iniuries, yet muſt only thoſe be forgiuen which bee in our owne power. In ſo much as we muſt neither forgiue peruerſe and Idolatrous worſhippings, neither yet other mens iniuries. And beſides this we muſt vſe victorie with moderation and reaſon. And this was it which Abner required of Ioab, leaſt his brothers ſhould be ſlaine vntill few were left. Becauſe when we ſee, that thoſe which were equall vnto vs in fortune and honour are now become ſubiect vnto vs, we ſhoulde therewith be ſatiſfied. Wherefore Virgil verie well ſaid: Spare them that be ſubiect, and vanquiſh them that bee ſtubborne. For he that vſeth clemencie towardes them that be ouercome, may appeare to bee the ſauer of them: and the men banquiſhed, will alwayes (ſo long as they liue) carrie about them an excellent monument of his moderation and clemencie. And in no other thing doe we more imitate God, as Seneca writeth in his Treatiſe *De Clementia*. And yet muſt we not be ſo merciſull, but that wee may commaund pledges of them that be ouercome, or elſe place Garriſons among them, leaſt ſome tumult might bee raiſed through our negligence. For theſe thinges chiefely are to be required in them that be ouercome. Firſt that their faults may be amended, ſecondly that they may be made an example, to the intent that others maie take the better heede: laſtly that others may liue the more peaceably and quietly. Theſe endes it behoueth them that will rightly make warres, to ſet before their eyes, ſeeing all things muſt be referred to the glorie and honour of God.

All meanes muſt be ſought before warre be made.
Howe farre forth iniuries muſt be forgiuen.
How we are to deale towardes them that be ouercome.
This reaſon perſwaſiue wrought to haue in victories.

10 Hitherto we haue ſpoken after what ſort the iniuries of other men muſt be holpen. But what if the Prince himſelfe ſhal be aſſaulted by himſelfe? Shall he defend himſelfe by armed force? I anſwere: Firſt, he muſt doe nothing with furie or blind motion, but muſt be able ſpecially to ouerrule his affections. Further he ought to be more eaſie intreated in his owne iniuries, than in other mens. For euen as he is not liberall which giueth of an other mans, but rather he which

Whether a Princes may defend his own perſon by warre.

which departeth with somewhat of his owne: so he is mercifull, which rather forgiueth his owne iniuries than he which forgiueth other mens. First therefore a Prince ought to weigh with himselfe his calling, whether he came to that dignitie by gods meanes, or rather intruded himselfe by violence and oppression. And let him beware that he minde not by the bloud of Citizens to defend that which he naughtily attained to himselfe. But if he perceiue, and knowe for a certaintie that he was placed in that office by God, he ought by all iust meanes to defend himselfe. For now he doeth not so much defend himselfe as the Commonweale and the ordinance of God. He ought in no wise to seeke his owne but the glorie of GOD and safetie of the Church: and especially if the enemie be such, as mindeth either to destroy or peruert the worshipping of God. Cicero is commended, because when strength of armes was offered him by which he might haue defended himselfe, yet he chose rather to goe into banishment, than for his owne cause to shed innocent bloud. Albeit in that he afterward repenting himselfe wrote vnto Atticus, that he might haue died valiantly, he may not therein be alloweth: for he was not also constant in that which he had rightly purposed. Otho the Emperour when he perceiued that the matter tended to the slaughter of Citizens, gaue place of his owne accord: and that rightly in verie deede. Howbeit in that he slue himselfe, he cannot be praised. But the moderatio of our Dauid, is by all meanes to be commended: for he when Absolon was in armes chose rather to giue place than to set Citizens together among themselues, being otherwise readie to execute the will of God howsoeuer it were. If he shall say (saith he) thou pleasest me not, I am readie, let him doe that which seemeth good in his owne eyes. So these things being diligently considered, it is lawfull for a prince to defend him selfe. But what shall we say of Zedechias the King, for he when he had a lawfull calling, and was besieged by Nabucad-nezar an Idolatrous Prince, and sawe that the Citie and religion should be vtterly ouerthrowen, would not peelde himselfe, and for that cause is condemned. Some man perhaps will say that his calling might not seeme to bee lawfull, sith that the Kingdome might rather haue belonged to Ioachim. But this will not I say: for in so much as the same Ioachim was alreadie led away captiue, it seemeth that of right the succession returned to his Vncle Zedechias. Howbeit these things appeare more probable vnto mee: Zedechias had broken his othe and couenaunt, he was an Idolater, he had defaced the lawe and religion of God. Ouer this God had giuen him commaundement by Ieremie that he shoulde yeelde himselfe, but he would not obey, but set himselfe against the word of God. Also it was now time, that that people shoulde be sent into banishment, because their sinnes were come to their fulnesse. For neither was the king better than the people, or the people than the king. But what shall wee say of those Romane Popes, when two or three be created at one and the selfe same time: Is it lawfull for them as they are wont to doe, to maintaine their election by force and armes: It is not lawfull. For neither is the succession of them lawfull, nor yet the ende good, seeing as much as in them lyeth they deface and oppresse the law of God.

2.Sa.15.14.

An obiection.

Ierem. 34.

Ibidem.

Whether it be lawfull for Ministers of the Church to beare armes.

11 But is it lawfull for the Ministers of the Church to beare armes? It is not lawfull. For they must auoide all things which may hinder their function. And Aristotle in his Politicks saith, that two offices must not bee committed to any one man, because no man can be fit for both the functions, seeing either of both, requireth a perfect and whole man. Yea and scarcely can there be any one man founde that can well execute the one or the other. For first the office of a minister is to teach the people. Which function howe great it is by it selfe alone, euerie one maie easilie vnderstand. Secondly to pray daie and night for the people: lastly also to exercise discipline. Who is able to doe these three things, as he can haue leasure besides to fight? Paul vnto Timothie saieth: Suffer thou afflictions as a good souldier of Christ. Let no man going on warfare intangle himselfe with the affaires of this life, that he may please him which hath chosen him to warfare. There is no mã crowned but he which hath lawfully contended. Bee warneth Timothie, that he ought to be a good souldier, & therefore that he prepare himselfe to afflictions. For if thou wilt doe thine office rightly, thou must of necessitie suffer many things. And he addeth: No man going on warfare intangleth himselfe with the businesse of this life. For both in the Code and in the Digestes, Souldiers are commaunded to leane both ye trade of Marchandize and also husbandrie, to the intent they may alwayes doe that which they are commaunded. But howe much rather must this be intended of the Ecclesiasticall function? In holy seruices the Crier was woont to proclaime: Doe this: to the intent the Priest might vnderstande, that he ought wholy to be occupied in holy things.

1.Pet.2.8.

Luk.Ia.2. Iunge.11.

1.Tim.4.5.

2.Tim.2.

The

The office of a good Pastor is no slight thing, which may be executed without singular diligence and attention. None shall be Crowned (saieth Paul) but he that hath striuen lawfully: that is, he that hath done euen so much as the lawe commaundeth. And Paul in another place: Our weapons (saieth he) be not carnall but the power of God, to cast downe euerie high thing that aduaunceth it selfe against God. This is the armour that must be committed vnto Ministers. Howbeit if an enemie vpon the sudden beseige the Citie, and hath euen now laide siege to the walles, the Minister of the Church may rightly take Armes and repell violence, and doe that which becommeth a good Citizen. Notwithstanding when other souldiers shall come, he must retire himselfe to his office. But this will the Bishops neuer graunt. For if any man perhaps shall kill an enemie, him they account for irregular. And for the proofe hereof they alleage (for sooth) the fact and example of Dauid, God saieth vnto him: Thou canst not build a Temple vnto mee because thou hast shead bloud. Behoolde (say they) he is forbidden to build the temple because of bloud iustly shead. Howbeit these things are mere trifles: for that temple was a shadow of the Church. And because Christ builded his Church not by violence or by bloud, therefore God woulde haue his temple to be builded not by Dauid but by Salomon the peaceable king. Moreouer Salomon in himselfe did shadowe Christ. But Christ gathered vnto himselfe men that came not against their willes, but a willing people. For that cause God made this answere vnto Dauid. And whereas they say that this must be vnderstoode of bloud iustly shead by Dauid, it is false. Nay it ought rather to be vnderstoode of the betraying of Vrias, and of those souldiers which were slaine together with him. This fact although God had forgiuen Dauid before, yet would he appoint some discipline for it. But let these men which be so sharpe and wittie tell me, whether Peter, when he slue Ananias and Saphira, or Paul, when he had blinded Elimas, were made irregular. Or else if they were not from that time forwarde exercised in the office of Apostles.

That ministers may sometime take armes.

Ibver.5.

2.Cor.10.4

1.Sa.15.32.

Whether Bishops haue the rule of both swoordes.

Deut.13.5

1.kings.11.

2.

Exo.32.28.

Dan.2.8.

Act.5.5.

Act.13.11.

12 But in a Campe there be, and ought to be Ministers, howbeit, not to fight but to instruct the souldiers, and to minister the Sacramentes if neede require. In Deuteronomium God commaunded the Priestes to be in the Campe, who should sound with the Trumpets. And when as Ministers doe teach vertues and the worshipping of God, they may often put men in remembrance of those thinges which pertaine vnto the ende. And if the Prince be ouerlacke, they may stirre him by vnto vertue, and vtter this saying vnto him: The Lord commaundeth that euill should be taken away from among the people, Ioiada, a good high priest preferred Ioas the king, and when he was growen to be a young man, he created him king, and by iust battell chased away Athalia, although that he fought not with his own hand. Yet notwithstanding Moses together with his Leuites slue a great number of idolaters. And Samuel slue Agag. But these thinges because they were particular must not be drawen in example. Howbeit, whether Bishops haue the right of both swoordes, I will speake nothing in this place. Onelie this one thing I will say, that it is not conuenient, seeing they cannot be fit for both functions. But the Assamonites thou wilt say, held both the head bishoprick and the kingdome. I answeare, in that they deliuered their Countrie and preserued Religion, they are to be praysed: But in that they would retaine vnto themselues the kingdome, I allow it not: seeing they vsurpe an other mans right. For the promise of the kingdome was made to the Tribe of Iuda, and to the house of Dauid. Hostiensis in this matter is altogether of my minde, and addeth at the last: Let the lawes say, let the Canons decree, let men cry out as much as they will, yet will our Cleargie men be warriers. And assuredlie, euer since the times of Adrian the Pope, which called Charles the Great into Italie, the Bishops and Cardinals haue neuer ceased from warres.

Deut.30.2. Num.10.9.

That ministers ought not to be in the campe.

Whether Bishops haue the rule of both swoordes.

Beeke of Machab.

Gen.49. ver.10.

Psal.89. ver.21.

13 But the warre of mercenarie souldiers is for many causes disallowed. First seeing such souldiers doe without a cause put themselues in danger. For if the warre be vniust, and that vnknowen vnto the people, subiectes may be excused, but those men cannot, insomuch as they cannot pretend an obedience: because they are not led with obedience, but with couetousnesse. Further vnlesse that these men would so easilie runne to the Drummes, manie warres would not so rashlie be taken in hand, nor be so long continued. Moreouer they bring to passe that their Countrie is ill reported of, and is hated of other nations. For it must needes be, that he which taketh harme be agreeued. Also they are lauith of their owne life which had beene meete for them to haue saued. Furthermore they leaue their owne vocations, their wiues, their children, their families, and haue a care of other mens. Also they

Against mercenaries souldiers.

wast

walt the ſtrength of their owne countrie, ſith it is not credible, that all they which go forth doe returne home. Beſides, it is a thing of moſt wicked example: For after a ſort they ſell their owne life, not for inſtice ſake, but
Gen.14.22 for monie. And yet would not Abraham take anie part of the pray from the king of Sodom, whome he had mightilie holpen. He thought it to be ſufficient, that he had deliuered Lot. Moreouer (which is a ſpetial point of vnrighteouſnes) they hurt them of whom they were neuer hurt: ſo as ſ poore wretches whoſe townes and fieldes they waſte and ſpoile, may cry out: Wherefore doe you theſe iniuries vnto vs? What haue we deſerued at your handes? Haue you ſo great leaſure frō your owne buſineſſe, as you will deſtroy other mens? Adde withall, that ſuch ſouldiers doe returne home much worſe than they wēt forth. For they imitate whatſoeuer they perceiue to be done naughtilie and licentiouſlie among other Nations, and when they be returned home, they infect their owne countrie. Yet neuertheleſſe, I blame not honeſt leagues, made betweene neere neighbours, but yet ſo, as the cauſe of the warre ſhould be conſidered, whether it be iuſt or vniuſt. Further that they aſſiſt one another to repel an vniuſt force, or vncleane, not for to make warre for their owne pleaſure. But by this meanes (will they ſay) a commonweale ſhall be vnſkilfull of warlike affaires. Howbeit, it is not the part of Godlie men ſo to thinke: For who were euer leſſe exerciſed than the Hebrewes, when they went out of Egypt? Yet was God preſent with them, and hauing deſtroyed the warlike Nations, he brought them into the land which he had promiſed. But that rule of Paul muſt ſtill be
Rom.3.8. A rule of Paul. retained: We muſt doe no euil, ſ good may come of it. So, manie miſchiefes muſt not be ſuffered, ſ thereby we may haue better exerciſed ſouldiers. Poſſidonius in the life of Auguſtine the 27. Chapter ſaith, that he in his writinges would neuer commend them which went to warre in anie place of their owne accord, although he vſed oftentimes to intreat for other naughtie men. But Plato would haue warres to be common vnto women alwell as all other exerciſes. But we iudge out of the word of God that the ſame is not lawful. For it behoueth them to tende to their houſhold, and eſpecially is to haue regard vnto chaſtitie. Yet if a verie great neceſſitie of the commōweale require, they may helpe the ſouldiers, either in gathering of ſtones, or in carying of earth vnto Bulwarkes: but vnto the ordinarie warrefare, they ought not to indeuour themſelues.

Whether women may be in warfare.

14 Now as touching the Argumentes of our aduerſaries. The firſt ſower, or fiue, ſeeme to be of one ſort, and may be confuted with one anſwere. Firſt we muſt note: that the Scribes & Phariſies had corrupted the lawe of God, wherefore Chriſt reſtored the lawe to a perfectneſſe, and reiected the inuentions and traditions of them. For he teacheth nothing contrarie to his faith, neither is the lawe repugnant vnto the Goſpell, And ſ ſeemeth to ſet forth two things: Firſt that we ſhould loue, and ſecondlie, that we ſhould helpe euen our enemie. Theſe thinges in verie deede they ſay are peculiar to the newe Teſtament. But they are farre deceiued, ſeeing God commaunded theſe thinges in the olde Teſtament. For in the 19 of Leuiticus: Thou ſhalt not ſeeke (ſaith he) reuenge, neither ſhalt thou remember the iniuries of the children of thy people. Yea, and in the 22. Chapter of Deuteronomium, we are commaunded to doe well, euen vnto our enemis. If thou meete (ſaith he) with a ſtray Oxe of thine enemie, bring the ſame to him againe. If thou ſee his Aſſe fallen downe vnder his burden, helpe with him to heaue vp. Wherefore Chriſt onelie reuoketh the true meaning of the lawe, which the Phariſies had corrupted. So then there is no repugnancie betweene the lawe and the Goſpell, ſeing we are of both commaunded to loue our enemies. Alſo the lawe and the Goſpell agree as concerning the publike authoritie of the ſword. For the lawe ſaith: An eye for an eye. Againe: Thou ſhalt take away euill from among the people. In theſe wordes the ſword is committed to the Magiſtrate. The ſame thing both Paul teach vnto the Romans: He beareth not the ſword in vaine: for he is Gods reuenger. And Peter in the 2. Chapter: To the puniſhmentes (ſaith he) of euill doers, and for the praiſe of them that doe well. But to punith (thou wilt ſay) and to forgiue be contraries, whereof the lawe teacheth the one, and the Goſpell the other. If thou well marke them, thou ſhalt perceiue that they be no contraries. For the one pertaineth to a priuate man, the other vnto the Magiſtrate. Be it ſo that the Magiſtrate forbiddeth by an edict, that Citizens ſhall not vſe weapons, will he therefore take away weapons from officers of puniſhmentes? I ſuppoſe not. Euen ſo Chriſt, when he taketh away from men the endeuour of reuenge, doth not vnarme the Magiſtrate. For Chriſt in that place inſtructed the Apoſtles whome he meant not to make Magiſtrates, but to ſend them into the world, as ſheepe among Wolues. Wherefore he teacheth them what

An answere to the argumentes of the aduerſaries.

Mat.5.44. Toby.4.8.

That there was no contrarietie betweene the old & newe Teſtament.

Exod.21. verſe.24. Deut.19.6. Rom.13.4. 1.Pet.2.14.

To punith and to forgiue are no contrarieties.

2.Tim.3. 12. what they were to looke for. And all they which will liue godlie in Ieſus Chriſt, muſt ſuffer perſecution. But as touching the Magiſtrate, he ſpake in an other place. Neither muſt thoſe thinges be raſhlie confounded one with an other. Further Chriſt ſpake after
Chriſt vſed a figuratiue ſpeche. the manner of the people, and vſed a figuratiue ſpeach. And thoſe thinges ſo ſpoken doe (I knowe not how) more pearce the mindes of the hearers: Becauſe, if one ſhal giue thee a blowe on the right cheeke, is a figure. That did Auguſtine thinke in his 6. Epiſtle to Marcellinus. For as concerning the letter, it is abſurde (ſaith he) that no other part of the bodie ſhould be vnderſtood but the right cheeke. For what if he firſt giue a blow vpon the left cheeke? How hath thou not an other left cheeke which thou maiſt lay before him. But the meaning of Chriſt is, that we ſhould not ſeeke reuenge, and that he expreſſed in that figure. Neither in verie deede is the other Cheeke alwayes to be offered. For by ſuch patience ſhould the obſtinacie of thine enemie oftentimes be ſtirred vp the more, and ſo ſhouldeſt thou giue an occaſion vnto euill, which thou oughteſt to diminiſh aſmuch as thou maiſt. Thē we are to ſee what Chriſt would and meant. And vndoubtedlie Luke ſpake neither of the right nor left, but only of ſ Cheeke. Chryſoſtome ſaith ſ Chriſt in theſe wordes compzehended all kinde of iniuries which are done by ſtriking. For what if one doe ſtrike thy head or thy ſhoulders, is not the ſelfeſame patience required of thee? Chriſt in like manner ſaith: If a man
Matt.5. verſe.22. ſay to his brother, thou foole, he is woorthie of hell fire. What if he cal him aſſe, or knaue, doth he not ſeeme to deſerue the ſelfeſame thing? But as I haue ſaid: Chriſt in fewe wordes would compzehend all kinde of iniuries. Yet theſe be expreſſed by name, becauſe they were the chiefe.

15 Of this matter Auguſtine intreated ſomwhat largly againſt Fauſtus ſ Manichie in the 22. booke the 79. Chapter. Wee in the holy Scriptures haue in part Commaundementes, and in part Hiſtories and thinges done. And albeit that thinges done doe not alwayes expreſſe the lawe of God, yet doe they ſeeme oftentimes not obſcurelie to declare the ſtrength thereof. But who was euer a perfect obſeruer of the lawe, if Chriſt himſelfe, if Paul and the Prophets were not? Neuertheleſſe, Chriſt when he receaued a blowe vppon the Cheeke, offered not the other, nay rather he blamed him that did it.
Ioh.18.23. If I haue ſpoken euill (ſaith he) beare witnes of euill, but if I haue ſpoken well, why ſtrykeſt thou me? Neither did Paul offer the other Cheeke, but ſaid: God ſtrike thee, thou painted wall. Thou ſitteſt here iudging after the lawe, and againſt the lawe commaundeſt me to be ſtricken? And Micheas, when he had declared vnto Achab the ſucceſſe of the warre, he receaued a blowe of Zedechias the falſe Prophet, and yet vndoubtedlie did not he offer his other Cheeke: but, Then ſhalt thou perceaue (ſaid he) how thou canſt eſcape, when thou ſhalt goe from Chamber to Chamber to hide thee. And becauſe the Manichies were delighted with the bookes of Apocrypha, he cited againſt them the Goſpel of Thomas, not that he eſtēmed the ſame to be of ſo much authozitie, but becauſe it was verie often cited by them. And thus it is written: Thomas being at a banquet, a certaine ſeruito gaue him a blowe, and Thomas ſtraightway aunſwered, Let God be auenged of thee. The ſame ſeruant afterward going to fetch water, was held and ſlaine by a Lyon, and his hand wherewith he had ſtricken Thomas, was brought by a Dogge into the banquet: a manifeſt token of Gods reuenge. Wherefore theſe thinges (ſaith he) muſt not be referred to the letter, but to the preparation of the minde. So likewiſe ought we to be ſetled in minde, to be willing vnto all thinges, if we ſhall thinke that thole will make to the glozie of God, or to the ſaluation of him that doth the iniurie. But if he thzough our patiēce become the worſe, thoſe thinges in verie deede we ought not to doe, but onelie to retaine them in the minde. For ſo was Chriſt prepared in minde, euen then when he rebuked that ſeruant. And in his time, he ſuffered all contumelies and iniuries, and the croſſe it ſelfe. And Paul although he ſomewhat ſharpelie aunſwered the high prieſt, yet after ward writeth vnto the Corinthians, And I gladlie giue and offer vp my
2.Co.12.15 ſelfe for you all. He who in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians had excommunicated a man
1.Cor.5.5. cōmitting inceſt, in the latter Epiſtle is the
2.Cor.2.6. cauſe that the ſelfeſame man is receiued with all gentleneſſe. And he that was ſo hard againſt his brethren, would euen for the verie ſame people become accurſed. And Mo-
Rom.9.3. ſes, although he had ſo hardlie intreated his
Exo.32.27. brethren, yet ſaid he: Either ſpare them O
Ibidem.31 God, or elſe blot me out of thy booke. Alſo Chriſt although he gaue not the other cheeke, yet vppon the Croſſe he ſaid, Forgiue them,
Luk.21.34. for they know not what they doe. Wherefore if we ſee amongeſt vs, the word of God to be ſmitten and to haue iniuries done vnto it, that muſt we in no wiſe diſſemble: or if our good name be hindered, without which there can be no authozitie of our doctrine,

that muſt we by all meanes defend. I know there haue bin ſome which ſaid, that more perfecter commaundementes were giuen vnto vs than vnto the Iewes: But Chriſt in verie deede meant nothing elſe but to conſute the traditions of the Phariſies.

To the ſecond. Matt.5.39. 16 Reſiſt not euill, that doeth Chryſoſtome thus expounde: Reſiſt not with any euill thing, as if ſo be, Euil, were the ablatiue caſe. For fire (ſaieth he) is not quenched with fire, but with water. Others expound it more abſolutely: that we muſt not reſiſt iniuries with priuate authozitie, oz to ſeeke reuenge. And it is Euill, that hurteth either the body, oz the goods, oz a mans good name. The ſame thing it is, which is ſaide in another place: Ro.12.17. 1.Theſſ.5. Reuenge euill for euill vnto no man. But all thoſe things muſt be vnderſtoode with this exception: So they make to the glorie of God and ſaluation of thy neighbour. And that there muſt be an exception doubtleſſe vnderſtoode in theſe woordes, it appeareth by the examples and doings of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and euen for the ſelfe ſame cauſe that Chriſt, when he had taught that the cheeke Mat.10.23 muſt be offered, yet added after: If they perſecute you in one citie, flie you into another.

Further in Luke he thus admoniſheth: To Luke.6.30. euerie one that ſhall aske of thee, giue. But if thou ſhouldeſt ſo doe, thou woulde ſt in thoſe ſpace leaue thy ſelfe nothing wherewith to maintaine thy familie. Therefoze 2.Cor.8.13 Paul added an exception: Not that there ſhould be a liberalitie ſhewed vnto others & a penurie vnto your ſelues. Wherefoze Chriſt meant to exclude nothing elſe but the deſire of reuenge. And ſeeing we be certaine of the ſenſe, what needs we contend about the bare ſaying? For if we woulde rather giue all things than goe to the lawe, wee ſhoulde doe nothing elſe but increaſe the boldneſſe of naughtie leawd fellowes. Howbeit if we be oppreſſed either with violence oz with the iniquitie of ỹ iudge, we ought rather to giue al than to depart from right perfection. Iuliaus, Celſus, Porphyrius, & others, when they vnderſtoode not theſe things, cried out, that the doctrine of Chriſt made to the ouerthzowing of Commonweales. But thoſe men (as I haue ſaid) being blinded with malice, vnderſtoode nothing. The ſaying of Chriſt is, that we ſhoulde not regard the iniuries done vnto vs, yet not ſo as we ſhould abandon all that we haue vnto pzay and ſpoyle.

To the third Ro.12.19. Giue place vnto wrath: that is to wit, The wzath of God. We ought to knowe, that God will reuenge our iniuries, and that we muſt not take vpon vs his office. But God will declare his wzath, either by himſelfe, oz by the Magiſtrate. Chriſt ſaide vnto Peter, Put vp thy ſworde, and that iuſtly: for Peter both was a priuate man and was manned with an ill ſpirit. To mee belongeth reuenge, and I will recompence. God ſaieth, that reuenge belongeth vnto him, and that he woulde doe the ſame, either by himſelfe oz by the Magiſtrate. Wherefoze he would not haue vs to curſe, oz call foz reuenge, but rather to deſire this, that the mindes of euill men may be changed: for that there is no perill at all though they become the pzouder, ſeeing God himſelfe will take our cauſe vpon him. Iudge yee not and yee ſhall not be iudged. This muſt we ſpecially vnderſtande, that Chriſt did not vtterly take away all kinde of iudgement: for to iudge in that place, is to condemne. But there bee ſome which note all the ſayings and doings of other men, and certainely they doe not that for the amending but rather for the ſlaundering of them, and that they themſelues may ſeeme the better: oz elſe beeaule they be delighted with ſlaundering. This doth Chriſt repzehend, becauſe it pzoceedeth of hatred, enuie, pzide, and it bzingeth forth verie ill fruites. That this was the meaning of Chriſt, it appeareth by that which followeth: Caſt the beame out of thine owne eye, and take the mote out of thy brothers eye. For we finde it euerie where, that it is not lawfull to condemne thoſe things which wee ſee no where condemned in the ſcriptures: ſeeing if I condemne open theft oz adulterie, I condemne it not but God. Why doeſt thou iudge another mans ſeruaunt? Paul ſpeaketh not there of iudging ſinne, but of indifferent things which thou maieſt vſe both well and ill, ſuch are meate and drinke. For men of tentimes of a pzide ſo iudge of theſe things, as they condemne that for a moſt grieuous crime which is meane and indifferent.

17 Chriſt would not haue the Cockle to be taken awaie: therefoze (ſay they) it is not lawfull eaſter to warre oz to vſe the ſworde. This place vnto ſome ſeemeth ambiguous & doubtfull, but if we vnderſtand that parable without exception, wee ſhall leaue no place no not for excommunication: which neuertheleſſe the Anabaptiſtes doe ſpecially vrge. Wherefoze they are both wayes confuted. What then is the meaning? I will declare. There is no intreating in that place of the office of the Miniſter, oz Magiſtrate, but onelie of the ſtate and condition which ſhould afterward be of the Church: to wit, that the ſame ſhould alwayes haue Cockle mingled with wheate, good fiſhes with euill, the fonlich Virgins with the wiſe, and that the Cockle

To the fourth. Mat.26.52.

To the fifte. Ro.12.19.

Matt.7.1. To the ſixt.

Ibid.ver.5. To the ſeuenth.

Inuidentia eſt.

Rom.14.4.

Rom.13.4.

Luke.23.40.

Mat.13.29. To the eight.

kle ſhall ſo remaine, as it can neuer by any helpe of man be taken awaie. But the gooman of the houſe commaundeth, Let them not be rooted vp: Therefoze euill men muſt not be taken awaie by the ſwoꝛd. I anſwere that parables muſt not bee vzged vnto all partes, otherwiſe we ſhould fall into manie abſurdities. The vniuſt Steward is commended in a parable. Where if thou wilt pzeſent and vzge all partes, thou muſt of neceſſitie ſay that purloining ſeruaunts, which waſte and conueigh their Maiſters goods are to bee commended. What parable therefoze muſt onely be conſidered of that one part which Chriſt meant. For otherwiſe The Deut.13.5. Magiſtrate is commaunded, to take awaie euill from among the people. And Paul vnto 1.Cor.5.7. the Corinthians admoniſheth, That the leauen ſhould be purged. But it happeneth oftentimes that ſinnes cannot be pzoued, oz if they can, yet in that they are publike and ſpzed abzoade, they cannot be taken awaie. Wherefoze Chriſt warneth, that although this happen ſometime, yet we muſt not diſpaire: For it will come to paſſe that at the laſt they ſhall be taken awaie by Angels. Yet in the meane time he plucketh not awaie the ſwoꝛde from the Magiſtrate, but that it ſhall be lawfull for him to exerciſe his office as much as he can. But the Magiſtrate (ſaie they) when he puniſheth the guiltie man with death, leaueth no place for repentance: therefoze he ought not to vſe the ſwoꝛde. Howbeit this is too too foliſh. For if it be neuer lawfull to vſe the ſwoꝛde, why is it giuen? Is it giuen to the intent it ſhould be alwayes hidden in the ſcabberd? Oz why doeth Paul call him the reuenger vnto wzath? And as to that which they ſpeake of repentance, they haue ſpace ynough, euen then at that inſtant when they ſhall perceiue themſelues that they muſt now be executed. For the Luke.23.40. Theefe repented euen vpon the Croſſe: And manie at this day, which can hardly ſeeme to bee reuoked any other way, yet by theſe meanes are chaſtiſed and returne to themſelues. We ought to iudge in any wiſe foz a certaintie, that the elect what time ſoeuer they die, they neuer die without repentance.

Matt.22.7. To the ninth. 18 But the king ſending his Armie deſtroyed them which deſpiſed to come to the marriage. What king (ſay they) is God, and his hoſte be the Angels. Wherefoze the Magiſtrate muſt not put himſelfe among them. Yea but the hoſt of God not onelie be Angels but alſo Magiſtrates. For ſo was the power Exe.29.20. of Nabucad-nezar called the hoſte of GOD. And truly ſeeing the people held in contempt and ſcoꝛned the ſayings of the Pzophets, and after a ſoꝛt would not come to the marriage, God ſent againſt them his hoſt: that is, Nabucad-nezar with an incredible multitude of ſouldiers. So afterward, he ſent againſt them the Romanes. At this day alſo when the holy preachings are contemned, God ſtirreth vp cruell Princes and Tyzants, which may be called the hoſtes of GOD. From whence at this day doe ſo many warres ariſe, but becauſe vngratefull men neglect the woꝛd of God and deſpiſe ſaluation offered? It is not lawfull (ſay they) to goe to the law, but that is a certaine pleading warre, therefoze much leſſe is it lawfull to warre: for that this is ioyned with a great deale moze bitternelle. Surely Paul did not vtterly take awaie all iudgements: onely thoſe he toke awaie which were exerciſed by Chriſtians at the iudgement places of Ethnick Pzinces. May rather (ſay they) he wholy reuoketh them from going to the lawe. For he ſaieth: Why doe you not rather ſuſtaine loſſe, why doe you not rather ſuffer iniurie? That doeth Paul therefoze ſay, becauſe men are ſeldome wont to goe to the lawe with a quiet mind. Howbeit if a conuenient meanes be offered, whereby thou maieſt attaine to thine owne, thou not onely maieſt, but oftentimes alſo oughteſt to ſue at the lawe. Onely muſt hatred and the bitterneſſe of enmities bee laide awaie: ſeeing otherwiſe it appeareth ſufficiently out of Paul himſelfe that it is lawfull to contend at the lawe. For he warneth that the pozer ſoꝛt of men in the Church ſhoulde be choſen, which may be acquainted with the cauſes of their bzethzen. But ridiculous are the expoſitions of the Sozbonicles and Sophiſters which ſay, that theſe things belong not vnto pzeceptes but vnto Counſels: for when they ſay theſe things, they exclude and diſable all the power of the commandements of God. Vndoubtedly when Chriſt thus ſpeaketh, Yeelde alſo thy Cloake, offer thy left Matt.5.40. cheeke, I came not to breake the lawe but to Ib.ver.39. fulfill it, he theweth himſelfe not to giue Ib.ver.17. Counſels but pzeceptes. But after ward he alſo ſaid moze plainely: He that ſhall breake Matt.5.19. one (not of the Counſels) but of the leaſt of theſe commaundements: Againe, It was ſaid (ſaieth he) of olde time, But I ſay vnto you. Theſe be woꝛdes of commanding not of counſelling.

19 Chriſt ſaieth: My peace I giue vnto Ioh.14.27. you, therefoze it is not lawfull to make war. To the 11. If we will thzoughly vnderſtand this place, we muſt knoiue, what is peace among the Hebzewes. *Schelom* ſignifieth a happie ſucceſſe of things: and ſo were they wont to

1.Cor.6.1. To the 10.

salute one another. Also Christ departing out of the earth did so salute his Disciples. And that farre otherwise (saieth he) than the world is woont to giue peace: For men can onelie pray for peace, and for all good things, I will giue those things in deede. But if we would haue that word to signifie true peace, vndoubtedly Christ left vnto vs the peace of conscience. He also left peace vnto men among themselues. These things serue nothing vnto the Magistrate or vnto ỹ worde.

Ro. 12. 18. Tothe 12. Paul said: Hauing peace with all men. But he added two exceptions, So much as lyeth in you: and, If it may be. And I verilie thinke that there is no Magistrate, but commeth to the worde against his will. Nero himselfe when he was to subscribe to a sentence of death, I would wish (saieth he) that I could not write: yet are they driuen of necessitie to vse the worde. They shall turne their

Esa. 2. 4. Tothe 13. speares into spades. This place also doe the Iewes obiect against vs. Where is your Messias, (say they) seeing ever since the time that ye began to worship him, ye haue had experience of more warres than euer before? But the wretched men vnderstand not ỹ the Prophets minde in that place was to commend the doctrine and institution of Christ. For if we could be all such as Christ taught vs to be, there would be no neede of sworde: sith no man would commit any thing, for the which he should be punished with death. Howbeit because there is alwayes some Cockle among the wheate of the Lord, therefore is there neede of a Magistrate. But if so be that the Church shall neuer be throughly purged, to what ende belonged that promise of turning Speares in Spades? I answer: It ought to be sufficient for vs, if we haue in this life some beginning of felicitie. For euen now also, amongst men which be true Christians, there is no neede of the sworde: But that promise shall be fulfilled in all respects at the second comming of Christ. And in this verie time howe manie of vs soeuer doe worship God truely, do liue in such sort, as warres are not stirred vp by vs. And that Christ was the Authour of this peace, thereby it appeareth, that when he was borne, the Temple of Ianus was shut vp at Rome: for he would haue that appeare to be a token of his comming. Paul vnto the Ephesians saith,

Ephe. 6. 13. Tothe 14. that Our weapons be spirituall. True it is in so much as we are Christians: but because we not onelie are Christians, but also men, therfore neither Paul nor Christ would pluck away the sworde from the Magistrate. Our

2. Cor. 10. 4 Tothe 15. wrestling is not against flesh & bloud. That saying must be vnderstoode, by comparison, as must also manie other places of the scriptures, in which things somewhat is denied, not in all respects, but onelie by a comparison. Paul vnto the Corinthians saieth: Christ sent not mee to Baptize. What then: When he baptized, did he any thing besides his vocation? No verilie, neither was this his meaning: but he meant that he was chiefelie sent to teache the Gospell. Euen so, this wrestling with flesh and bloud, is none at all, if it bee compared with that spirituall blessing.

Tertullian auncient writer. 20 Also Tertullian, a verie auncient writer in his booke *De Corona militis*, seemeth to make for the aduersaries. He saith that it is not the part of Christians to make warre, and this distinction he vseth: If thou haue alreadie taken a soldiers oth when thou receiuest baptisme, depart not from warfare: but if thou shalt then be free, bynde not thy selfe. This distinction is not good. For if warre in his owne nature be euill, what time soeuer thou gauest thy name thou must depart: for an vniust couenant made, must straightway be broken, so some as euer thou vnderstandest ỹ same to be vniust. Howbeit, Tertullian intreateth not of euerie warfare, but of that onelie wherein soldiers were driuen to Idolatrie, to the seruices of the Gods, to eate things dedicated vnto Idols, and to weare crownes. Vnto this kinde of warrefare, Tertullian exhorteth that the Christians should not come. But and if so be they were found in those at the time of Baptisme, they should remaine in their state: yet so, as they should doe none of those things which we haue spoken of, but rather that they should offer themselues vnto Martyrdome. And vndoubtedlie, manie soldiers became Martyrs for that cause. And that which he saith, that thou must not depart from the vocation of a soldier, if Christ haue thee therein: and that if thou be free, thou must not come thereunto, may bee declared by an example. Paul when he saith: If a man haue a wife that is an Infidell, which he married before he was a Christian, and she will dwell together with him, she must not be reiected: but if he haue alreadie giuen his name vnto Christ, he must not in anie wise marrie with an Infidell, Tertullian altogether seemeth to exclude nothing else than voluntarie and mercenarie warrefare. For otherwise to say that a Christian ought not to obay ỹ Magistrat, if he be called vnto warres, is verie madnesse. And in deede, it ought not to be marueiled at, if Tertullian erred in this thing, for he was inclined to the Montanistes, and iudged not rightlie as concerning

Tertullian vnto vnages meete resisting warr.

flying away in time of persecution.

21 And seeing the question concerneth

In 2. kings. 19. 1. the causes of warres, and whether warres may iustlie or iniustlie be taken in hand: some will make warre whether it be by right or by wrong, & othersome for turning of the same away, will receaue euen most vnhoneste and vniuste conditions. But Ezechias by his example, and that in his owne

That all condicions of war must be referred vnto GOD. selfe taught that all this deliberation must be reuoked to the iudgement of God: for so much as all those things which happened vnto him in warre, he referred vnto Esay as to a most holie interpretour of the iudgement of GOD. Then to let him vnderstand that the chiefe care of that matter was in him, he sent euen them which standing face to face, both sawe and heard Rabsacke, that if Esay would demaund anie thing else, they might declare it all vnto him. Furthermore, warre is not of the kinde of those thinges which are to be desired for their owne sakes. For in such manner of thinges, there is no measure to be put, seeing ouermuch cannot be there where nothing is enough. For no man at anie time either regarded vertue so much, or two much loued God. But those thinges which are prepared for the cause of other things, especiallie if they haue great damage ioyned with them, ought some way to be tempered by reason. But warre is a cruell thing, and (as Cicero said) the Latine word *Bellum*, hath his name of *Bellua*, that is, cruell beastes. For it is the propertie of cruell beastes, so to rage with themselues, and to teare one an other. Neither can a warre be iustlie enough made, vnlesse it be taken in hand for an other thing. And that other thing is, that safe peace may be kept. Insomuch as peace is not ordained for warre sake, but warre is taken in hand for peace sake. And of this thing we may haue a similitude of our owne bodies. For who would so liue, as he should perpetuallie wrestle against diseases. Wherefore warre is made for peace sake, not that we should therein abuse leasure, and giue our selues to lust, but that we may sincerelie and quietlie worship God. And by this reason Plato reprooued the lawes which Minos and Lycurgus made, because they prouided so manie thinges touching warrefare, as though the principall point of the Commonweale consisted in making of warre.

In 1. kings. 15. verse. 1. For an active, wise, & valiant maner of warrefare cannot but moue feare, and bring great losse to the enimies. Which thing Polibius shewing ỹ cause teacheth: Neither in deed is it to be thought ỹ the maner of warfare inposteth not much, seeing onelie in the same

Lake 3. 11. 2. Sam. 2. verse. 4.

Almes-dede.

What right maner of warres ought to be vsed.

In 2. kings. 12. ver. 20.

The diuers inconueniences of warre.

we see, that those thinges which seemed impossible to be done, are easilie brought to passe: and againe those thinges which seemed easie to be done, cannot be performed: And according to the manner, they that doe thinges differ among themselues, so as some may seeme to be abused, others vnabused: some wittie, others foolish: others slow and idle, and others industrious and apt to euerie thing.

In 2. kings 14. ver. 13 22 The vnspeakable losses which vnto the king himselfe and also vnto all the people are brought by warres, ought to warne euen priuate men to praie vnto God, that he will set ouer them such Princes, as be godly, wise, modest, and fauourers of peace: and that by their trauell and indeuour he will keepe and maintaine them in a peaceable and quiet state. And seeing it is greatly behoueth vs to haue good and godly Princes, it is necessarie that wee should bee no lesse carefull of their safetie than of our owne. And we must take speciall regard, that neither we our selues doe stirre vp new matters, nor yet that we soth princes when they goe about to doe anie thing couetouslie, or ambitiouslie, much lesse to incourage them thereunto by flatterie. But if by disswading from vniust and vnnecessarie warres, we shall nothing preuaile, yet at the least wise, let vs keepe our owne conscience safe and sound. For euen as the Beniamites with their fornicatours, and the Troians with their aduulterous Paris, were punished together: so in a manner all mortall men are most miserablie to be punished with them with whome they haue committed sinnes. Vndoubtedlie Princes being men, and all men generallie which beare rule in anie place, ought to take into these glasses, namelie, that they consider what, and how great calamities are brought by vnnecessarie warres stirred vp either rashlie, or couetoulie, or vniustlie, and for that cause may after some manner preferre peace before warre. This peace which both God and men make such an account of loas being destitute of, could not chose, hauing lost so great and notable a good thing, but iudge himselfe to be miserable and vnhappie. And herein was that miserie the greater, because in stead of that good thing lost, he receaued a verie great & greeuous euil. For warre being giuē in stead of peace, might take away all the good thinges that were gotten: because thereby commeth to passe, that all Religion banisheth away, good lawes and customes are abolished, good manners are corrupted, artes are ouerwhelmed by oblivion, Cities and Townes are

ouerthrowen, the fieldes which were husbanded with great charges and labours, are destroyed, Treasures are forcibly taken away, vnmeasurable spent, men are slaine, or brought into seruitude, women are defiled, or else enter into the yoke of bondage, or elle haue both euils done vnto them. But what euils warre may bring with it, the Poets haue represented by those thinges which they attribute vnto Mars and Bellona. For they called thē both ἀξένους, that is, as Seruius interpreteth, common Gods, or else, as it might aswel be expounded, vnquiet or dissolute, that is, losed and vnbridled from all bandes of Religion, right, shamefastnesse, and lawes: sith in warres men thinke that whatsoeuer they lust is lawfull. Doubtlesse they called him ἄφοβον, that is fierce, or violent ἀιμοχαρῆ, a reioycer in bloud, βροτολοιγόν, the destruction of mankinde. That Bellona his sister and spouse, is in like manner delighted with the effusion of mans bloud, it is proued in that Tertullian *in Apologetico* writeth that his priestes launced themselues with knives, and with their owne bloud accustomed to pacifie him. All which thinges teach that warre is, as it were a certaine forge of all euils, and therefore to be reckoned among the most cruell sort of punishments wherwith God punisheth the wicked.

In 2.kings. 14. 23 Moreouer, warre when it is once taken in hand requireth infinit courage, power and charges for the maintenance thereof: or otherwise all the ende thereof dependeth of the wil of the conqueror. For which cause, before it be taken in hand, there must be a consideration had of all these thinges, and in

Mat.12.29 & Luk.11. anie wise consider (as the Lorde hath perswaded in the Gospell) whether our power be equall with the power of our enemies.

2.king.14.9 Which being so, Ioas toke an Argument, as it were from the lesse and more easie affaire vnto the greater, and more difficult, to this effect: to wit, that if Amazias might not seme to be equall, no not in ioyning Matrimonie with his children, much lesse he should be able to sustaine warre begunne against him. The thinges here being compared one with an other, then be compared together the euentes themselues, to wit, that the thistle was trodden downe by a beast that passed by. And this comparison is verie apt for the purpose: seeing in this beast are notablie represented, Souldiers, Armies, Weapons, Instrumentes and ordinances of warre, and such thinges as are wont to be vsed in the warre. For euen as a beast is by no reason but by a rash violence carried to everie thing that it meeteth, and as neither a minde nor

How corrupt parts to a beast.

reason, but thirst, hunger, anger, and lust be his guides: so the enemies dartes, ordinance, and instrumentes of warre are not by their owne proper motion, but by a certaine motion of an other, stirred vp to the destruction of all men. Yea and the souldiers themselues according as they be a lawlesse multitude, and at large from the bandes of discipline, they being become disolute and vnruliе in the houshold of Mars, are led much rather by wrath, lust, couetousnesse, and other affections, than by anie right and reason. Here now doe I ende, but yet so, as that which we shall speake afterward when we intreate of the battaile of cupples, ỹ same wil I here make mention of. To wit, that we muste call to minde that we are to warre with the diuell: in which warre there neuer ought anie truces to be made. For he goeth alwayes about roaring, and seeking whome he may deuoure. In 2.Sa.

Whether it be lawfull for the godly to haue peace with the vngodlie.

24 This question is now to be discussed and defined, whether it be lawfull for godlie men to make peace, and to keepe it with the vngodlie. And me thinketh we may say, that it is lawfull: especiallie if it be concluded for the peaceable defending and keeping of the boundes and borders on either side. Paul saith: As much as lyeth in you, seeke peace with all men. So did the most Christian princes with the barbarous Infidels, in making peace sometime with them. So Iacob in the olde time made a league with Laban, So also did the children of Israell with their other neighbours, excepting the vij. Nations. For God commaunded them not to make warre with all those Nations that dwelled about them. But if thou wilt demaund whether it be lawfull for the godlie, when they take a common expedition in hand, to ioyne their Armie and power with the vngodlie, that seemeth to be denyed: For Iosaphat had euill succeede, when in making of warre against Ramoth Gilead he ioyned himselfe with the king of Israel. Neither sped the same king luckilie, when he sent ships, together with the king of Israels shippes to Tharsis: insomuch as there arose a tempest in Asiongaber, wherein they suffered shipwracke, and so he lost his Nauie. And as it is written in the latter booke of Paralipomenon: God by the mouth of his Prophet reproued Iosaphat, because he had ioyned himselfe with an vngodlie king. The Machabites also made league with the Romans and Lacedemonians, but what displeasure they had

In Iud.4.

Gen.14.13 Of the League of Iosaphs with the Canaanites.

An example of Iosaphat.

1.Par.18.

An example of the Machabites.

thereby, their historie declareth. But now that we haue made the matter plaine by examples, let vs confirme it also by reasons. This no man can deny, but that in such hostes as consist of the godlie, and vngodlie together, the sincere Religion and Idolatrie are mingled one with an other: whereby it easilie commeth to passe, (of such weakenesse is our nature) that the vnpure doe infect them that be holy. And it seldome happeneth, but that some impietie cleaueth vnto the children of God. Further when they come to handie strokes, they must call vpon God, and when the victorie is obtained, they must also giue thankes vnto God. And in doing of these things, what inuocation (I pray you) what Sacrifices, what thankesgiuing shall there be? The true God shall be mingled with Beliall, Idolatrous rites with lawfull rites, and true godlynesse with superstition. These thinges vndoubtedlie displease God. For if he would haue thinges on this sort mingled together, why chosed he a peculiar people vnto himselfe? Undoubtedlie he did it, that the faithfull might line purelie by themselues, and worship the true God sincerelie. And seeing the matter is so, it is not lawfull, confusedlie to deale with the vngodlie: otherwise the other which God hath appointed should be troubled.

The question of certaine moued by reasons.

25 A man might peraduenture say, that Abraham made league with Abner, Eicol and Mambre, and with their ayde toke in hand an expedition, wherein he deliuered Lot his kinsman who was led away captiue. But they which obiect this example, where finde they that these men were Idolaters? Undoubtedlie doe not so that it can be gathered by the holy Scriptures. I rather suppose that they were worshippers of the true God. For God said vnto Abraham, that he would not straightwayes giue vnto him the land of the Cananites, because the sinnes of that Nation were not yet at the full. Wherefore it is not absurd to say that those thre men were yet there, and did worship the true God simply. For Melmach as we knowe afterwardes, that Melchisedeck also was in those regions, who blessed Abraham and was the priest of the most high God. But admit that they were Idolaters as these men will haue them: shall that which was lawfull by a certaine special prerogatiue vnto Abraham, be straightway counted lawful vnto all men to doe it iustlie & without punishmēt? I thinke not. Furthermore we must marke, that the Commonwealth of the Iewes was not yet ordained. And Abraham alone could not dwell among the Cananites without

Gen.15.16

Gen.14.18

some couenants or leagues made with them. Wherevnto thou maist adde, that God had not yet giuen a lawe wherein he specialliе forbad anie thing as touching this matter.

Whether a Christian may desire help of Infidels.

26 But if a prince or Christian publike weale (as sometimes it chanceth) should be in danger, may they desire helpe at the hands of Infidels? They may not. For, if Paul will rather haue vs to suffer wrong and hurt, than that we should goe to the iudgement seate of the Infidels, when we are at controuersie with our brethren, how much lesse is it lawfull to vse the helpe of the vngodlie to deliuer vs from other Christians which vniustlie oppresse vs? I know that Asa king of Iuda, sent money, Golde and siluer vnto Benhadab king of Siria, to make warre against the king of Samaria, that thereby he might be deliuered from him, which in a manner oppressed him. Yehoyheit I doe not thinke that the Act of this king (though it had good successe) is to be followed, seeing he was reproued of God for it. And though it be not expressed in ỹ booke of Kinges, yet in Paralip. it is manifestly described. For there we reade that the prophet was purposelie sent of God vnto Asa the king to reproue him greeuously for this his act. Yea and there is an other notable example of this sort written in the same booke: namelie that Amasia did hire against ỹ Edomits C. thousand Israelits, which the prophet in ỹ name of God greeuously reprehended and commanded that he should put away the Israelitish soldiers frō his host, because the will and good pleasure of GOD was otherlie from them. The king answered vnto the Prophet: But now I haue giuen them an hundreth Talents for their stipend. The man of God answered, that the Lorde could aptlie and easilie repay him as manie Talents: and that for so small a losse he should not suffer Idolaters which were hated of God to be in his campe. I will not tell how often the Iewes were forbidden by the Prophetes that they should not require help of the Egyptians, or of the Assyrians. 2.Par.16, ver.7. 2.Par.25.

An example of Asa.

An example of Amasias

27 But if is a worthie thing for Princes and people to note, that when God was angrie, neither dennes, nor caues, nor most strong Castels, coulde helpe the miserable Israelites. For sinners must not onely take heede of outward enemies, but they must chiefelie auoide the anger of God. From the which, undoubtedly no man can escape by caues, dennes, or munitions. And as long as that indureth, these humane helpes doe not defend from outwarde enemies. But if any man will not beleeue this, let him call to remembrance the breadth of the walles of

In Iud.6.

Iudith.

The height and breadth of the walls of Babylon.

Ecbatanus: which, as it is written in the booke of Iudith the first Chapter, was thirtie foote hyode, and seuentie foote high, and had in it an hundzeth Towers: and yet all those things could not withstand them which besieged it. And of Babylon also it is written, that the walles of it was an hundzeth foote in height, and fiftie foote in bzeadth. And it is said to haue bin so large, as it might haue bin a pzouince rather than a Citie: and yet it was conquered and vtterly ouerthzowen. These their hozses are erected against God. These things leade vnto desperation the afflicted which thinke not vpon GOD: as though Tyzants by whom they be oppzessed, could neuer be plucked out of so strong and well fenced places. Neuertheleste in the Chapter.2. Pzophet Abacuk such madde building is wonderfully laughed to scozne by the spirit of God. And Abdia in the name of God threateneth the children of Esawe, that their nest shoulde be thzowen downe to the grounde howsoeuer it semed vnto them that they had set it in heauen. But what moze notable example nede we seke foz, thã that Tower, which foz thwith after the floud men began to build, as though they would defend themselues against God, if he should goe about againe to destroy the world with waters. But God from heauen laughed to scozne their madde furiousnesse, as it is largely set fozth in the Booke of Genesis. GOD wanteth no excellent deuises. Foz first from such as so much trust to munitions, when they haue now a fit occasion to vse them, he is accustomed to take awaie the courages and all cheerefulnesse from the hardie, & so to strike them with follie, that he vtterly maketh them voide of wisedome. Wherefoze he weakeneth their heartes, and their strength faileth them: yea and they seeme to be made afraide and verie foze abashed, euen of the verie stones, beames and walles of their Castels. I might here easilie shew things which haue in our age happened, but that I must haue respect to be briefe. Reade the 2. Chapter of Abucuk. What then? Are not Cities and Castels to be fensed? I fozbid it not. But I woulde haue Princes which in such soze doe builde, first to be afcerteined of this: to wit, that no things created can defend oz succour men, vnlesse with them be ioyned that power of God, whereby with his becke he ruleth and gouerneth the world. The which when he withdzaweth, whatsoeuer men goe about oz enterpzise, the contrarie altogether happeneth. And euen as out of bread, wine, and other meates, we ought not to loke foz nourishment, if God withdzawe to himselfe

The Chapter of this Prophesie.

Gen.11.

Whether it be lawfull to fence Cities and Castels.

that power and operation of his which he dayly ministereth to those things: so also without it, there is no defence to be had by walles, noz by most strong Castels. Foz which cause, before we begin any munitions, we must put our confidence in God, and laie the most profitable foundation of holy pzayers, and pzaie to God to kepe vs chiefelie in true and sincere godlinesse, to call vs backe from sinnes, and to giue vs continuallie a sound repentance. Lastlie we must desire, that when a iust and holie man shall haue nede of defences, he will vouchsafe to giue vnto him that his most mightie and healthfull power. The verie which pzayers, we must vse both in meate, drinke, apparell, oz any other thing when we begin to receiue them.

Of Spials.

28 The first espiall we haue in the Booke of Numbers the 13. Chapter. Another happened vnder Iosua, when those two searched the Citie of Ierico, whom Rahab the harlot kept with great faithfulnesse. And the thirde is that finallie which is spoken of in the Booke of Iudges the first Chapter, verse. 24. Howbeit I am not ignozaunt that Ioseph in the Booke of Genesis laide to his bzethzens charge, that they were espies. But the office oz worke of spies (as Chrysostome saith, expounding these wozdes of Paul in the second Chapter of the Epistle to the Galathians: That there were false brethren entred to espie out our libertie) is to knowe the doings of the aduersaries, that they and theirs, may haue the easier enterance to conquer oz repulse them. Nowe we vnderstand that it is an action, and we see to what ende it is ozdained. Nozouer it commeth from enemies and from the minde of an aduersarie, but it is done pziuilie and craftilie. As it is lawfull to fight with enemies by foze and Armes, when warre is iustly taken in hand, so is it iust to vse the art and subtiltie of espials. Whereupon Ierom vpon the 27. Chapter of Ezechiel saieth, that espialship is an indifferent thing: namely which a man may vse both well and ill. Moses and Iosua vsed it well: and also the house of Ioseph. If so be that the warre be vniust, the espialship seruing thersunto must nedes be vniust also. Wherefoze the bzethzen of Ioseph, (when he said vnto them: By the life of Pharao, ye bee spies) did put awaie that from them as an iniurie oz repzoche. But the punishment of spies, (if they be taken) is all one with the punish-

In Iud.1. ver.23.

Verse.2.

Iosua.2.1.

Gen.42.9.

The office or worke of Spies.

Verse.4.

Themost of spialship.

Ierom.

espialship is an indifferent thing.

The punishment of Spies.

punishment wherewith enemies are punished, when they fall into the handes of their enemies. Foz it fozceth not whether a man fight with weapons, oz by subtilty and craft. Wherefoze they must be of a valiaunt courage, which foz the common pzofite aduenture their life in making espiall: sith it is not euerie mans woze to be a good spie. Iosephus writeth, that the spies which were sent by Iosua were Geometricians: because it behoued that they should knowe well the situation of the land of Chanaan. And Homer affirmeth Vlisses and Diomedes to bee spies, which otherwise were noble men. Paul the Apostle in the Epistle to the Galathians, the place before alleaged, in the second Chapter, verie well translated the woze of an espiall, to the contentions of Religion. Where he writeth ỳ there were παρεισακτοι, that is, certaine spies among the false bzethzen, which παρεισηλθον crept in, κατασκοπησαι, to espie out our libertie: as though hee should saie: They subtillie sought and searched out our minde, to the intent they might ouerthzowe the same, and made search with great diligence, whether they that were with vs kept vncircumcision. That was to espie out the libertie of the Church, to wit, that thereby they might ouerthzowe the Christians.

Spies must be of a valiaunt courage and skilfull. Iosephus.

Homer.

Verse.4.

Of Treason.

In Iud.11. verse.25.

29 This place putteth mee in minde to speake somewhat of Treason. And it is a question whether it be at any time lawfull, oz whether it be alwaies fozbidden. Ierom *De optimo genere interpretandi*, vnto Pammachius, saieth that Pzinces doe in very deede admit Treason, but they condemne the traitours. Whereunto agreeth the saying of Antigonus the king: I loue Traitours, so long as they are in betraying, but when they haue betrayed I hate them. Plutarch repozteth the same of Rhimotalchus, king of the Thracians, who fell from Anthonie to Augustus, and after his victozie, boasted of the same among his cuppes, and that to insolently, and aboue measure, as Augustus, turning him to his friend, said of him: I loue the treason, but the Traitour I commend not. Which sentence though it seeme plausible, and iust at the first sight, yet ought it not to bee accounted either true oz wise: foz if wise men will allowe and praise any action, they must also praise and allowe the Authour thereof. Neither doth any man lawfully vnto others that which he would not suffer himselfe. And

Ierom.

Antigonus

Plutarch.

Augustine

there is no moztall man that would haue either himselfe oz his to be betrayed. Furthermoze one Lasthenes, when he had betrayed his Countrie Olynthus to the Macedonians, and thought that foz the same he shoulde haue bin had in honour of them, it happened farre otherwise vnto him. Foz he was by the souldiers called Traitour euerie where throughout the Campe. Wherefoze he grieuously complained thereof to Philip the king: who made him answere, that his Macedonians were verie rude and rusticall people, which knew not how to call thinges by any other name, than by their owne and pzoper name. They call (saieth he) a boate, a boate. This was as if he had answered: Seeing thou art such a one, thou oughtest not to be called by any other name. Asconius Pædianus, vpõ the second against Verres saith, that to betraie, is woze than to besiege. Foz the enemies besiege (saieth he) and it ought not to be counted a vice in them: but they betraie which woulde seeme to be friends, and ought to be such in deede towardes vs. And therefoze when they depart from their duetie, they sinne farre moze grieuously than doe the other. Ierom also in the place nowe alleaged *De optimo genere interpretandi* vnto Pammachius, sheweth howe Theodosius the Emperour, put to death Hesychius a man that had bin Consull, because he opened the letters of Gamaliel the Patriarche. Neither was that any maruel, foz that with the Romanes it was death to open the secretes of any man, as we haue it in the Digestes *De re militari*, in the lawe *Omne*, in Paragraphe the 2. And in the Code *De Commerciis & mercaturis l.2.* And in the Digestes *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis*, in the lawes the 1.2. and 3. be that had foztaken any munition committed to his charge, fell into the crime of treason.

Lasthenes.

Asconius Pædianus.

Theodosius the Emperour.

30 The example of Camillus also is woze thie to be noted, who commaunded that the Scholemen of the children of the Phalisians shoulde be brought home againe into his Countrie with the stripes of his owne schoolers, because he would haue betraied them. In like manner the Phisition of Pyrrhus, which promised vnto the Romanes that foz their sakes, he would destroy his king, was by them detected to the king, to the intent he might the better beware of them. Whereby peace followed betweene Pyrrhus and the Romanes. Esaie in the 16. Chapter, doeth therefoze vehemently rebuke the Moabites, because they had so cruellie intreated the Israelites, when they were oppzessed by their enemies, and admonished them, not to bee traie

Camillus.

The Phisition of Pyrrhus.

Verse.2.

Verse.4.

traie the Iewes flying vnto them at the same time. And Paul writeth in the latter Epistle to Timothie, that in the latter times there shoulde be men corrupted, with most grieuous crimes: among whiche he reckoneth Traitours also. Besides this, the Citizens are sworne vnto the Magistrates, to defende the Citie or publike weale when neede shall require. And though they were not sworne, yet the naturall and common lawe requireth ỹ same of them. And this doe the members of all liuing things testifie, which doe willingly & most readilie indaunger them selues for the bodie, & for ỹ nobler parts therof, I mean the head or heart. The verie which thing Citizens are by ỹ lawes of nature bound to doe for their countrie, if it be in daunger. Wherefore if they should betray it, they cannot be excused but that they sinne most grieuously.

2. Tim. 3. 4.

A reason why Citizens must be sworne to defend their Magistrates.

31 But before we goe anie further, it seemeth good to define what Treason is. *Prodere* in Latine, which is to betray, seemeth (so much as belongeth to this matter) to haue three significations. Namelie, to laie open, to deceaue, and to deliuer. Treason therefore is an action, whereby through guile, bewraying, or deliuering, our neighbours or their goods are hurt, and that speciallie by them, which ought rather to haue defended the same. But there be manie kindes of Treason. For they doe betraie, which doe by subtill guile detect the faultes of their brethren. Augustine is alleaged for this matter, Cause the 2. question the first, in the Chapter *Si peccaverit*: Where he saith, Reproue thy brother (whose sinne is onelie knowen to thee) secretlie: For if thou shalt doe it before all men, thou shalt not then be a corrector of sinne, but a betrayer. Also, he which circumventeth an other, and bringeth him into daunger, he betrayeth him. Wherefore Ierom as it is in the 24. Cause. queſt. 3. in the Chapter *Transferunt*, saith that the same belongeth principallie vnto false Prophets and euill Pastors, which by their naughtie doctrine and examples destroy the shape of Christ committed to their charge whome they ought to defend. They are numbred amongest them which deliuer vp Castles, and munitions vnto their enemies. Whereof there is written at large in the 22. Cause. queſt. 5. in the Chapter *De Forma*. They are also counted betrayers, which doe detect and open secretes committed vnto them, especiallie such as are of great weight, and bring in danger the life, estimation or goods of their brethren. And this kinde is noted in the Title *De pœnitentia, distinct. 6.* in the Chapter *Sacerdotes*. Finally Chrysostom vpon Matthew the 25. Homelie, as it is alleaged in the decrees the 11. queſt. the third, and in the Chapter *Nolite timere*: Not onely they are saide to betraie the truth which in the place of it speake a lie, but they also which doe not frelie professe the same. Wherefore there be reckoned manie wayes or kindes of betraying: But we will not now presentlie speake of them all, onelie we will touch those kindes which serue for our purpose. Howbeit, this I thinke good to be added: that some iudge that betraying and espialship differ not much one from another: And that it may sometime be, that one man may be a betrayer and a spy. For if anie Citizen be corrupted with monie by the enemies, the same is both a betrayer of his countrie, and also both in the meane time the part of a domesticall spie. But this seemeth not to be wiselie spoken, because the nature of these thinges as it appeareth by their definitions doth verie much differ, although sometimes they cleaue both to one man, so as the same man may both be a betrayer and a spie. Euen as Musick & Grammar differ much one from an other, and yet it oftentimes happeneth, ỹ one man is both a Grammarian & a Musition. Ne uertheleſſe, the difference which I haue before mentioned, is for the most part obserued, although not alwayes, namelie, ỹ espialship commeth of enemies, and betraying of them which be amongst vs, whome we trust as friendes.

What is to betraie.

Manie kindes of treason.

Augustine.

Mat. 18. 15.

Ierom.

Chrysost.

A betrayer and a spie sometimes all one.

32 But to the ende we may the plainlyer knowe, whether betraying be at anie time lawfull, I thinke it best to call to minde those wordes which Augustine writeth against the letters of Petilianus the second booke and 10. Chapter: We may not (saith he) beare the cõplaintes of such as suffer, but seeke out the minde of them which are the doers. This the man of God wrote against the Donatistes, which accused our men as betrayers and persecutors. But he answereth them, That Paul also deliuered vp some vnto Sathan. Whose saluation notwithstanding seemed to be committed to his charge. Howbeit, because he did it of a good intent, namelie to teach them that they should not blaspheme, and that their spirit might be saued in the day of ỹ Lord, he might not be accused either of betraying or treason, because as it is said in ỹ wordes before rehearsed: the complaintes of them which suffer must not be heard, but the minde of the doers. Wherefore, when warre or controuersie shall happen betweene anie. of which the one part is knowen to haue a iust and good cause, if the other part which defendeth the worser cause, and therefore doth vniustlie, will by no meanes be brought to anie good or reasonable conditions, surelie good men, which perhappes are found on the same side, ought in such sort to helpe and defend the other part, as they may aduaunce iustice. And if it be neede, they ought to fall from the vniust to the iust men: neither can their betraying be condemned as ill, although before they had bin neuer so great & nigh friendes vnto them which worke vniustlie. But now must we speake somewhat of the Israelites cause against the Chananites, which may be considered of vs two manner of wayes: Namelie, either by the common ordinarie lawe of nature, or else by faith, and by the word of God. Concerning the naturall or common lawe, Epiphanius writeth that the land of Palestine pertained in verie deede to the Children of Sem: by occasion whereof, Melchisedeck reigned there, which was either Sem himselfe, or else one of his children. But the Chananites which came of Cham, passing ouer the boundes of Egypt and Africa, which were appointed vnto them, did cast out of Palestine the sonnes of Sem: and therefore the Hebrewes which were the posteritie of Sem, when they required to be restored to the landes of their forefathers, seemed to doe it iustlie & rightfullie. Wherefore as he saith: God, both by one and the selfesame worke restored vnto the Israelites the coũtries which pertained to their auncestors, and also punished the Chananites for their wickednesse. Howbeit, I cannot easlie agree to the opinion of Epiphanius, sith the time of prescription was past verie long before: for there had bin the space of at the least 500. yeres betweene. For which cause, it might not be said that the Chananites possessed that land vniustlie. If we should deale by this reason now in our time, then should there in a manner none be counted a lawfull Prince and iust possessor, seeing their auncestors came to the possession of those prouinces and kingdomes by violence, driuing out both the kinges & the inhabiters ỹ were in them before. So then the Israelites seemed not to haue anie iust cause by mans lawe, whereby they might make claime to the land of Palestine, as to their owne: neither alleged they anie such reason at anie time. And yet neuertheleſſe they had good right thereunto, seeing God testified afwell by wordes, as by wonderfull workes, that he would the Hebrewes should haue the possession of those Regions to whome (as Dauid hath wel said) both the earth and the fulneſſe thereof belongeth. Neither could ỹ Chananites murmure against the iudgement of God, for so much as they were iustlie cut off from their right, for their sundrie and manifold wicked Actes. So as none might in this cause iustly defend the Chananites, if they would cleaue to the true God, and beleeue his wordes.

What manner of cause the Israelites had to claime the Chananites.

Whether praydation be at any time lawfull. Augustine.

1. Tim. 1. 20.

Epiphanius.

Psal. 24. 1.

Whether gods person or meanes.

Whereupon that Luzite which betrayed his Citizens, did it either of faith, as did Rahab in Iericq, or else by a bargaine made with man. For the kepers of spies said vnto him: We will shew thee mercie. If he were stricken with feare, how could that, (as they say) happe vnto a costant man? (For he was after a sort a prisoner, and was fallen into the handes of his enemies.) Then was he brought to it by a compact of man, and by that meanes did he shamefully: because it is not lawfull for anie man to make anie vnhonest couenantes against his owne countrie. Neither can he be excused in respect of feare: for nothing must be done against iustice and conscience what feare soeuer he should be stricken with. But if he were stirred vp thereunto by faith, and for that he saw his Citizens obstinatelie to resist the word of God, and his workes, then did he well: Neither may his Treason be either disallowed, or else condemned. For no lawes, no bowes, no couenantes or bondes, though they be neuer so straite, may binde anie man to impugne or to resist the word of God: which word all men must earnestlie labour to keepe and fulfill, saying this sentence standeth fast and shall doe for euer: That we must obay God rather than man. Neither can anie man (as Christ saith) serue two Maisters, especiallie if they commaund contrarie thinges.

Iud. 2. 1. Iosua 2. 4.

It is not lawfull to make anie vnhonest couenantes against our Countrie. Nothing must be done for feare against iustice.

Acts 4. 19. Matt. 6. 24.

33 Moreouer the Magistrate must be ayded in the rooting out of vices, and to him afforded it is lawfull, priuilie to send men, to finde out & discouer wicked Acts, whereby they may be punished, and that (as God hath commaunded) euill may be taken out of place. Yea and it is also lawfull for him to offer rewardes vnto men which be confederated together for some euill purpose, to the intent that they may discouer the conspiracie: and that without doubt belongeth to betraying. Howbeit, herein must neuer, either be dissembled or praysed, or anie wicked Act committed to the intent that lawfull betraying may haue successe. Wherefore Augustine in his latter booke of Retractations testifieth that he wrote his booke *De mendatio*, chiefly because that some to the end that they would detect the Priscillianistes, feined themselues to be followers of the same heresie, for that the same Priscillianistes, when they were accused, affirmed with great stout-

That it is lawfull for Princes to send priuie searchers, and to offer rewardes for finding out of conspiracies. Deut. 13. 5.

Augustine.

stountnesse, that they were farre from anie such doctrine. But afterward neuertheleſſe, they diſcloſed themſelues vnto theſe men by whoſe diſſimulation they were deceiued, whome they thought they might haue truſted. Howbeit Auguſtine in the ſame booke *De mendacio*, teacheth that by this diſſimulation of the Catholickes, there happened verie manie euils and dangers. For there they commended Priſcillian, they vniuſtlie praiſed his booke which is intituled *Libra*, they allowed the hereſie, pronouncing manie thinges which could not be ſpoken without blaſphemie. Moreouer that which they did was daungerous. For if they which after this ſort diſſembling, were of anie authoritie or eſtimation, the hereticks might by their commendation be confirmed in their opinion, and eſpeciallie thoſe with whome they did ſo diſſemble. For thoſe peraduenture were Priſcillianiſtes before (although not verie firme and conſtant) which after they heard their hereſie to be prayſed of a graue man, did then ſtick more and more in their erro. Furthermore in thus diſſembling, and being conuerſant with the Priſcillianiſts, the diſſembler alſo might eaſilie fall into danger, ſo as he himſelfe at the length might of a Catholick become a Priſcillianiſt. And finallie the heretickes themſelues by the diſſimulation of our men might eaſilie gather, that they did verie well in hiding, diſſembling, and denying their doinges. But that betraying, is ſometimes lawfull in a iuſt cauſe, and ſuch a cauſe as is without the dangers aboue mentioned, not onelie the reaſons which we haue before alledged doe declare: but we may alſo proue it by verie manie examples written here and there in the Scriptures. The Gabionites betrayed the reſt of the Chananites, when they fell from them to the Hebrewes. Rahab alſo betrayed her publike wealth and king, in receauing, hiding, and ſending away them which were deadlie enemies vnto it: who neuertheleſſe is ſaid in the Epiſtle to the Hebrewes, to haue done thoſe thinges by faith. And Iahell the wife of Aber the Kenite betrayed Siſara: for the by a maruelous craft, ſlue him whome ſhe had called in to her, and cloſelie hidden as it is declared in his place in the hiſtorie of Iudges. Pea and Ionathas the ſonne of Saul betrayed vnto Dauid the purpoſe and counſell of his father, as it is written in the firſt booke of Samuel. Beſides theſe Huſay the Arachite, betrayed Abſolon the ſon of Dauid, when he reſiſting the counſell of Achitophell obtruded his owne Counſell, which was farre worſe, & ſhewed al things vnto Dauid. I might bring in a great many of examples more, but theſe I thinke to bee ſufficient vnto the wiſe Reader.

Of the Priſcillianiſtes.

The Gabionites. Iolua.9.3. Rahab. Iolua.2.4.

Heb.11.21. Iud.4.18. Iahell.

Ionathas. 1.Sam.20. verſe.35.

Huſay the Arachite. 2.Sa.16.21.

The eighteenth Chapter.

Whether Captiues ought to be kept or put to death.

BVt whether Captiues ſhould be ſlaine, or ſaued, it cannot be determined in one ſentence. For other while, they which haue ſaued them are blamed, and elſewhere ſome are called backe from ſlaying them. And God prayſeth the crueltie of the Babylonians againſt the Iſraelites. Furthermore Achab becauſe he ſpared Benhadab, heard of a Prophet: Thy life ſhall goe for his life, and thy people for his people. And Saul was defeated of his kingdome, becauſe he ſpared the king of the Amalechites. Wherefore ſometimes they muſt be put to death. Which thing may well be knowen in one and the ſelfe ſame Elias, who hauing ſlaine the firſt two bandes of fiftie with fire from heauen, ſaued the third: which no doubt happened according to their diuerſe affection. For the two firſt fifties were altogether wicked men, contemners of the word of God and of the Prophets: But the other declared by prayers and humble ſpeeche, whereby they approued themſelues vnto the Prophet that ſome godlineſſe and faith did ſticke in their mind. Alſo he thought it not meete to ſpare the Prophets of Baal becauſe they were men wholy giuen to vngodlineſſe, neither would they yeelde when they were openly ouercome: nay rather they were alwaies prepared and ready to amplifie and defende moſt ſhameful Idolatrie, wherefore it is needefull to weigh the offences. For we account none to be our enemies for any other cauſe, but that they haue offended and muſt be kept vnder ſubiection. But amõg other things, which lighten or aggrauate the fault, are knowledge and ignorance. And that the fault is no ſmall deale lighted by not knowing of the thing, it is certaine: becauſe ſeeing it hindereth the will, they which ſinne in ſuch wiſe, ſeeme not to haue ſinned willingly, but rather againſt their will. But we muſt vnderſtand that ignorance is of two ſortes. One is ſaid to be of the fact, and another of the law. That which is of the fact, doeth all wholie take awaie the nature of ſinne. As if a man meaning to kill a wilde beaſt ſlayeth his owne father, being hidden among the buſhes & buſhes where he was not accuſtomed to bee at another time. Neuertheleſſe the ignorance of the law doeth not generallie excuſe, for euerie man is bounde to knowe the lawes, eſpeciallie the common lawes and lawes of nature: and it behoueth the faithfull men of God to vnderſtand the principall points of the holy lawes. But if be that ſinneth by this ignorance, and he that committeth thoſe things, which he knoweth to be againſt right and lawes, be compared together; this [latter] is worthie of the more grieuous punishment. Wherefore Chriſt ſaith: A ſeruant knowing the will of his Maiſter & doing it not, ſhall haue double puniſhment. And there is much difference betweene him which willingly and of his owne proper naughtineſſe rathlie runneth into grieuous crimes, and another which is not ſtirred vp of his owne accord, but by another man: and eſpeciallie by him which hath him at commaundement: As were thoſe ſoubiers which are ſpoken of in the Bookes of Kings. For the king of Syria ſent them to apprehend the man of God. Further they went to Samaria, not by their owne will, but being after a ſort led by the hand of God. For they went not of their owne minde vnto the Citie, being populous, & which they might not reſiſt. Beſides this alſo, they came thither without any harme doing: For they ſpoyled not the fieldes, nor ſtrooles, nor Townes, but followed the Prophet the right waie.

In 2.kings. 6.verſ.22.

Zach.1.15.

1.Sa.15.33.

That enemies muſt ſometime be killed and ſometime ſpared.

2. kings.1. 9.&15.

1.kings.18. 40.

Luk.12.47.

2.kings.6. 14.

What nations were puniſhed by God. Deut.7.1.

2 Alſo it muſt bee vnderſtoode that certaine nations were giuen ouer of God, and others were not. God ſo gaue ouer the Chananites, as he would haue them to be vtterly deſtroyed by the Iewes. Wherefore in ſparing of them when they had brought them vnder tribute, they moſt grieuouſlie offended God, as it is plainelie teſtified in the Booke of Iudges. But whereas the Gabionites were forgiuen, that happened by a certaine ſpeciall euent. There was a guile wrought, ſecondly there was an othe made, whereby although the Iewes were not bound, yet for reuerence ſake of the name of God, God would haue it to be of ſome force. Which I therefore adde, becauſe after a ſort they were puniſhed with death. For the Hebrewes made them ſeruants, and conſtrained them to helw wood and to drawe water: and ſeruaunts, (as teach the Romane lawes) are in a great ſort of thinges accounted for dead

Iud.1. & 2. Iolua.9.5.

By what things a fault is eyther aggrauated or lightened.

What we are to affirme concerning thinges not preſcribed.

men. But wee note that of the Nations which were not giuen ouer by God there was a ſundrie conſideration had, to wit, according to the greatneſſe of their offences. In ſo much as Dauid moſt ſeuerely puniſhed the Ammonites, becauſe of the ingratitude and ignominie done to his Ambaſſadours. For when the Citie was taken, he commaunded the Citizens to be deſtroyed with Sawes, Rakes, and Axes, and alſo to be burned in Kils, wherein Brickes and Chaulke were burned. And on the other ſide, the Syrians whom he had ouercome in warre, he put vnder Tribute. Moreouer among enemies, ſome repent and will yeelde themſelues, and promiſe that they will make ſatiſfaction for the iniuries done by them, and doubtleſſe thoſe muſt be mercifully ſpared. But there be others which with a moſt ſtubborne mind doe reſiſt, and are readie to defende their naughtie actes by warres: againſt ſuch we muſt decree the more ſeuerelie. So did the Iſraelites behaue themſelues againſt the Beniamites, when they had in a manner extinguiſhed that tribe, leauing verie fewe on liue. By the like example alſo was that nation brought to deſtruction vnder Veſpaſian and Titus, becauſe the Romanes being readie to forgiue them that were beſieged, they verie obſtinatelie reſiſted. Theſe two things did the Poet expreſſe, when he ſaid that this was a marke proper vnto the people of Rome: To ſpare them that were ſubiect, and to vanquiſh them that were proude.

3 Furthermore enemies are ſpared when there is any hope of peace, that in very deede it may be the more firme, and that their mindes may be the more united when the Captiues being gently vſed are ſent back againe into their owne country. Enemies alſo are ſaued when both ſides hope for to change Captiues one for another: namely that eache part may receaue their owne. But on the contrarie part Captiues are ſlaine, that a terror may be put into the enemies leaſt they ſhould thinke that their ſtate and lot ſhould be eaſie, if without yeelding of themſelues they fall into the handes of their aduerſaries. For ouer much lenitie is often times a great prouocation vnto ſinne. And not ſeldome it is that Captiues perith becauſe of reuenge, namely by reaſon that the aduerſaries cruellie ſlue the Captiues when they had taken them. Alſo they ſeeme iuſtly to be ſlaine, who haue bin oftentimes forgiuen, and neuertheleſſe returne to their kinde, that is, to their olde wicked actes. Oftentimes did the people of Rome make as though they knew not of the trecherie of Iugurth,

gurth, which afterwarde being ettsones begun a freth, receiued a iuste punishment. They also are not spared, who by iuste conjecture are suspected, that they will do harme againe vnto the vanquithers. And surely, of this sozt are to bee accounted the moste cruell prescriptions of Scilla and Marius. For the one of these, when he vnderstode that the common sozt of people woulde not be quiet, he condemned them. On the other side Marius perceiuing the hatred of the nobilitie to the distruction of the people, condemned the nobilitie. Both of them in verie deede prouided to make sure the power of their owne part. But verie easily are they forgiuen, of whom there is no more dammage to be feared when they be once ouercome. For this cause Aurelianus when he had ouercome Zenobia, which inuaded the Empire in Syria, and according to the maner had triumphed of her at Rome, not onelie forgaue her her life, but also permitted that she should liue conuenientlie and honestly in the Citie. And they which for these causes that we haue hitherto recited vse clemencie towards them that be ouercome, perhaps they iustly & of good right deserue to be praysed. But there be others, which are led not by a vertue of the minde, but rather of a couetousnesse to forgiue captiues, namely to wzest from them a verie great ransome. And they oftentimes haue no consideration, either of honestie or of the common weale. Some also are found which spare the multitude of the Enemies, and onely put to death the heads of the euill, and the principalles of wicked acts, to the intent they may be examples vnto the rest, that they should not aduenture the like. Also in the olde time among the Persians there was a law, that when any man had beene conuicted of a capitall crime, he should not straight way be condemned, but all his whole life should be tryed and diligently examined. Whereby if his notable actes were founde to exceed his euill acts in number and greatnesse, they discharged him: But on the other side, if the offences and euill acts had exceeded, then at length they condemned him and put him to extreme punishment. So it appeareth that Salomon dealt. For when as Abiathar the Priest had incurred the crime of treason, he said vnto him, Thou art the childe of death. Notwithstanding because thou wast present with my father Dauid in his dayes, and diddest put thy selfe in ieopardie and hast taken paines with him, therefore I will not slaie thee this day: wherefore goe vnto thy fathers landes in Anathothe. This lawe of Conquerours in such sozt prouided against

Zenobia.

1. kings. 2. 26.

enemies, iuste and good Emperozs are wont to restraine within certaine boundes. For Cities being wonne, when they should bee sacked, Princes are wont to sette foorth Edicts, whereby they charge that no violence be done to free bodies. They sometime also decreed that so many as flie to the Temples should be safe and inuiolate: As did Alaricus the King of the Vandals; when he had taken possession of the Citie of Rome. And vndoubtedlie in victozie if there should be no hope of pardon to them that are ouercome, the thing would be altogether cruell. Wherefore it becommeth an Emperoz, (vnlesse that the causes nowe brought oz such like causes shall hinder him) to be of a milde heart, and more inclined to saue those whom he hath ouercome, than to destroy them.

The large right of conquerors restrained by certaine good Lawes & precepts.

4 And there is no doubt, but that there be founde manie noble minded men. Who notwithstanding they bee much delighted with victozie, yet neuertheleste doe verie much mislike of cruelties. Æneas who is called godlie, as we reade in the 1. Booke of Æneidos, forrowed because he had slaine Lausus the sonne of Mezentius. And Marcellus hauing conquered the Syracusans, who most obstinatelie did resist, when he beheld the citie being set on fire to fall down on heapes, did weepe. Thus did he sorrow for the ruine of a most vnfriendly Citie. Some such like thing also is reported of Scipio in the destroying of Carthage. Yea and they in old time so tempered themselues from shedding of bloud of enemies, as those which were ouercome they put vnder a yoke, as wee reade was done at the gallowses made at Caudina. But otherwhile some Princes being driuen by indignation and wzath, no lesse rash than vehement, not weighing well the matter, haue so raged against their enemies, as they haue caused to be slaine, both the guiltie and the vnocent one with another. Which happened vnto Theodosius the great when he was vehemently inflamed with wrath against the Thessalonians: which sinne of his Ambrose did most seuerely chastise. They will be prouoked vnto clemencie if they forget not that themselues also are men: & that those things which haue happened to the ouercome, may sometimes also happen to themselues. Into which cogitatio Cyrus fell, who hauing taken Crœsus iudged him to the fire. But he that within a while after was to be burned, began to crie: O Solon Solon, because he before his death had made answere vnto him, when he boasted of his wealth & happinesse, that none might be called happy before his death. With this saying Cyrus being

Titus Liuius.

ing moued, he not onely deliuered the man from death, but also beldebim in honour about himselfe, and many times vsed his counsell and aduise. Also Iustinianus, when he had by Belisarius ouercome Gilimer the king of Vandals, after he had triumphed of him, was required to decree what he would haue done with him: he cried out, All is most vaine and but plaine vanitie: neither did he slaie the man, but he banished him farre off into Fraunce. Also Iulius Cæsar when he had obtained victozie, was verie much inclined to forgiue them that were ouercome, for which cause he is marueilouslie commended by Cicero. This also ought verie much to driue princes vnto mercie, that among their Titles they specially imbzace that wherein they are called most mercifull. Wherefore seeing they reioyce in this Title, it is meete they should in verie deede declare themselues to be such. Verilie seeing the warres which are exercised among Christians who be all of one Religion, although they bee iuste warres be more than ciuil, our Magistrates (vnlesse that iuste occasions as manie such like may be gathered beside those which wee haue alleaged) ought to haue their mindes so much the readier bent to shew mercie vnto them which be ouercome. And thus farre concerning this matter.

Eccle. 1. 2.

Of things vvhich be taken by the right of vvarre.

In Iud. 11.

5 That it is possible that some thinges may be claimed by the right of war, it may be proued both by mens lawes and by the lawes of God. But I will begin with mans lawes. In the Digestes *De captiuis & Postliminio reuertis*, in the lawe *Postliminium*, the things that we haue lost in warre, oz in the affaires of warre, if we shall after warde recouer againe, we shall obtaine them by the lawe *Postliminium*. For so long as they are not recouered, they are possessed by our enemies. And this right is against them which are pronounced enemies. But those were pronounced enemies against who the people of Rome did publikly proclaime war, oz they which did proclaime war against the people of Rome: as it is in the same title, in the lawe *Hostes*. For pzizes oz theeues cannot by this meanes attaine to be owners, oz possesse any thing by the law of warre. For warre ought to be made, to the end we may attaine somewhat by right of warre. And in the Digestes *De acquirendo rerum dominio*, in the lawe *Naturale*, Paragraphe the last: such things as are taken from enemies, are by the common lawe of nations straightwaie become theirs which take them. And thus the lawes of man, as touching this matter are verie manifest. So is it also by the lawes of God. Abraham as it plainely appeareth in the booke of Genesis the 14. Chapter, made warres against the flue Kings which had led awaie Lot prisoner. The battaile being finished, the pzaie came into the handes and possession of Abraham: which maie easilie be pzoued, because of that pzaie he gaue tythes vnto Melchisedeck. But it had not bin lawfull for him to haue giuen Tythes of another mans goods: wherefore they were his owne of which he gaue. By reason wherefor we must beleeue that that pzaie was in his possession. For in that he gaue it to the king of Sodom, it was of his mere liberalitie, sith he was not thereunto compelled by the lawe. I might rehearse what things Iosua, Othoniel, Dauid, Salomon, and manie other more possessed by the right of warre. For when those Princes had the victozie, the things taken from their enemies came to their possession. But it is not sufficient to make warre, for claiming of somewhat by the right there of, but the warre also must be iuste: for vnlesse it bee iuste, it is not warre but theft and robberie.

Verse. 14.

Iehoshaphat that warre be made for a iuste cause, otherwise it is theft and robberie.

Augustine. How a iuste warre may be knowen from an vniuste.

6 But howe can wee knowe that the warre is iuste oz vniuste? Augustine, as he is alleaged in the 23. Cause, Question 2. in the Chapter *Notandum*, writeth that the warre betweene Sehon and the Israelites was iuste. For they desired to passe without doing any harme through his kingdome: which in respect of y fellowship of man should not haue bin denied them, especiallie seeing they had faithfullie promised that they would not be troublesome vnto any man. This sentence of Augustine the Glosser goeth about to defende, and that by the Ciuill lawes. In the Digestes *De Aqua pluuia coercenda*, in the lawe *In Summa*, in the Paragraphe, *Item varius*, some thing is permitted in another mans grounde, so that it be done without harme of the possessor. And in the Code *De Seruitutibus*, in the law *Per Agrum*: Maximianus and Diocletian doe thus decree: No man can forbid thee to vse the common high waie. And that thing onelie did the Israelites desire: wherefore being repulsed, they iustlie take warre in hande. So much saieth the Glosser: whose reason doeth not so fullie satisfie me. For that which Augustine speaketh of priuate men, may easilie be admitted: and these things which are brought out of the ciuill lawe doe seeme also to bee written con-

Whether passage ought to be graunted to a straunge armie.

cerning priuate men. But if a man will leade an hoste through another mans Countrie, although they make faithfull promise not to be troublesome, yet whether a waie ought forthwith to be graunted him and he to be beleeued, it is vncertaine. They promise (thou wilt saie) that their hoste shall doe no harme, but if they stand not to their promises, then will the lande be in their possession. Undoubtedly, Iulius Cæsar would not permit the Heluetians to passe through his prouince, although they promised that they would passe without doing iniurie or harme.

The Israelites made suit vnlaw against Sehon.

But I say that the warre which the Israelites made against Sehon was iust, yet not therefore because he denied them leaue to passe through his Countrie, but because he came with his hoste out of his owne borders, and willingly offered wrong vnto the Israelites. For euerie man ought to defende both himselfe and his against violence. That which Augustine bringeth hath some shewe, yet his reason is not firme. For howe coulde Sehon knowe certainely, whether the Israelites would doe him harme or no, especially they being so manie in number? For there were fiue hundreth threescore and fiue thousand armed souldiers and well appointed to the battell. He might perhaps haue permitted them to haue passed and that safelie, although not all of them together, but by bandes. But seeing the first reason before alleaged is sufficient, we neede not much to labour about excusing of Augustine.

Augustine. What must be taken hede of in iust warres.

7 The same Augustine in the 105. Epistle vnto Bonifacc: In the making of iust warre (saith he) many thinges must be taken hede of. For it is not sufficient, that the warre be iust, vnlesse also the warre be iustlie handled. Wherefore he admonisheth his Earle: Whē (saith he) thou puttest on thine armour, remember that thy strength is the gift of God, and determine with thy selfe not to abuse that gift against God. Yea rather doe this: Fight for his lawes and name: let promises be kept euen with enemies, but much more with friendes, for whome thou makest warre. By which wordes he blameth those souldiers which are more grieuous in Cities than be the verie enemies. Of which sort, we see in our dayes a great manie more than we would, which being in their Garisons (good Lord) how doe they handle the Citizens, and men of the countrie? How shamefull & abhominable thinges doe they commit? He addeth also a third Caution. Consider with thy selfe that warre must be made vppon a necessitie. Wherefore haue thou alwayes a minde vnto peace. Make warre because thou canst not otherwise doe, but if thou canst make peace, refuse it not. Warre is taken in hand onelie for the amending of thinges [that be amisse.] Yea and the Apostles did so afflict some, to the intent they might become the better. Paul said vnto the Corinthians: Deliuer such a one vnto Sathan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saued. And to Timothie he saith, of Hymenæus and Alexander, I haue deliuered thē to Sathan, that they may learne not to blaspheme. So ought they also to restraine princes, to the intent that they may be made ꝧ better. And Augustine in his 19. booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, saith that warres, though they be iust, vnto Godlie men they seeme both troublesome and grieuous. For besides other thinges, which the nature of man escheweth, they shall see the wickednesse of the contrarie part, by reason whereof they are constrained to fight and they cannot but be sorie for it. And in the Epistle before alleaged: Rage not (saith he) nor ware not insolent against those which submit themselues, but let mercie be shewed to those that be ouercome. Such is that saying of Virgill, Spare thou them that be subiect, & vanquish them that be proud.

L.Cor.5.5.

1.Tim.1.20.

Augustine.

8 Moreouer he admonisheth the same Earle to beware of vices, which are wont to follow Hostes: Gamelie, of filthie lustes, of rauenous pillage, and of drunkennesse. For it is a most dishonest part that thou shouldest make warre for the amending of other mens vices, when as thou thy selfe in the meane time art a great deale more vitious, and much more art ouercome both with affections and diseases, than they which are ouercome. And in warre we repraue not the end, but the desire of hurting, the crueltie of reuenging, ꝧ outragiousnesse of rebelling, and the greedie desire of ruling. These thinges (said he) are condemned. For they which without those vices, make iust warre, are the Ministers of God and of the lawes. The same father against Faustus the Manichie: This order (saith he) must be kept, that the warre be proclaimed either by God or by Princes, to breake the pride of man, and to tame the obstinate. Moreouer souldiers ought to be perswaded that the warre is iustlie made, and not taken in hand against the worp of God: other wise let them not goe on warrefare. Neither doe I to this ende speake these thinges, because I would haue souldiers to vnderstand the secrets of princes, but that to their knowledge and wittingile, they suffer not themselues to fight against true and iust causes. Yet it may be (saith

Whether souldiers ought to be pumished for the cause of the warre.

(saith Augustine) that the prince himselfe may make warre against his conscience, and yet his souldiers nothing offend, so long as they obay the ordinarie power: For the people must obay their prince. And in their so doing it may be doubtfull vnto them, whether their prince make warre contrarie to the commaundement of God. But they are excused, so long as they obay their owne prince in a doubtful cause: their owne prince (I say) and not a strange prince. Wherefore those hyred souldiers cannot be excused, which hauing no respect to the cause, but onelie for monie and reward take doe serue strange princes. Wherefore Iiphtah thus reasoned as touching the first poynt of his Oration: We haue taken this land by the right of warre, therefore thou vniustlie requirest the same againe of vs.

Iiphtah maintenaeth Souldiers.

Iud. 11.21. God is the distributer of kingdomes.

9 He addeth afterward: Our God hath giuen it vnto vs which is the Lorde and distributer of all humane thinges. He bringeth his Argument from the gift of God. And that God may giue and distribute kingdomes, the verie Ethnick authors sawe. And therefore in Virgil, Aeneas doth so often boast, that he by the commaundement of GOD went into Italie, and for that cause would not abide either at Carthage or in Sicilia, when he might haue obtained either of those kingdomes. Augustine in his 5. booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, the xxi. Chapter: As touching kingdomes (saith he) and prouinces, it is certaine that God distributeth them, both when and how much, and to whome he will: doutlesse by his iudgement which is secret, but not vniust. In the booke of Genesis, GOD promised to Abraham and his posteritie the land of Chanaan, but yet he promised it after foure hundreth yeares. Now (saith he) I will not giue it: for the Chananites as yet had not fulfilled their sinnes. I will not cast them out now, but I will tarie till their iniquitie be come to the highest, afterward I will bring you in. And in the second Chapter of Deuteromie it is written that the Horites dwelled in Mount Seir: which were men expert in warres and verie valiant, whome God (saith he) drawe out of those mountaines, to the intent that the children of Esaw might possesse the land. And in the same Chapter he testifieth that he did cast out the people of Emim, and gaue their kingdomes vnto the Ammonites, and drawe out Zanzumim out of their seates, and placed the Moabites there.

Virgil.

Augustine.

Gen. 15.13.

Verse. 22.

Verse. 10.

10 But if thou wilt say, that this was done by GOD peculiarlie against those Nations, because the Edomites had their offspring from Esaw, the Ammonites and Moabites of Lot, which was the kinsman of Abraham, and together with him accomplished most dangerous viages: I aunswere, And this may also be said of other Nations there, which came not of Abraham. The Cappadocians drawe out the Heuites, which were the first inhabitantes, who going out of Cappadocia destroyed them, and inhabited those Regions in their stead. And in Deuteronomie the 32. Chapter, it is written: When GOD by lot diuided the Nations and the people, according to the number of the children of Israel. In that it is said to be done by lot, that is all to be referred to our vnderstanding, which se not the causes of things. But with God nothing is done by chance. God hath distributed the Nations, according to the number of the children of Israel. Seeing the Israelites were not yet increased when GOD put the people into those Regions: who at the last gaue place vnto the Israelites when they came. Neither ought we to be offended, if by this distribution of tentimes fertill and fat landes happen vnto the vngodlie. For somuch as Augustine in his 4. booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, the xxiii. Chapter saith: That giftes, which indure but for a time, happen both to the iust and vniust, seeing God maketh his sunne to shine both vppon the good and euill, and raineth vppon the iust and vniust. But by this common benefite the godlie sort haue this commoditie onelie, that they vnderstand that these thinges are not the chiefest gifts, which we ought to loke for: because these are common both to the good and to the euill. Howbeit, the godlie waite for other more excellent giftes which are not common to the good and euill. Yea, and Daniel saith: The name of the Lord be blessed for euer: For it is he which transplanteth kingdomes, and driueth out the first inhabitantes, and bringeth in other. Neither dooth he onelie bring men into prouinces, but also setteth Angels to rule ouer them as we there reade, the prince of the Persians and Grecians; And he hath not onelie diuided men by Regions, but also by tongues and manners. Further me must remember, that these mutations were not onelie done at the beginning, but also in the latter times. For the French men possessed Gallia, and the English Saxons, Britaine: but the Britaines being cast out by them, found newe places in Gallia by force and armes. And that part which they obtained, they called Britanie according to their owne name. The men of Gallia also of late, going out of their owne borders, possessed a great part of Italy.

Deut. 2.23.

Deut. 32.8.

What is meant by saying that the kingdomes were distributed by lot.

Augustine.

Matt. 5.45.

Dan. 2.20.

Dan. 10. ver. 13. & 20.

The Hunnes subdued vnto themselues Pannonia, and called the countrie Hungaria. So God distributeth kingdomes, casteth out some, and bringeth in other some, as it seemeth good vnto his iust iudgement, which is secret. For the earth is the Lordes, and the fulnesse thereof. This distribution chanced euen at the beginning to the sonnes of Noah, and afterward to those which builded the Tower of Babel: For God dispersed them throughout the whole world.

God distributeth kingdomes of his mere liberalitie.

11 Now will I declare by what meanes God is wont to giue kingdomes. He giueth them of his owne liberalitie, no right compelling him thereto. That is the true manner of gift, which otherwise is not a gift vnlesse it be free. And yet nothing letteth, but that God, by the dueties and obedience of godlie men, may be prouoked to giue. He giueth in deede manie times thinges vnto godlie men, but yet of no duetie: Because there hath bin none at anie time so godlie, as he might desire anie thing of God as his owne in his owne right. For he must doe his duetie though God giue him nothing. And yet there is a certaine recompensing gift, although it be free and giuen without any right compelling it: yet because it is after a sort bestowed vpon dueties, it hath a sheawe of a reward. So in Ezechiel God gaue a gift vnto the king of Babylon: Because (saith he) he laboured in the siege of Tyre, I will giue vnto him the land of Egypt. There be also amongest men *recompenses: when duetie is repayed with duetie. These also are voluntarie, neither can they be demaunded by Iudiciall action, and therefore are they counted among giftes. But we haue nothing which we can giue vnto him: wherefore if we attempt to bring anie thing vnto him, we render vnto him his owne. And so no consideration of merit can be fit for vs towards him: wherefore God giueth liberallie, no lawe compelling him thereunto. Neuertheless, it may be demaunded whether such giftes can be reuoked. Why can they not? Seeing the giftes of men also are reuoked sometimes: as we haue it in the Code *De reuocatione donationum*. First if they haue conditions annexed vnto them, which haue not bin performed. And assuredlie, God after that manner gaue the land of Chanaan to the children of Israel: namelie that they should worship him, not onelie in ceremonies, but also in good manners and holinesse. But seeing this condition was not performed, God iustly reuoked his gift and led them away captiue: and gaue the land vnto the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Romans. A great ingratitude also of him that is indued with the gift, maketh the gift of smale force. For if he be so vngratefull as he will be contumelious & reprochfull vnto the giuer, the gift is then reuoked. So GOD in Ezechiel complaineth: I haue clothed thee with vestures and garmentes of sundrie colors: thou hast bestowed them vppon Idols, and hast giuen them vnto Baal: therefore wil I take away my garments from thee, and my clothings of sundry colors &c. But thou wilt saie that the giftes and vocation of God are without repentaunce, as it is written to the Romanes: that I graunt, but the chaunging is in vs, and not in God: for if we shall continue thankfull, and stand to the conditions, the gift would be firme and ratified. Further Paul in that sentence spake of giftes and calling, which come vnto men by the eternall predestination of God, & not of those which are giuen onely for a time.

Ezec.16.19. &c.

The gifte of God are without repentance. Ro.11.29.

Whether such giftes may be reuoked.

We haue nothing that we can giue vnto GOD.

A recompensing gift

Ezec.29.18.

*arrisapa.

12 Dauid in the first Booke of Samuel the 20 Chapter decreed, that the pray should be equally diuided among all: For he iudged it to be a iust thing that they which remained with the carriage, should be partakers of the praie. And this for manie causes seemeth to be iust. First because they taried by the common consent of all. Secondlie that notwithstanding they were one from another by distance of places, yet were they not seuered in fellowship. Further, seeing that they abode still wearie and tyred, and otherwise would haue gone against the enemie: their will was to be accepted for the deede it selfe. Also because they set forward to the common perill: for if those former had bin ouerthrowen, these men could not haue bin long safe. What if so be that in the meane time, while Dauid was awaie with his, some enemie had assailed these men at the carriages: these men had bin in no lesse daunger than those which went against the Amalechites. When Abraham had put his men in armes for the pursuing of those fiue small kings, and had delinered Lot, he ioined vnto him Abner and Eschol. But they so farre as wee can gather by the historie did not fight. Perhaps they were left at the carriages. Yet when the enemie was ouerthrowen, Abraham gaue part of the praie to them also. And in the 31. Chapter of Numerie, when warre was taken in hand against the Madianites, and that out of euerie tribe a thousand were armed throughout all the tribes, and the rest remained in their tabernacles, when the victorie was finished, the praie was so distributed, as the first part was yeelded vnto the Tabernacle, the second vnto them that

For what cause the apportionment of Dauid was iust.

1 Sam. 30. ver. 21.

Gen. 14. 14

fought, and the thirde vnto them that remained in the Campe. And in Leuiticus the Priests which ministred in the Tabernacle, although they did not all minister euerie date, yet were they all maintained by the oblations. But good ordinances are oftentimes by mens negligence blotted out of remembrance. Wherefore it is the part of godly Princes to prouide that these thinges may euer betweene while be reuoked. By reason of ill maners (said he) sprang vp god lawes: Euen so here by reason of the malicious importunitie of these men, good ordinances are reuoked.

Leuit. 25. Leui. 27. 10

Of the distribution of a pray.

13 But this question as touching the distribution of the pray, must bee somewhat more diligently considered. Ambrose in his booke *De Patriarcha Abrahamo*, (which place also is cited in the Decrees the 23. Cause, question the 5. in the Chapter *Dicat*) saith that the souldiers take not the praie for themselues, but for the Emperour: which things must be distributed among the soldiers, at the Emperours appointment. And the Emperour himselfe must retaine for himselfe a part which they call the principall part, seeing otherwise it appeareth scarce equal, that euery man should catch for himselfe as much as he can. For so might it come to passe that euerie bande or skullian, should light vpon a riche bootie, and that some captaine of souldiers or well deserning souldier should bee excluded. Wherefore this ciuill and equall way, Dauid followed in dividing of the pray: & suffered not himselfe to be disquieted with the importunitie and slanders of those men. So me thinketh must be vnderstoode those words which be in the Digestes *De Acquirendo rerum Domino*, in the lawe *Naturalem*, in Paragraphe the last: namelie that those things which be taken in warres, are theirs that take them. They be indeede, but at the deuotion of the Emperour, not as eache one will himselfe. But in distributing, a proportion must be kept, not Arithmeticall but Geometricall. That did Isidorus note, who is cited in the Decrees, distinct. 1. Chapter 1. the chapter beginning *Ius militare*. For he saith, that the pray must be diuided, according to euerie mans dignitie, valiaunt courage, and labour, and that the principall portion should be set aside by it selfe: Because that portion was chosen out of the whole praie which the souldiers had caried together, and with great triumphe was afterwarde brought into the Treasurie. Why then (saith he) did Dauid part the pray equallie amongst all? Some answere, that hee by that meanes would prouide for the common peace of the souldiers, and to quenche enuie. For they would all haue repugned, saying, that they had beene all alike strong, and that they had imployed as great labour the one as the other: so as it would haue bin hard to giue iudgement afterwarde. Others thinke that to be done, because that victorie happened not by the strength of man, but by the onelie benefite of God. Howbeit that seemeth not to be verie likelie. For although it be true, that God alone gaue that victorie, yet did Dauid make that lawe, not for that time onelie, but for euer. And it is not credible that he would abolish the Geometricall proportion: or if that God gaue the victorie, that therefore he would exclude iust order: in as much as God commaunded to retaine that, euen in those things which were specially giuen by him. For in the distributing of almes, he would haue a consideration to be had chiefely of our houshold, and of the faithfull. So as in distributing of the pray, Dauid was to keepe a certaine proportion of iustice. For in the Gospell the Lorde gaue more vnto him that had gained fiue talents, than vnto him which had gained onelie one. Wherefore I thus affirme, that Dauid diuided not the pray equally, but had a consideration of the soldiers. Nay rather (wilt thou saie,) the letter Caph being doubled, doth shew an equalitie of likenesse. For saith Esaie: Such as the people is, such shalbe the Priests. Againe, Such people as mine be, such a people be thine. And againe: Such as my horsemen bee, such bee thy horsemen. There is in verie deede some equalitie euen in this place which hath recourse both to the one and to the other. And Dauid made as well the one sort as the other partakers of the pray, and that also after one manner: yet so, as a proportion might be kept what eche one had deserued, not onelie of them which fought against the enemie, but also of them which remained with the carrpings. Wherefore in my iudgement this is the meaning: What Dauid indeed gaue of the pray vnto all, but yet that he had a consideration what eche one had deserued. And thus the law was iust, which otherwise might haue seemed vniust.

Mat. 25. 14. &c.

The nineteenth Chapter.

Of a seuerall Conflict or Combate betweene twaine hand to hand,

In 1.Sa.17.

NOwe let vs see whether it bee lawefull to fight a Combat. Whey cõmonly call the same *Duellum*, that is, a Cõbat betweene twaine: Not because this word doth properlie signifie that thing. For *Duellum* properly signifieth euerie fight, because therein two parties doe contend. But I, to the intent ẏ this treatise may be the plainer, will call μονομαχίαν, that is, where one fighteth with one, *Duellum*, a Combate. Dauid (say they) fought a Combate hande to hande, therefore it is lawfull. And the fathers when they wrote vpon that place, made some note of that matter. Howbeit the Canonicall lawes vtterly condemne it. And the latter sort of Lawyers, when they treat thereof say, that the thing it selfe doubtlesse is nought, but yet for as much as it is suffered among Princes, therefore they say that they giue Counsell howe the same must be vsed. As if there should be a disputation of whoredome, all men would straightwaie graunt that the same is wicked and damnable: but because it is suffered in many common weales, they would admonish with what moderation it should be vsed. Manie saie that it is lawfull to fight a Combate, as if sentence of death be giuen against an innocent with this exception: to wit, vnlesse he will fight a Combate. The selfe same thing they thinke to bee lawfull, if that suites in lawe of ciuill and criminall thinges cannot other wise be ended. They say that examples be extant of Christian Princes, who not onelie permitted this, but also they themselues after this manner contended. And they adde that this kinde of fight hath some shewe of a lot. And seeing lots are permitted, as wee haue largelie before declared, this also by the selfe same right may be permitted. Lastlie they saie, that this is no lesse lawfull than warre: But warre may lawfullie be made: therefore also a Combate. Before I come to the matter it selfe, it behoueth to shewe that there is a great difference betweene a Combat and warre. For in warre men incounter with great forces, yea sometime with all their strength: but in this cause the triall of the whole matter is permitted onely vnto two. And although Moze and Lelle (as they say) doe not chaunge the kinde, yet be there here great differences. And further, we must consider, that there is a great difference betweene a Combat and that defence, whereby they saie it is lawfull to repell violence by violence. Because he that is so inuaded by a Cutthrote or theefe, although he be a priuate man, yet is he sufficientlie armed by the Common weale, onelie for defending of himselfe and not for killing. For he that is in that place cannot alwaies call for the Magistrates helpe. But here they mete together by appointment, and the one is fully minded to kill the other. Moreouer these conflictes are taken in hand, either by priuate appointment, or else by permission of the Magistrate. Neuerthelesse that is altogether condemned. For it is written: Thou shalt not kill. But this if the Magistrate permit, there seemeth to bee in it a certaine kinde of iustice. Howbeit we ought to knowe, that we must not obey the Magistrate, if either he commaunde or permit those things that be iniust and repugnant to the worde of God. In deede we must obey the Magistrate, but yet *Vsque ad Aras*, [that is, with a safe conscience towardes God.] And seeing such kinde of fight is an humane action, that must be obserued therein, which is obserued in other Actions: That is, vnto what ende the same is taken in hand. And the end of euery actiõ hath a respect either of iustice, or iniustice: either of godnesse, or naughtinesse. Wherefore let vs take reasons first from ẏ worde of God, secondly from good lawes, & lastlie from the end. Now let vs enter into ẏ matter it selfe.

Whether a combate betweene twaine be lawfull.

The diffe-rence betweene warre & combate.

Combates taken in hand either by priuate counsell, or by Princes permission.

Exo.20.13.

Whether we must obey the Magistrate *Vsque ad Aras*.

The end of euerie action.

2 The small causes why some thinke that Combat should be permitted, be diuers and manifold, set forth here and there among manie sorts of authors, both Lawiers and Canonistes, and Scholemen. First they saie it is lawfull, because they say it is in stead of proofe of a hidden thing, that it may appeare some man hath right and is an innocent. For when there appeare neither witnesses nor euidence, the vttermost is to trie the matter by battell. And among the Lawyers this kinde of triall is called vulgare, as in the Decretals *De Purgatione vulgari*, and in the same place *De Clericis Duello certantibus*, and in the Decrees 2. Cause, quest. 5. in the Chapter *Consuluistis*, and in the Chapter *Monomachia*. It is also called vulgare, because it is onely of the common sort of men, and hath not any strength either by right or by lawes. Wherefore this kinde of proofe is deceitfull and vncertaine. It is not lawfull to abuse the creatures of God,

Whether it be lawfull to make a combate for ostentation of strength.

Examples by which the safetie of a man is put in daunger must be abolished.

God. But these men abuse them: seeing they laie holde of that for a Testimonie, which was not instituted to that vse. And that doth the end oftentimes declare: wheras the iuster part is often vanquished. For this cõmeth to be the order of nature, that the more strong and skilfull, not the more innocent, should haue the victorie. And in the Decretals *De Purgatione vulgari*, in the Chapter *Significantibus*, there is a case described: namelie that there were two men, of whom one accused the other of theft, and that they fighting together a Combat for triall of ẏ cause, the iuster man was slaine: For the theft was found with the other. But that which is euerie mans right maie be tried if thou will aske counsell of the holie Scriptures. Either it may bee proued by witnesses, as when it is saide, In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall euery word stand. Or by writings, as in the 32. of Ieremie, when a nere kinsman would redeeme landes, there were bookes written and sealed. Or by publike confession: therefore Iosua commaunded a wicked man openly to confesse his wickednesse, and to giue the glory vnto God. Or by an othe, and therefore in Exodus, if one had lent his garment to an other, and that the same afterward had bin stolen, it behoued him to whom it was lent, to confirme by an oth that he take it not awaie. And in the 6. Chapter to the Hebrues, that an oth is the ende of euerie controuersie. But that sutes in law should be finished by Combat, it is no where read in the holie Scriptures. Wherefore they which fight after that maner, doe it not of faith: And whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Neither is it to be doubted but that it is the will of them both that one would kill the other. But yet of necessitie the one of the two must be innocent. So that they that defende these things will that an innocent man shall bee slaine. Besides, what else is this but to tempt God? For if the matter may be founde out by no tokens, and that God hath reserued the same wholie vnto himselfe, it must needes be an intollerable importunitie, to goe about to seeke out the same. But if all inst meanes being attempted, the Magistrate can vnderstand nothing of the fact, he must absolue the man accused, and not commit him to a hazarded conflict. Moreouer the Magistrate which suffereth these things to be done for meth to seeke a miracle which in olde time was done in glowing hotte yron and scaulding hot water. For in the Decretals *De Probatione vulgari*, the last Chapter, it is written that the manner in Liuonia was, that if a crime might not be proued by iust Argumentes, and that the person accused cried out that he was innocent, be for triall of himselfe, should treade with his feete vpon hotte Iron, or else dip his hands in hot scaulding water. Yea & to this verie vse, or rather abuse were they wont sometime to apply the Eucharist with this forme of wordes: The body of our Lord Iesus Christ be vnto thee for a triall. It seemeth that the same was a certaine ill imitation of the water of zealousie which is described in the 5. Chapter of Numbers. But of this prophanation and abuse of the Eucharist, they had not one worde of God in that place. Neither were the Sacraments instituted vnto that ende that they should decide controuersies at lawe: they be testimonies of the heauenlie doctrine and of the Gospell, and they be signements and seales of the promises of GOD. Wherefore they should not for rashly haue bin laide open to the finishing of ciuill controuersies. Further, let there be as much herde taken as there can, that the weapons on both sides may bee alike, and that no man helpe anie partie, yet can it not be prouided, but that the one shall be weaker than the other. And it is iniurie that the weaker shoulde bee coupled with him that is the stronger: Whereupon some of the fathers called this an inuention of the diuell.

Item eadem remanet euidentia vbi omne ius.

Deut.19.15

Ierc.32.7. &c.

Iosua.7.19.

Exod.22.7.

Hebr.6.16.

Accombate to not lawfull for trying of matter in Lawe. Ro.14.14.

Innocents are sometime slaine thereby, and GOD is tempted.

The custom of triall of a man in Liuonia.

Verse 12.

The abuse of the Eucharist.

3 An other cause why men will fight after this manner is for the ostentation of strength and force. For there be certaine Thrasoes, which if they see themselues at anie time contemned, doe straightwayes challenge the Combate: But that madnesse must in no wise be suffered. Yea and Panormitanus *de Torneamentis*, in the Chapter *Fœlicis*, saith that all games, wherein either the life of man, or the safetie of soules is ieoparded, must be vtterlie taken away, because they are repugnãt to the word of God. Neither did he alone iudge thus, but the Ciuill lawes also. In the Code *De Gladiatoribus*, it is the lawe of Constant. In ciuill quietnesse and domesticall peace, bloudie shewes doe not delight. But the Combate whereof we speake, is in a manner a fighting with swordes. And Leo, and Anthemius in the Title *De Feriis*, in the lawe *Dies Festos*, decree that bolozous fightes of wild beastes shoulde be taken away. And those fightes were, that men should be committed to Beares or Lyons. In the Digestes: *Ad legem Aquiliam*, in the lawe *Nam Iudus*, it is thus written: A sport that is hurtfull is woorthie of blame. And in the Prohemie of the Digestes, in Paragraph, *Illud vero*: Who will

will call thole Games, whereby great offences doe arise: It is an abuse of the woꝛd, foꝛ they ought rather to be called by anie name than Games. And in the Authentickes, in the Title *Vt omnes pareant Iudicibus prouinciarum*, Paragraphe the firſt, Iuſtinian ſaith, that foꝛtitude oꝛ manlie courage without iuſtice is not praiſe woꝛthie. And he addeth: that he calleth it by the name of Foꝛtitude in his owne countrie ſpeach. Foꝛ the Romans called that Foꝛtitude, which is ioyned with vertue. But contrariwiſe in the Code *De Athletis*; there is a lawe of Alexander Mammæa, that thoſe which had thzise vanquiſhed in ſacred conflictes, and had bin lawfullie crowned, ſhould afterward haue immunitie. And *Ad Aquiliam*, in the lawe, *Qua Actione*, Paragraphe, *Si quis*: It is decreed that if Pancratiaſtes had ſlaine his aduerſarie, the lawe *Aquilia* ſhould ceaſe. And there is extant a letter of Frederick the ſecond, which ſeemeth to agrée herewith. And firſt touching that which concerneth runners and wreſtlers, we condemne not all exerciſes, where-by either health oꝛ ſtrength may be exerciſed: But and if anie perhappes be ſlaine amongeſt them, that happeneth by chaunce and ſeldome, and beſides the will of him that ſlayeth. And of that lawe *Aquilia*, there is a reaſon rendzed: that the harme which is done is not the cauſe of the iniurie. But in a Combate they come thereunto with a minde pzepared to ſlaughter: and it verie ſeldome happeneth but that one of them is ſlayne. Howbeit, the letter of Frederick muſt be reformed to the woꝛd of God.

Whether a combate may be made for the auoidding of ignominie & diſcredit.

4 The third cauſe is, to auoyd ignominie: I am challenged, (ſaith ſome man) But if I flie, I ſhall be accounted a coward, and that diſcredit will redound to my whole familie. But this cauſe is not iuſt enough. Foꝛ we muſt vſe thinges, accoꝛding as the dignitie of each thing ſhal require. If it may ſéeme that thine honoꝛ will be put in ieopardie, thou muſt not therefoꝛe aduenture thy life, foꝛ that muſt be moze woꝛth to thée than anie honoꝛ. This rather muſt thou regard, that thou bzing not anie ſhame to thy pzofeſſion. And the common pzofeſſion of all Chziſtians is, to doe well and to ſuffer ill. Wherefoꝛe Pzinces ſinne grieuouſlie which giue libertie vnto ſuch bickerings. The fourth cauſe is, that hatreds, controuerſies, and enmities, cannot oftentimes be otherwiſe finiſhed. And that therefoꝛe triall muſt be made by Combat, that there may be ſome ende of quarels. But neither is this cauſe in verie déede iuſt enough, ſéeing there be other meanes to finiſh controuerſies. Foꝛ thoſe are finiſhed either by a conſent of parties, oꝛ by the ſentence of the Judge. But if they goe yet further, the Magiſtrate hath the ſwoꝛde, he muſt vſe the ſame, and not permit the matter to Combate oꝛ chaunce. He hath weapons and Armour, he muſt make iuſt warre, and defend the innocent. Neuertheleſſe he muſt defend him by iuſtice, not by the vncertaine end and foꝛtune of Combate. Mozeouer, ẏ cauſe being now knowen, the Magiſtrate knoweth, that the one is innocent, wherefoꝛe he ought not to abandon him to pzeſent death. The power of ẏ ſwoꝛd is not committed vnto him, to the intent he ſhould afterward permit the ſame to the rathneſſe and furie of two men: May rather he is foꝛ this cauſe placed in ſo great authoritie, that he ſhould doe what lyeth in him: which vndoubtedlie he doth not, if he permit controuerſies to be decided by Combate.

Whether it be lawfull in warre leſſe the whole hoſt ſhould be put in danger.

5 The fift cauſe is, that leaſt in an Armie all the ſoꝛces ſhould be put in perill, it is better that the whole matter ſhoulde ſtand in the danger of twaine. Yet this is not ſufficient. For we muſt not doe euil, that good may come of it. But if thy cauſe be iuſt, why doeſt thou ſuffer the ſame to be hazarded in the life of one man? Whon oughteſt firſt and foꝛmoſt to take héede, that thou take not vniuſt warre in hand: ſecondly to doe as much as thou canſt, and to fight with all thy ſoꝛces: ſith iuſtice muſt not be dallied with, and placed in the foztune of twaine. There is alſo another cauſe, where-by ſome of the Scholemen being ouercome (which I ſhould not paſſe ouer) graunt that ſuch a time may happen, when Combate ought to be permitted. Of that minde was Caietanus. And if there be two Armies (ſaith he) and one is ſuperiour in the equitie of the cauſe, but inferiour in ſtrength by manie degrées, ſo as if the ſame ſhould come to hande ſtripes, they muſt all of neceſſitie periſh: it is better that the life of one man come into danger, than that the whole hoſt ſhould come into certaine deſtruction. But neither can this in verie déede be a ſufficient cauſe, foꝛ it pzoceedeth of feare and deſperation. Foꝛ as we haue before ſaid, God defendeth not with ſwoꝛd and ſhield, and no leſſe can he ouerthzowe with fewe than with manie. But we ſhal periſh faieſt thou: How knoweſt thou that? Thy life is the life of God, and thy cauſe, if it be iuſt, is the cauſe of God. But Caietanus addeth: If an innocent be preſſed with the falſe accuſation of his ſuperiour, and that the Magiſtrate being coꝛrupted, pzonounceth againſt him the ſentence of death, and the other be not able to reſiſt: in this

Whether a combate be lawfullin a iuſt cauſe, and where the power is warre is the weaker.

Whether it be lawfull to make a combate if the Magiſtrate be coꝛrupted againſt the Innocent.

this caſe, it is lawfull (ſaith he) to admit a Combate, if it be offered by the Magiſtrate. Since if it be lawfull to defend thy ſelfe againſt a robber by the highway, why may it not be lawfull againſt a violent accuſer? Foꝛ what difference is there, whether he himſelfe drawe ſwoꝛd againſt thée, oꝛ whether the Magiſtrate doe it by his appointment? Foꝛ ſo is it ſaid that Dauid ſlue Vrias with the ſwoꝛd of the Ammonites, wherewith ſome doe yelde: Howbeit, I ſée no cauſe why they ſhould ſo doe. Foꝛ as we declared before, there is a great difference betweene a Combate, and defence againſt a robber, ſith in a Combat they fight by appointment: in the other by chaunce. Againſt a robber, to defend himſelfe: in Combat to ſlay the other. What ſhall I then doe, will thou ſay? Cuen deſire helpe of the Lozd, and ſuffer all thinges, rather than to commit anie thing againſt the woꝛd of God. Now let vs anſwere vnto their Argumentes.

2.Sam.11.9

All meanes muſt be tried rather than to commit any thing againſt the woꝛd of God.

Answeres to the argumentes brought for a combate.

6 We muſt obay the Magiſtrate (ſay they:) I graunt, but yet ſauing our conſcience and duetie vnto God. Controuerſies (ſay they) can be finiſhed no other way: Yes verilie, I taught before by what meanes they may be finiſhed. Godlie pzinces haue in ſuch wiſe fought: Though they were godlie, yet were they alſo men, and they might erre and be deceaued. And moſt pzudentlie doth Demoſthenes aunſwere: We muſt liue by lawes, and not by examples. It is lawfull (ſay they) to caſt lottes, therefoꝛe it is lawfull to vſe Combate. I aunſwere, although there be ſome Lotte in Combate, yet is there ſlaughter added therewithall. But euen Ionas was thou caſteſt, was by Lottes caſt foꝛth into the Sea: May rather he was in verie déed found out by Lottes, but not caſt foꝛth. Howbeit; he being a pzophet willed himſelfe to be caſt in by the commaundement and inſpiration of God. Warre may lawfullie be made, therefoꝛe a Combate they ſay. May rather we haue taught before, that betweene Combat and warre there is a great difference. But Dauid fought with Goliah: I graunt, but yet was he led ſo to doe, by the inſpiration of the holy ſpirit. Neither muſt all thinges which are done by holy men, be drawen ſtraightway vnto an example. The Hebrewes truſt vp the gods of the Aegyptians; Abraham decréed to ſacrifice his ſonne: Samſon married a wiſe that was a ſtranger: but that was done by the Lozd. Wherefoꝛe we muſt giue eare to reaſons & gods lawes: Foꝛ the Actes of holy men are oftentimes rather to be wondzed at than followed.

Ionas 1.7.

1.Sa.17.60.

Exod.34.15. Genes.3.3. Iudic.14.4.

7 But nowe will I ſet foꝛth vnto thée which art the Reader, a neceſſarie Combat which we muſt continually make. God him ſelfe ſet two aduerſaries together in fight: namely the olde man and the newe, the fleſhe and the ſpirite. Foꝛ as Paule ſaith vnto the Galathians: The fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirite, and the ſpirite againſt the fleſh. And vnto the Romanes: The wiſedom of the fleſh is enmitie againſt God, I know that in mee, that is in my fleſh, dwelleth no good thing: I feele another lawe in my members, fighting againſt the law of my minde, Vnhappie man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me? Let vs ſtriue heere that ſinne may not raigne in our mortall bodie, and that our olde man may be crucified. And theſe verily bée no light and playing pageantes. I (ſaith Paul) chaſtiſe my body and bring it into ſeruitude. Neither ſhall any be crowned vnleſſe he ſtriue as hee ought to doe. And they which contend in wreſtling, abſtaine themſelues from al things. And no man being in the warfare of GOD, intangleth himſelfe with carnall deſires. And in the twelfth Chapter to the Hebrues, Let vs looke backe vnto Iesus Chriſt the Captaine and finiſher of our faith. This Combat laſteth not foꝛ ſpace of one houre, oꝛ moneth, oꝛ yeare, but all our life long. We haue a magnificall Theater. For wee are made a ſpectacle vnto God, vnto Angels, and vnto men. We haue the ſwoꝛde of the woꝛd of God, and the ſhielde of faith, and foꝛ our aduerſarie, we haue the deuill. For our ſtriuing is not againſt fleſh and bloud, but againſt ſpirituall naughtines in celeſtial things. We haue force and ſtrength from Chriſt. I am able to doe all things in Chriſt, which comforteth me, that the victoꝛie in the ende may be certaine. Foꝛ I know whom I haue beleued, [and] that he is able to ſaue that which I haue committed vnto him. I haue fought a good fight, I haue kept the faith, I haue finiſhed my courſe: A crowne of righteouſneſſe is laide vp foꝛ me: And God will ſubdue Sathan vnder our feete.

The neceſſarie and neceſſarie combate

1.Cor.9.27

2.Tim.2. verſe.9.

Hebr.12.2.

1.Cor.4.9.

Ephe.6.13.

2.Tim.1.12.

2.Tim.4.7

Ro.16.20.

The twentith Chapter.

Of Nobilitie, of Bondage, of Occupying marchandiſe, and ingroſſing of wares.

ARiſtotle in his ſecontie booke of Rhetozicke writeth of Nobilitie, that the ſame conſiſteth herein, that a mã haue excellent and famous Auncetoꝛs. Foꝛ although that oftentimes euen

In Rom.9. verſe.4.

Wherein Nobilitie conſiſteth.

euen in these our dayes are found mẽ which atchiene notable interpzises of no lesse excellencie than are those mentioned of the fozefathers, yet are those auncient actes of greater estimation by reason of their antiquitie. Foz there is a difference betweene εὐγενὴς and γενναῖος. Foz they are called εὐγενεῖς which are bozne of noble parents, but γενναῖοι are those which retaine still the vertue of their Ancestours, and doe not degenerate from them. We see that in the families of noble men the selfesame thing in a manner happeneth which happeneth in cozne: which is accustomed some yeres to bring fozth moze plentifully, and some yeres moze barrainly. And sometime it chanceth, that after a fewe barraine yeres, followe other fertill yeres. So þ families of noble men sometime bring fozth manie excellent men, as it were a verie plentifull harueſt; sometime as it were an vnfruitfull soyle, they lie barren and idle: And againe afterward they after a sozt reuiue, vnto þ vertue of their Ancestozs. And how this degenerating commeth, the same Aristotle after this manner declareth: It commeth to passe oftentimes (saith he) that þ children oz posteritie of wise & wittie men become fierce and cruel, as it is written of the posteritie of Alcibiades. And on the other side, of meeke, louing, and gentle Parents, are bozne childrẽ cowardish, sluggish, and blockish: which we read to haue happned in the families of Symon and Socrates. The selfe same things may we beholde in the children of Israel. They had Patriarkes as Princes of their stocke, being men indued with great vertues and singular nobilitie. Of their posteritie sprang fozth oftentimes excellent men: which posteritie although sometimes it semed to lie still without any notable issue, yet GOD alwayes betweene whiles stirred vp in it, some, either Iudges, oz Kings, oz Prophets, oz Priests which excelled in life, wisedome and godlinesse. Moreouer the same Aristotle in his first Booke of Rhetorickes, writeth that the true nobilitie, oz felicitie of any nation herein chiefely consisteth, that together with prosperous successe it haue vertue ioyned: which two thinges God gaue abundantly vnto the Hebrewes. He addeth moreouer, that þ people is called noble, which is not mingled with the mixture and confusion of other nations. Foz which consideration the Athenians boasted that they were αὐτόχθονες, that is, of one and the selfe same soyle.

A difference betweene gentlement and well bozne men.

A similitude.

True nobilitie requireth to haue vertue ioyned with the prosperitie of foztune.

2 But there can be shewed of no nation which had a stocke so pure and vnmixt as the Hebrewes had the Hebrewes. Foz Abraham was the head of their stocke: whose Nephew Iacob had 12. children, of whō came the 12. tribes. Further euerie tribe had their certaine families, Landes, Cities, and Regions, which they inhabited. To be shozt, as writeth Eusebius *De preparatione Euangelica*, there was no common wealth, neither of the Lacedemonians, noz Athenians: (which two semed of all other to bee most excellent) which had their stocke so certaine, oz their tribes so certainly deriued from one Prince and progenitour. Foz to nobilitie is required that the people should line in their owne lawes: But no nation at any time had their lawes so proper as had the nation of the Hebrewes. Foz lawes were giuen them particularly from GOD, which infinitelie excelled the lawes of all other nations. And they lived vnder their owne lawes so long as they obeyed the Lozd. Foz he then defended them from all misfoztunes. But by reason of their sinnes, they were sometimes led awaie captiue by outward nations. But these captiues were not perpetuall: sith after that they had bin punished foz their wickednes, they were restozed to their olde places againe. Moreouer antiquitie commendeth and setteth fozth the nobilite of a people. Foz there can be nothing of Antiquitie founde in the histozies of the Ethnickes, but that the same followed long time after that the common wealth of the Iewes was establisht. Before the warre of Troy, whatsoeuer is set fozth by Ethnicke writers is fabulous. And that warre was then made when Iephthe was now Iudge ouer the common wealth of the Iewes. Also it furthereth no small deale vnto nobilitie to haue had excellent men of that stocke. And there was neuer either moze oz moze excellent men than among the Iewes. I will not speake of the great multitude of children and the goodnesse in children, which wonderfully flourished among the Iewes.

pure and vnmixed.

So farre as to proper lawes to them, as the Hebrewes had.

To what purpose the Ethnickes ancestours are vsed.

The crowne and wealth of the Iewes was small.

The words of Troy an the time of Iephthe.

3 I know there be some which despise this nobilitie deriued from Auncestozs. Foz they say that oftentimes of hozses are bozne Mules. And they make mentiō of Iphicrates, which beeing a notable Emperour, and hearing one contumelioulie and insolentlie obiecting vnto him that he was the sonne of a shoomaker, made this answwere: My stocke beginneth in me, but thine endeth in thee. And he which vpbraideth vnto a man either fozture oz want of nobilitie, doth euen like him which beateth the garments, but toucheth not the bodie. Foz euen as garments are without the bodie, so nobilitie and fozture are without vs, & are accounted among outward good things. Cicero, although he were

Arguements against nobilitie.

An Answere concerning the obiection of his parentage.

were a man newe start vp, yet he made no great account of his nobilitie. They which giue themselues to hunting prepare the best dogges they can get foz hunting, and not whelpes though they come of neuer so good a kinde. And foz battell, strong and warre like hozses are sought foz, and not the coults of good hozses.

Two similitudes.

Whereto serueth pedigrees, or whereto is it good,

Friend Ponticus, to be deriued from long descent of blond?

Or what shall it auaile to thee to recken in a roe,

Great numbers of thine Ancestors that liued long agoe?

It is a ridiculous thing foz a man to boast that he can recken vp seuen great grandfathers. These reasons some vse to extenuate the nobilitie of blonde. Neither are these things spoken amisse oz yet without profit, especiallie against them, which onelie foz the bertue of their ancestozs will be counted noble: whereas otherwise they themselues line dishonestlie, vilelie, and obscurelie. And if any man haue together with vertue obtained nobilitie of blond, doubtles he hath great commoditie by it, sith nobilitie is not a thing altogether outward, as it was olieted. Foz the properties, and markes and motions of the Ancestozs are, I knowe not howe, transferred to the posteritie, which although that in the next children oz childrens children doe not oftentimes shewe fozth oz appeare, yet are they still kept by a certaine power, and reuiue againe in other of the posteritie, so as in them the spirites and courages of their ancestozs are renued vnto vertue. Whereforze, seeing such sparkes are still reserued in vs, they are not wholie to be accounted among outward good things. Neither agreeth that comparison of the Mule, which they saie is procreated of a hozse: foz that in the Mule the generation is stayed. Neither can the Mule if we consider the common course of nature liue long. But they which are begotten of noble parentes, although they themselues degenerate, yet may they afterwarde bring fozth others. And to state euen in that similitude: If no small deale adoyneth the Mule, that he is begotten of the hozse, seeing foz the same cause, they are moze commendable than Asses. But Iuuenall, Cicero, and Iphicrates spake of those noble men, which when as they themselues had no part at all of their fathers oz predecessozs vertue and good disposition, woulde notwithstanding be had in estimation foz this cause onely, that they came of a noble

Nobilitie attributed vnto vertue & possession.

blond. He which being but of obscure parentage hath made himselfe honozable by vertues, is of farre moze excellencie, than are they which comming of great nobilitie, doe with vices and wicked actes, and with Idlenesse & cowardice, dishonour both them selues and their stocke. And how much God attributed vnto the posteritie of Iacob, it is manifest not onelie by a place in the 9. Chapter to the Romanes, but also by that place in Exodus, where God promised that he would doe good euen to a thousand generations of the iust: but euen heereby also in that he decreed, that the Priestes and Kings should be chosen out of a certaine stocke. This prerogatiue the Ethnickes contemned not. Foz he which praiseth Alcibiades, (which some thinke was Euripides,) when he was crowned in the games of Olimpus, saith, that he which shall be happie, must come of a noble Citie. To which purpose I might cite a great manie of other things, if neede should require. But what shall we say of our estate? Are we moze abiect than the Iewes? Do may we in comparison of them seeme to be without nobilitie, seeing Paul thus writeth, Consider your calling brethren: Not many noble men, not manie wise men are called? I answwere, that there is no cause why we should therefore be sozie foz our estate. Foz although (if we consider the stocke it self from whence we were cut off, and which we cannot denie but was a wild Olive tree) we be obscure and without nobilitie: yet after we are once grafted in Christ, all his nobilitie is most truelie communicated vnto vs: For we are now not onelie members of him, but also flesh of his flesh & bone of his bones, so as now all his fathers are made our fathers. Which things, although they haue not happened vnto vs by naturall generation: yet vnto a godlie man it ought to bee sufficient, that they were afterward giuen vnto vs.

God vnto the posteritie of Saincts graunted many things. Rom. 9. 4. Exod. 20. 6. Gen. 49. 10 Num. 1. 47 & 3. 1. &c.

Whether the Gentiles be moze abiect than the Iewes. 1. Cor. 1. 26

Totheren that be grafted into Christ is communicated vnto them all the nobilitie of Christ. Ephe. 5. 30.

Of Seruitude or bondage.

5 The first mention of Seruitude oz bondage in the holy scriptures is in the 9. of Geneſis. And it shall not be vnprofitable if we speake somewhat therof. The name, if we weigh the Latine Etymologie was deriued of *Seruando*; that is, keeping: because those whome the vanquishers had not slaine in warre, they kept to themselues, to the intent they might vse their labour. Thereof were they called Seruants: as saith Florentinus the Lawyer, in the fourth booke of the Insti-

In Gen. 9. 5 Note In speake

From whence the name of Seruitude.

Mancipia are gotten, cattel, bondmen oz captiues.

their name, because they were taken with the hand from enemies, as we haue it in the first of the Pandectes of Iustinian. Plinie in his 7. booke, the 56. Chapter, attributed the inuention hereof to the Lacedemonians. But our writinges which be moze anncient, doe make vs beleue that he is deceaued. The cause of bondage is sinne. For warre denounced and made, if it be iust, it is done for the repzelling of sinnes: but if it be vniust as touching their part which make it, yet by the dispensation of God it is iust, who prepareth thereby to punish those which he hath knowen woythie to be chastised. This did Daniel and other Prophetes most manifestlie declare, when they accounted their owne iniquities, and the iniquities of their fozefathers to be the cause of victozie vnto the enemies against the people of God. Truely bondage is therefoze a punishment, because it is against the nature and condition of man. God ozdained man, not that he should serue, but that he should haue dominion. Wherefoze the good fathers in old time, did not exercise dominion ouer men: they were Pastozs of the flocke, and they ruled men onelie with loue and Counsels. And seeing Man is made to the Image of God, and that it is the property of God to commaund, not to execute thinges commaunded: it is pzoued that men also are not of nature to serue. Holdeit, bondage must not be reiected by this Argument, seeing it is inuented as a bridle of iniquitie, and a medicine vnto mans naughtinesse. For thou maiest finde manie thinges which haue had their beginninges of a naughtie cause, which must not be altogether reiected, but retained. Hereuppon the Apostles Peter and Paul verie oftentimes in their Epistles, put vs in remembzance, that subiectes and seruantes should be duetifull towardes their Lozdes, and that they should not pzesume to shake off the yoke of bondage: Pay rather as Peter expzessie said: We should serue them though they be euill and froward. For the Gospel hath bin suspected hereof, euen from the beginning, that it rashlie called men vnto libertie, and thereby rayled tumultes in Cõmonweales. Wherein men were altogether deceaued: sith Christian pietie disturbeth not the state of worldlie thinges. Wherefoze consider thou, that bondage gate her first originall from sinne, the merite of coquerers being applyed thereunto. Then seeing GOD hath decreed by this meanes to amend peruerse manners, it should be wickedlie done of men to shake off the same by violence. Adde herewithall, that our pzide and bauntinesse is hereby kept vnder. The people of Israell sometime at anie time conuerted vnto God, vnlesse they were warned by this scourge, as each one may read in the booke of Iudges. Wherefoze, that which is so profitable should be vniustlie refused, when it shall be layd vppon vs by the Lozd. But and if it may seeme hard to anie man to obay froward and vniust Maisters, let him consider that the excellent God our father instructeth vs by his example, who with his Sunne and rayne, serueth the commodities, not onelie of the godlie, but also of the vngodlie. And oftentimes, if thou consider the easinesse of the state, thou shalt finde it a harder matter to rule well (especiallie if thou gouerne euill and foolish men) than it is to obay, so that thou shalt manie times finde the state of seruing to be lesse troublesome: which neuertheless, as well þ cõstitution of our natiue not bozne to serue, as also the bauntinesse & pride which euerie one of vs hath gathered euẽ frõ the beginning, maketh greeuous vnto vs.

The origin all of seruitudes.

The cause of seruitude.

Matt.5.45.

Dan.9.5.

Seruitude is a thing against mans nature.

Gen.1.27.

Bondage must not be reiected, and why.

Ephe.6.5. Col.3.21.

1.Pet.2.18.

6 But now let vs see how seruantes must be handled by their Maisters: Where- Seruants must beare of their masters.
in I alleage that the state and condition of things is of two sozts. One which concerneth the saluation of soules, hath respect vnto Christ and vnto spirituall thinges. And as touching this, let Maisters vnderstand that seruantes are equall vnto them: that is, they are no lesse than themselues, oz their children, wife and kinsfolke: For so much as in Christ there is neither male nor female, neither bond nor free. The other is of bodily, oz outward and ciuill thinges: and about these god thinges there may and ought to be made some difference in apparelling of the bodie, in diet, and other thinges of like sozt, betweene freemen and bondmen. Who if they doe not their duetie, shall be accounted seditious and rebellious, they may be chastised and beaten, that thzough them, the domesticall peace be not disturbed: yet so, as this be not cruellie done, but for their commoditie, that they may be restored to the amendment of minde. And Paul as well to the Ephesians as Colossians, exhozteth that euen the Maisters themselues should be equal towardes their seruantes. And for what cause they ought to doe it, he there declareth. Let them consider (saith he) that they themselues also haue a Lozd in heauen. As if he should haue said: Euen as they would that they themselues should be vsed of him, so ought they to ozder themselues towardes their seruantes. I beseech you let each one of them remember that while they thinke they be not fitlie serued in all pointes, whether they themselues in all respectes according to the commaundement pzescribed, doe obey the heauenlie Lozd of all things. There is moreouer an other kinde of seruitude, whereof the Apostle maketh mention in the 5. Chapter to the Galathians: Serue ye one an other through charitie. And that in verie deede is not vppon constraint, but voluntarie: the which also, if our first parentes had not fallen, might haue place in mankinde. For it is meete that the younger should obey the elder, the vnwiser the wiser. Truelie it is conuenient, that they which be the elder and haue more perseuerance, should haue preheminẽce, so as we are not to thinke that this kinde of seruitude of which we now intreate was brought in by sinne, but that other which is found out by power and lawe. Wherefoze that is not taken away, which is spoken both commonlie and by Aristotle in his Politickes, to wit, þ seruitude is partlie naturall and partlie by the lawe: Neither ought we to forget, that the seruice of God, wherein the faithfull doe obey and beleeue him, is called a certaine seruitude which must be pzeferred aboue all the libertie of the flesh. Hereof Paul in the Epistle to the Romans maketh mention at large, when he saith, That we being deliuered from sinne by Christ, are now the seruantes of righteousnesse,

How seruants must be handled by their Maisters.

2.Sam.30. 11.& 2.kings.6. ver.23.

Rom.6.18.

Iu.1.kings. 4.

7 Moreouer, Seruitude was in old time þ punishment of sinne: And no man is ignorant how it is a common saying: What a number of euils doe craue bondage? Euen as it was lawfull among the Hebrewes for a man to sell himselfe, and his children, when he was brought to extreme pouertie: So is it credible, that there was among them a Magistrate, who being required by the Creditozs, should constraine the debtozs (when they had not wherewith to pay,) that they should sell themselues and their children, that by such meanes their debtes might be all paide. Which is euidentlie enough gathered by a parable written in the 18. Chapter of Matthew, as concerning the king which commaunded a debtor of his together with his children to be sould for the satisfying of him. But how the lawes of men and of God haue decreed towardes debtozs, I will touch in fewe wozdes. At this day an Arrest, as they call it, is in vse, whereof notwithstanding the ciuill lawes haue made no mention. And thereby the debtozs are staid in the same place, where they were apprehended, and are forbidden to depart from thence before they compound with their creditozs. And in some common weales they which are indebted be cast in prison vntil they haue paid. In the lawes of the xij tables as Aulus Gellius repoyteth in the 20. booke and 1. Chapter, Where was appointed by þ Iudge the space of xxx. dayes, wherein the debtor might seeke monie for payment of his debtes: which if he could not obtaine, he was bound in fetters and giues, & deliuered to his Creditor; who constrainted him to worke at home like a labozing beast, vntill such time as he were satisfied of the debt. And of such bondes Liuie maketh mention, and declareth that by reason of them there sprang great sedition, because the people would not be so cruellie handled by their owne countrimen, and by them which were rich. The Saxon lawes doe binde the debtozs: but the Romane lawes no where (so farre as I knowe) haue expzessie decreed prisons for debtozs. But expzessie (I said) because it seemeth to be gathered in some sozt. For in the Code [the Title] *Qui bonis cedere possint*, in the 1. laws it is written: that by departing from the goods, imprisonment was auoyded. Whereby surelie it appeareth, that the debtors which would not yeild their goods should be thrust into prison. And thereuppon is gathered, that the departing from goods was in place of a benefit vnto the Romans, for by it they auoided imprisonment. But they which being condemned by the Iudge, were not able to pay the condemnation layd vppon them, were punished in the bodie. For they were driuen to so manie and so great labours and woykes, vntill such time as they had satisfied that wherein they were condemned: As we haue it in the Digestes, in the title *De Pœnitentia* the first lawe, in the Paragraphe, *Generaliter*.

Exod.21.2. What for the debtors did among the Hebrewes.

Verse.25.

The Ciuill Lawes as touching debtors.

8 Notwithstanding, by the Romane lawes, power is not taken away from the Magistrate, but that he may cast them into prison, which by craft doe circumuent some, to the intent they may thrust them with monie, against whome afterward they baunt: when they shew that they haue not wherewith to pay. Howbeit, this is done by authozitie of the Iudges, not that the lawes haue expzessie so decreed. But that this should be done by priuate men, þ Romane lawes haue in plaine wozdes forbidden: As we haue it in the Digestes, *De Reg. Iuris*, in the lawe, *Non est singulis*. Neither were free men brought into bondage, for not paying of debtes: As it is in the Code, *De Actione & obligatione*, in the lawe, *Ob aes alienum*. Yea and by Iustinian verie greeuous punishmentes are decreed against them which durst to attempt it, as it is in the Authentickes, *Vt nulli Iudicum liceat*,

in the Paragraphe, *Quod vero*, Col. 8. where he decreeth that they which haue committed this wicked acte, should lose their right of demaunding that which is due vnto them. Further, that they shall pay as much monie vnto him that hath the wrong, as the debt commeth to. Neither was anie man thrust into prison for publike debt, as we may see in the Code, *De Exactionibus tributorum*, in the lawe, *Nemo*, Bartolus also, about the lawe *Alia*, in the Digestes, *De Matrimonio Soluto*, saith, that the bargaine is of no force, wherein a man bindeth himselfe to prison, if he paie not the debt within a certaine time, to bereauing himselfe of the benefit of departing from his goods. Of the same opinion is Panormitanus *de Pignoribus*, in the Chapter, *Lator*. Howbeit, two cases are here excepted. The first is: if he that is not able to discharge the debt, haue alienated all his goods before for deceiuing of his Creditors: As we haue it in the Digestes, in the title, *Quæ in fraudem Creditorum*, in the last lawe. The other case is, if a debtor, when he gate other mens goods into his handes did knowe that he had not wherewith to paie, as it is written in the Digestes, *De Iure dotis*, in the last lawe but one. Neither are we to passe ouer that which is in the Code *De captiuis post liminio reuersis*, in the last lawe, which was made by Honorius, that if anie captiue be deliuered at the cost or charges laide out by an other: he when he shall be returned home, ought to repay the charges to him that hath redeemed him. And if perhappes he shall not be able to repaie him, he should satisfie his redeemer by seruices and labours, and finallie by his trauell for the space of fiue yeares. And thus much as touching the imprisonment or bondage of debtors out of the Romane lawes.

The lawes of God touching debtors.

9 The lawes of God haue made no mention of imprisonment of those debtors which haue not wherewith to paie, but bondage they haue laid vppon them. And for better vnderstanding of the matter, we will define a seruant or bondman. He is an instrument indued with reason, which being separated from others may execute his office, and is not at his owne libertie, but is in subiection of an other man. But of seruitudes there be manie kindes. Some haue taken place by the right of victorie, and they which take bondmen in the warres, had power ouer them of life and death. Others are made bondmen, not by the right of warre, but because they haue sould themselues by reason of pouertie. Or else they haue bin plucked away from their parentes, or from their Lordes, or else frō the sentence of the Iudge, when they were not able to make satisfaction for that which was stolen. Others be bondmen, because they haue bin procreated of parentes being bondmen. Further as touching diuine lawes, some seruantes were Hebrewes, and others were strangers, as Chananites, Phylistians, and men of Tyrus &c. God by his lawes did verie much mitigate the seruitude of the Hebrewe bondmen. First, he would not that they should be straitelie gouerned by their Maisters, that is by proud dominion and hautinesse. Besides he decreed, that deliuerance should alwayes be at hand, and that it should not be hindered by anie reward. Moreouer if Iewes might not be constrained to serue aboue fiue yeares, for the seuenth yeare he was suffered to goe free. Neither did he allwayes serue out the vj. yeares. For if the yeare of Iubile had fallen in the third or in the iiij. yeare of the bondage, he escaped free. Besides he would haue a bondman of this kinde, to be dealt withall like a hyred seruant, that letteth his labours to hire. Neither was it lawfull by the lawes of God, to sell an Hebrewe vnto strangers. And when he was let goe free, it was commaunded, that he should not be sent away emptie, but that a portiō of corne, of sheepe, and of other goods should be giuen vnto him. And not onelie he himselfe was deliuered, but together with him, his children, and also his wife, to that he were an Hebrewe. For the bondslaues which were strangers were neuer redeemed nor yet deliuered, vnlesse the Maister were willing: and the children procreated by them, were kept in perpetuall bondage. It is manifest by theie thinges which I haue rehearsed, that God did verie much ease the bondage as touching his owne people the Iewes. Vnto this lenitie it seemeth that Constantine also had respect, as it appeareth in the Code, the second lawe, *De patribus qui filios distraxerunt*. For if he suffereth not, that children should be sould by their Parentes, vnlesse it be in extreme necessitie of hunger. And he will that they should straightway returne to freedome, when there shall be offered an opportunitie of redeeming, either by restitution of the monie vnto the byer, or else by putting an other bondman in his place. And albeit that the lawe of God did so mitigate seruitude, yet did the widowe make requeste vnto Elizæus, that it might not happen vnto her children: partlie because Mothers conet to haue euils though they be easie to be turned away from their children, and partlie because that clemencie of God expressed by the lawes, was

Bondage mitigated by the lawe of God.

Lucas 3.

Deu. 15.12.

Exodus 2.

2. Kings. 4.1

was not perfectlie kept by cruell Maisters. For which transgression, Ieremie did earnestlie rebuke king Zedechias, because perhappes he feared least that children being alienated, should by Creditors be driuen vnto Idolatrie, which then had inuaded the xij. Tribes.

Ier. 34.12.

Of Traficke, or occupying of Marchandise, and ingrossing of Wares called Monopolium.

10 Whereas the holy Historie speaketh of the Traficke of Salomon, that Marration hath two thinges worthie to be obserued. First, that it may be declared how Salomon had such store of oxes, seeing Palestine breedeth not manie of those beastes. In deede it hath manie Asses, and also manie Moyles and Camels, but verie fewe oxes. Wherefore it is declared, that Salomon easilie prepared himselfe oxes out of Egypt. Further it is shewed, that riches came vnto Salomon not onelie by Nauigation, but also by way of Marchandise out of Egypt. The matter was on this wise: In Egypt there is an increase of a great number of horses, and those fierce and couragious, which not onelie doe suffice that Nation: but also other Nations adioyning doe fetch from thence. Which was not permitted of them to be done freelie: For Pharao would haue a certaine tribute thereby, So as there was a certaine appointed custome giuen for the carying away of euerie horse, euen as at this day we see in some kingdomes. And forsomuch as Pharao was the father in lawe of Salomon, this prerogatiue of his, he gaue vnto him: Namelie, that strangers should not carrie horses out of Egypt, but by the leaue of Salomon, and by paying the custome which he himselfe had appointed. Wherefore it was easie enough for him, to haue plentie of horses in his owne kingdome. Moreouer, through that custome, there came verie much vnto his Treasure. And he exacted the custome by a certaine companie of his owne Marchantes whom he had appointed vnto this office.

In 1. King. 10. Theeuil facte of Salomon.

The licence that Salomon had touching the carrying of horses out of Egypt.

11 Howbeit this kinde of gaine seemeth not onelie to be vile, but also incommodious and hurtfull vnto Nations and prouinces. For it hath respect vnto μονοπόλιον, which is then done, whē as a certaine kinde of thinges are committed to some one man alone to be sould. Ingrossing of wares are forbidden by the Romane lawes: As it is in the Code *De Monopolijs*, in the lawe, *Vnica*. By which verie strait lawe, Zeno the Emperour decreed, that they which vsed ingrossing of wares, should be dispoyled of all their goods. And he added, that euen the letters of the Emperours should not be heard, if they should seeme to gine anie man licence to ingrosse or get all into their handes. And vnoubtedlie, they that ingrosse all into their owne handes, sell not thinges according to their value and worthinesse, but set a prise vppon them at their owne pleasure. But how this kinde of Traficke serueth to gaine and getting of wealth, Aristotle sheweth in his first booke of Politickes, the 7. Chapter, bringing the example of Thales Milesius. Against him was pouerty vpbraided: Namelie that whereas he was more studious in Philosophie than the rest, he also seemed to be in more necessitie than others. Wherefore he being minded to defend Philosophie from the reproch of ill men, seeing he foreknewe by Astrologie, that the yeare following there would be a great plentie of Dyle, before that winter should passe away, that is, before the Oliue trees should haue flowers, hyred all the Storehouses, the wine prasses, and oyle milles. And whenas there followed a great fruitfulnesse of the fruite of Olives in Chios and Miletum, none could haue anie storehouse or instrumentes for Dyle, vnlesse it were permitted them by Thales. These thinges when he set forth to hyre, he somewhat raysed the price: whereby he gate an abundance of monie, and gaue suspition men to vnderstand that it will be an easie matter for a wise man, if so he thinke fit, to gather vnto him great store of monie. The selfe same fact doth Cicero rehearse in his first booke, *De Diuinatione*: but somewhat after an other sort than did Aristotle, For he writeth not that the storehouses of Dyle were hiered, but that the Dyle it selfe was bought. This doth Pline shewe in his 18. booke the 28. Chapter, but he ascribeth it not to Thales, but to Democritus. And he saith, that he did not forsee a great plentie of Dyle, but a verie great scarcitie, and bought for himselfe all the Dyle which should be growing in the countrie. The same Aristotle brought an example of him, which bought by all the Iron at Siracusa. And when the Marchantes were come to the Faires, he somewhat aduancing the price, gate verie much gaines. This did Dion the Tyrant take in very ill part, and therefore draue him out of the Citie. For he supposed that the ingrossing by priuate men was not profitable to his exchequier. Strabo in the fourth booke of his Geographie saith, that the Taurisci, (which at this day

Of the kindes of seruitude.

A seruant defined.

Ingrossing of wares forbidden.

Thales Milesius.

The notable act of Thales Milesius.

we call Tauinati, being a people towardes the Alpes in the borders of Italie, had in times past excellent Gold mines. And when in the digging of Golde they were holpen by other Italians, who afterward transported into diuers partes of Italie that which they receaued for their wages: thereof it came to passe, that in the space of two moneths Gold in Italie was sould a third part better cheape than it had bin before. Wherefore the Taurisci ordayned an ingrossing in their own handes, by meanes whereof it should be lawfull for themselues onelie to sell their Gold. And there are accustomed to be made ingrossinges of Sault, and of Alum, and of manie other thinges which belong as well to meate as to drinke. And this (as Aristotle teacheth in the place now alleaged) haue the Commonweales and princes of Cities attempted, when they haue neede of monie; And this sometime did Charles the 5. within our age in the lowe countries: And likewise the king of Portingall as touching spices.

The lowe Countries of Flanders, Portland, &c.

12 But to returne to Salomon, He cannot be accused of filthie and hurtfull gaine: For he vsed not this μονοπόλιον, of what sort soeuer it were, within his kingdome, so that he did no harme to his Citizens. But thou wilt say, that by vsing of this traffick in Egypt he did hurt the Egyptians. To not one whit: For he prescribed not any thing to the Egyptians, for it was lawefull for them to buy of whom they would, & that for the vsuall price. Also it hindered no strong nations at all: Because the Noble men and Princes which were neare neighbours, or else marchantes might not otherwise bring out horses from thence without the graunt and good will of Pharao, vnto whom also it behoued to paie the custome appointed by him. But if that Pharao would graunt this right of his vnto Salomon, it was free for him to doe the same without iniurie to anie man. I am not ignoraunt of this, that there bee some of the Hebrewes which thinke that this right giuen to Salomon, pertained not onely vnto horses, but also vnto silke. For they iudge that the Hebrew word *Micne* is euen the same in effect that is *Ticna*, whereby is signified yearne or a thread of silke. In verie deede, garments of silke were in great estimation in the east and south Regions, therefore they thinke, that as well horses as silke might not be brought out of Egypt, vnlesse it were by Salomon or by his agents. Howbeit the matter is vncertaine, namely as touching silke: wherefore I will not much striue about that matter. But this I affirme, that euen hereby is gathered, (which also other good authors as I shewed before haue taught) that ingrossing of wares is a very certaine and ready way to make gaine. But of what price the horses were, and for how much they were carried out, it is declared. A Chariot of foure horses cost six hundreth sickles of siluer or drachmes: That is after the account of our times two hundreth and foure crownes of the Sunne, as Budæus a verie learned man in his booke *De Asse* hath declared, when he purposelie take in hand to expound this place. So that they paid for euerie horse 60. Crownes: which also is in vse at this daie. For a horse of lustie courage and great, as are barded horses, will bee of no lesse price than threescore crownes.

The price of those horses which Salomon caused out of Egypt.

13 But when as Pharao sendeth the people crying out vnto Iosephe, and he selleth Corne, it is not meete that they which ingrosse wares into their owne hands should hereby defende their naughtie couetousnesse. They doe therefore vse the same because it helpeth to make them verie riche. A thing doubtlesse not beseeming to a man that is wise and of a good nature. For sometimes priuate men buy of Princes a right of selling this or that kinde of thing, so as it may be lawfull for them alone, and they themselues set a price, not according to iustice, but according to couetousnesse. Wherefore ingrossing of wares must be condemned, as being that which hurteth the publike profite, and is against iustice. Yet do I not deny, but that the common wealth it selfe standing in any necessitie, so as it wanteth money, may ordaine that certaine things be ingrossed for a publike benefite. For I thinke there is no difference betweene this, and to impose a newe taxe. But here the case is altered. The king commanded that corne should be gotten together and kept for a publike safetie. For priuate men neglected this care, therefore it behoued the Magistrate to haue here a great regard. Moreouer, he bindeth not others which would do this. Herein also was the commaundement of God, which excuseth whatsoeuer may here seeme absurde vnto mans reason. Iustinian for bad ingrossings, because it was brought in not to the vtilitie, but to the destruction of the people. And because it was chiefely vsed in the Countrie of Palestine in respect of the slyme which there groweth, to wit, that some one man bought all that stuffe, that he alone might sell it at a rode, and the Gretians call that slime ἄσφαλτον thereof it came to passe that those ingrossing of thinges are commonly called Asphalta. But in this place we saie that either

In Gen.14.

ther this was no verie ingrossing, or else that whatsoeuer we reade here to bee done, must not be drawne to an example, seeing we haue the commandement of God against it.

The one & twentith Chapter.

Of Troubles and Seditions further of the suffering of Tyrannie.

In 1. kings. 18. ver. 17. Luke part. 4. ver. 25. & Jam. 5. as touching the drought.

IN times past euen Christ himself was accused of seditions: so was Paul, & in a maner all the holy men, & Professors of the Gospell. And in the first times of Christianitie, all dammages and calamities were ascribed to the Church, as it sprang vp. And when Christian Religion was receiued by Constantine the Great and published throughout the Romane monarchie, that did the Ethnicke men iudge to be the beginning of the decaie of the Romane power, and that the same was afterwarde brought lowe by no other meanes, but because the worshipings and superstitions of their fathers being cast aside, Christian Religion had beene brought in. Wherefore Augustine, and verie manie other Ecclesiasticall writers, wrote noble Apologies and notable bookes of that matter. Ahab laide that Elias troubled Israell. Which saying is Metaphoricall, because to trouble is nothing else but to mingle and confound the lowe with the high and the vppermost with the nethermost. And that is plainlie perceiued in a vessell wherein is contained liquor of diuers partes, I meane of thicke and of thinne: There the thinner occupie the higher places, and be more cleare, and which may be better seene through: but all the dregges and thick things seeke the bottome, and there lie being pressed downe. But if any man shall stirre them and raise them vp aloft, all is said to bee troubled, for they thicke and are made muddie. From hence is taken a similitude both vnto the Common weale and vnto the Church: Where, when superstition and corrupt Religion, which ought to lie oppressed, is had in honour and flouritheth, and on the contrarie part pure and sincere godlinesse disturbed, now are all things confounded and troubled. The verie

Similitude.

which thing happeneth, where honest and wise men are despised and reiected, and the vngodlie and foolish haue the gouernment of things. By this meanes therefore, as well the common wealth as the Church is troubled. But when this happeneth, the opinion of the goblie and the vngodly is not alone. For the vngodlie thinke the matter goeth then wel when euill things doe flourish. Contrariwise holy men indued with true iudgement, esteeme those thinges to be troubled, and iudge things then to be quiet and well ordered, when iustice and holinesse are holde in reputation, and when impietie and naughtinesse, as they deserue, are reiected.

2 When Ahab laide vnto Elias charge the troubling of his Kingdome, it seemeth that he had respect vnto two kinds of troubling: one Ciuill, and another Religious. For as touching godlinesse and worshiping of God, there was nothing more delightfull vnto a most couragious king, than to promote Idolatrie, and to amplifie the same, as much as in him laie. But on the other side the Prophet Elias dealt in nothing more earnestlie, than to turne away the people from it, and to bring them to the worshiping of the true God Iehouah: And therefore Ahab said that he troubled Israell. The Ciuill trouble was, that the king would haue had his dominion to inioy the commodities of life, and to flourish in wealth and abundance: but those good things were marueilouslie diminished and extenuated through want of Raine, and depth of three yeares space: So as the common wealth was troubled, both as touching Religion, and also the necessarie helpes of this life. This in effect is the chyding of Ahab the king against Elias. But now must we consider how Elias behaued himselfe with the king. Doubtlesse he committed nothing vnworthie of a Prophet and legate of God. He dealt constantlie, and with baliant courage defended he the ministerie of Gods worde. He humbled not himselfe at the Kings feete, he craued no pardon, neither did he promise that he would amende if he had done any thing vnacceptable vnto him: not that he was prone or arrogant, but because hee sawe that this accusation did directly assaile the word of God, as though the disturbance had risen thereby. If hee had beene to deale in his owne priuate businesse, I doubt not but that he would haue vsed modestie meete for a godlie man, but to haue the estimation and dignitie of the high God to be impaired, he might not abide. Wherefore he answered: It is not I that trouble Israell, but thou and

Elias defended the dignitie of his office.

ἀντιστροφία. thy fathers house. He vseth a contrarie accusation and returneth the crime vppon the accuser, that is vpon the wicked King. Neither must he be accused of insolencie, because (as Paule hath declared to the Galathians the 1. Chapter,) Hee must bee taken accursed whosoeuer (although it shall bee an Angell) that teacheth otherwise than the gospell or truth of God sheweth it selfe. And if Angelles are not exempted, Kings also must not be exempted. Doubtlelle it behowed Elias to haue a great spirit, that he should aduenture to oppose himselfe against a furious King. The selfe same thing also did Iohn Baptist shew, who set himselfe against Herod otherwise a most cruell King. Helias addeth a cause why Achab & his ancestors troubled Israel: namely, for that they forsoke the true God, and who was the GOD of their Fathers, and contemned his commaundementes and lawes, seruing strange Gods. This he saith, was the originall fountaine and roote of disturbance. And for because this is a great matter, and that the knowledge thereof serueth verie much for these times, wherein the Papistes say, that we be the disturbers of the Church and the authors of sedition, and we in like manner returne vpon them that these euils haue sprung vp from themselues: it shall be verie necessarie for determining of the cause, to speake somewhat herein as touching trouble or sedition. And what the worde of troubling signifieth, and from whence the translation was deriued, I haue expressed a little before. Now let vs come to a iust definition of the thing. But first I thought it good to shew the Etymologie of that worde, namely Trouble. Vlpianus according to the opinion of Labeo in the Digestes, in the Title *Vi fraelorum bonorum*, saieth in generall, that this worde *Tumultus* is deriued ἀπὸ τῆς θορυβέων, that is, *Tumultuari*. Cicero in the 6. Booke *De Republica* (as it is reported) wrote that sedition is a disagreement of men among themselues, when one draweth one waie and another another waie. The Greekes call it στάσιν and ἀποστασίαν. But the Authors of sedition and trouble, the Hebrewes call *Hakerim*, the Greekes cal πολέμιοντας, & σεισοκατόντας, that is, troublers. And thus much as touching the worde.

Gal.1.8.

Matt.14.4.

Of trouble or sedition.

The Etymologie of trouble or sedition.

Vlpianus.

Cicero.

3 But as concerning the true nature or definition, Sedition or trouble belong to the predicament of Action. For they which make any trouble, doe it either by iudging of contrarie and diuerse things, or by vttering of the same, or else by perfourming of them by the worke it selfe. If is an Action (I say) not naturall but voluntarie, which is referred vnto vice. The next generall worde thereof is contention: Seeing in euerie trouble, men contend one against another. Under this generall worde, there may be reckened foure kindes. For the same happeneth either amongst many, or else betweene one or two. If there be many that contend, those either bee kinsfolkes and neere friendes, or else they be forreiners and straungers. Plato in the 5. Dialogue *De Republica* saieth, that the Greekes be kinsfolkes and friendes, and the straungers he calleth Barbarous. If wee shall contende with such men, he thinketh it to be warre: but when the Grecians fought among themselues, that he said belonged vnto sedition. But and if the contention be about policie and religious things, that is commonly called Schisme: but if a contention be stirred vp betweene one or two, then it is a bzaule, as the same Vlpian affirmed, according to the opinion of Labeo, in the Lawe before alleaged. Neither will they haue it to be a trouble or sedition, if two or three or foure contend among themselues, but as they say there must be a god manie. These be the chiefe kindes of contention. Howbeit of warre & bzawling I will not now treate. But trouble & Schisme, that is sedition, as well in religious things, as in ciuill things I will comprehend in one.

The kindes of contention.

When a contention is stirred vp betweene one or two, then it is a braule.

Schisme.

4 And forsomuch as Actions are wont to be known by the obiectes, that is, by the matter about which they bee occupied (as sight is known because it consisteth in the apprehending of light and discerning of colours: also hearing, because it admitteth soundes and wordes:) therefore must wee consider what doeth sedition or trouble, and about what things it is conuersant. We say that the same argueth a Priuation of two most excellent things: to wit, of Order and of vnitie. Order (if we credite Augustine) is a disposing of things like and vnlike, giuing to euerie thing their owne places. All things in the world be not equall and after one sort. But then are they said to be in order when they be well disposed, & obtaine places fit for themselues. And mens actions haue then an order when they are tempered to things according to their owne state and dignitie. Whereuppon Chrysostom excellentlie well wrote in the 23. Homilie vppon the Epistle to the Romanes: That God appointed amongst men manie differences of Rule and subiection. For we finde there be Maisters and seruants, Parentes and children, man and wife, Magistrate and subiects, Olde men and young men: but the Actions of men will

What is Order.

will not be set in order, vnlesse they be made agreeable vnto these and such like degrees. But this cannot be doone, vnlesse things be ordered according to the rule of the lawe. Wherefore seeing trouble is said to take away order, we perceiue that the same taketh away ϕ lawe, which is ϕ head and fountaine of god order. For euen as God in the nature of mans bodie separated diuers members and placed them in marueilous order, the head in the high top of all, and therein ϕ eyes like vnto windowes, vnder it he put a mouth to receiue meate, a breast to containe the inward partes which sustaine life, a stomacke for the digetting of meates, flankes, thighes, hammes and feete; which things being so set in order doe testifie the excellent wisedome of the Creator: But if they be confounded and set out of order, they make not a man but a monster: Euen so hath he in his lawes reuealed the waie and the measure whereby our actions may be rightly disposed and ordered.

A definition of order.

The order of the members of mans bodie.

Trouble taketh away vnitie.

5 Furthermore, Trouble or sedition taketh away vnitie: For the mindes of Cities are separated and marueilously drawen one from an other: And that is verie before med and becommeth not a Commonweale. Wherefore Luke in the Acts of the Apostles minding to commend ϕ societie of the Christians, saith: They were of one minde and of one heart. And this vnitie consisteth in cleauing vnto him, which aboue all things is one. He truelie is the true God, without whose feare and worship, the true vnitie cannot be obtained, but all things remaine to one and rent one from an other. Whereuppon Augustine in his Sermon *De verbis Domini*, vppon the Gospell of Luke the 16. Chapter, intreating of those wordes where in the Lord said vnto Martha, But one thing is needefull, writeth: Giue one thing, and thou shalt haue the people, that is to say, well and rightlie ordered: take away one thing, and thou shalt haue a route. But a route, is nothing else but a rude confuse multitude. By these wordes we may gather, what is the true subiect of this priuation. For ϕ priuation standeth not by it selfe, nor hangeth in the ayre. The subiect thereof is a multitude or a companie of men, which is meete & apt to be set in order, or to be deprined thereof: And also to be truely one, or to be pulled one from an other. If this company be deprined of this order, thē is it deprined of peace & tranquillitie, which chiefelie standeth vppon these two thinges.

Acts.4.32.

Luk.10.41.

6 This definition of ours doe the wordes of Elias confirme, who minding to reprowe Ahab for moouing of trouble, said: Thou hast forsaken God, which saying respecteth the priuation of vnitie, And his commaundementes, which maketh to the priuation of order: And thereby prowed him to be a mouer of trouble. Paul exhorteth vs to the retaining of those good thinges, and of those excellent habites, in manie places, but especially lie in the 1. Epistle to the Corinthians the first Chapter, saying: I beseech you brethren, (be speaketh to the multitude of Christians which was, or should haue bin the subiect of the order of vnitie) that ye all speake one thing, and that there be no Schismes among you, but ἠρτισμένοι, be ye knit together in one minde, and in one iudgement. He requireth a consent among the faithfull as touching the minde, and as touching wordes, so much as may be, and also as touching workes. But as touching workes (which here he seemeth not to touch,) he verie well sheweth in the second Chapter to the Philippians: Be ye of one minde, agreeing together in one thing, dooing nothing by contention and vaine glory. A wholesome exhortatiō doubtlesse, which hath respect vnto peace and vnitie. Also Pythagoras said: Φευγκτέον σάσιν τῆς πόλιος, the sedition of a Citie must be auoided.

1.Kings.18.

1.Cor.4.10

Verse.2.

7 If we seeke for the causes of this euill, many may be brought. In the place now alleaged vnto the Philippians, Paul rehearsed two: Contention, which semeth to signifie a readie inclination vnto strifes and debates: We ought not to obey corrupt inclination. Also a greedinesse of glorie drawen many vnto that point, and likewise the desires of pleasures and gaine: but aboue all things a diuersitie of faith whereof Ierom spake writing vppon Matthewe in the 1. Chapter, treating of these wordes, I came not to send peace, but a sworde: where he saieth that for the faith of Christ, the whole world is diuided against it selfe. Neither is there anie house, wherein there be not beleeuers and vnbeleeuers. And againe vppon the same Chapter, expounding that saying, Brother shall deliuer Brother, he saith, there is no faithfull affection of them, whose faith is diuers. Plato in the 4. booke *De Repub.* saith, that seditions arise, at wel through too much abundance as through too much scarcitie. For they which abound on euerie side with riches be of hautie minde, and contemne the power in comparison of themselues. On the other side, the power being despised are stirred vp against the rich, and one Citie is diuided into partes. This we know happened in the Church of the Corinthians, whereas

The causes of trouble are two.

Phil.2.v.3

Contention

Verse.34.

Ib.ver.21.

1.Co.11.21

the

the rich and wealthie, would not ſit downe at meate with the poore, but they ioyned themſelues to men of their owne degree, and made daintie and gorgeous feaſtes among themſelues, neither did they tarie for the poore: But the poore being contemned, tarried long and late by themſelues vſing moſt ſimple and poore fare. Thereby aroſe troubles and ſeditions: This (as ſaith Paul) is to eate anie thing elſe rather than the ſupper of the Lord. 1.Cor.11.20.

Where might perhappes other cauſes alſo be brought, but thoſe which we haue recited are the better. Where remaineth [to ſpeake of] the end, which (if we reſpect troubleſome and ſeditious men) is to ouerthrowe and conſume for their owne gaine ſake, thinges that be well ordered. Wherefore Chryſoſtome vppon the 5. Chapter to the Galathians (expounding thoſe wordes: If ye bite and deuour one an other, take heede leaſt ye be conſumed one of an other) ſaith, that ſedition doth at length bring conſumption and corruption. And he compareth the ſame vnto a mothe, which departeth not from the garment, vntill it haue conſumed the ſame as much as it can. But if we haue reſpect vnto God, and demaund vnto what end he ſuffereth theſe thinges to be done, we will anſwere: To the intent that they which be proued, may in troubles and ſeditions be made manifeſt. And whereas they lay bidden before, they may now ſhine aboue others. Hereof hath Paul put vs in minde, in the firſt to the Corinthians, ſaying: It behoueth that hereſies ſhould be, that they which be prooued may be made manifeſt. The end of troubles. Gal.5.15. 1.Co.11.19

3 By theſe thinges which we haue now alleaged, the whole definition may be gathered, which ſtandeth in the generall word, and in the differences, and comprehendeth all the cauſes: So as we may ſay, that trouble or ſedition is a voluntarie action, whereby there is contention among manie, aſwell touching ciuill thinges as matters of Religion. And there is brought in a priuation aſwell of order, as of vnitie, by reaſon of the inclination of the minde to the making of ſtrife, or for anger for receauing of an office, or for deſire of glorie, or of pleaſures, or of gayne, and moſt of all, for the diuerſitie of faith, or elſe for too much plentie or prouidence, and that to the ouerthrowe of good ordinances, and that godly men may ſhine more and more by the occaſion thereof. This is a verie full definition. I am not ignorant that other deſcriptions are commonlie vſed: as when it is ſaid, that ſedition is the violence and wrath of the people. But here one lie is touched the cauſe enforcing. It is alſo ſaid to be ſedition, when the people diſagreeing come to hand ſtrokes: whereby is ſhewed, that the ſame is no light motion but a vehement, which draweth the matter vnto a conflict. Which Virgill ſeemeth to haue laid before our eyes, when he ſaith: The definition of trouble or ſedition.

And lyke as in a people ſtout, when oft it dooth betide,
The common ſort to make a fray, of witte which are full wide;
Now flyes the ſtones, and fierie flames; and fierie feedes the fight.

But that wheih we brought is a full definition, and comprehendeth the whole matter. There remaineth that we conſider of the ground or ſubiect, or concrete (as the Logicians ſpeake,) ſeeing we haue ſpoken of the nature it ſelfe. He is a ſeditious perſon (ſaith Iſidorus) in his Etymologies, which cauſeth a diſſention of mindes, and maketh diſcordes. Yet neuertheleſſe not onelie the Authors and heades of that wickednelſe are to be accounted ſeditious, but they alſo which follow them, which helpe them, nourish and defend them: Albeit that they which are the captaines, and diſturbers of the peace, doe ſinne much more greuouſly than doe others. The ſubiect of ſedition. Hypoſtaſis Subiectum Concretū.

9 But the greatneſſe or greuouſneſſe of this crime dependeth of the excellencie of good things which be taken away by it. What wonder thing can happen vnto a multitude, than if order and vnitie be ſubuerted? Plato in Sophiſta ſaith, that ſedition is the corrupting of naturall knowledge. Which that it may yet be more plainelie vnderſtood, I will bring the ſaying of Auguſtine, which we haue in the 9. Chapter De Ciuitate Dei, where he ſaid, that wiſe men preſcribed not euerie companie of men to be a people, but that which was ioyned by conſent of lawe, and mutual participatiō of profit. But ſince that ſedition peruerteth lawe and common profit, the fault is much more greuous than brawling, in which the ſtrife is for the benefite of one or two: and yet is not common lawe ouerthrowne, nor publike benefite taken away. Alſo the greatneſſe of this ſinne is gathered by the punishmentes: as Paul ſaid to the Galathians: I would they were cut off which trouble you. Wherefore trouble is méete to be cut off. In like manner the Apoſtle ſaid in the ſame Epiſtle to the Galathians: They which trouble you ſhal beare their iudgement. The ſedition of Core, Dathan, and Abiram was punished by death. So was the ſedition of Abſolon. Likewiſe was Seba the ſonne of Kichri ſtirred vp againſt Dauid. The lawes of men haue reckoned this hainous crime among the offences of death: as we How great offence ſedition is. Sermon. 3.kings.18. 18. Gal.5.12. Ib.ver.10. Numb.16. 32. 2.Sam.18. 21. 2.Sam.20. 25.

we may ſee in the Digeſtes, De Pœnis, in the lawe, Si aliquis aliquid ex metallo, in Paragraphe, Authores, & Fautores. For both thoſe titles are read. Of them it is there pronounced on this wiſe: Either let them be hanged on a gibbet, or be caſt vnto the beaſtes, or elſe be caried vnto the Iland. Euen ſo is it written in the ſame title, in the lawe Capitalium, the Paragraph Solet, & in the Code De ſeditioſis, the firſt and ſecond lawes. And ſometimes they haue the ſame punishmentes laid vppon them, which they haue that be guiltie of treaſon: as we haue it, Ad legem Iuliam Maieſtatem, the firſt lawe. The Canons of the Church haue oftentimes decreed, that thoſe which were ſeditious, ſhould not receaue orders. And thus much of the punishment, and greatneſſe of the crime.

All which ſeemeth to ſtraine, and not to be neceſſe.

10 It is further to be vnderſtood, that they muſt not be all accuſed which contend in ſedition. For whereas there be two partes, of which the one ſtriueth againſt the other, it is of neceſſitie, that ſeeing they contend about contradictions in thinges repugnant, the cauſe of the one part is good, and the cauſe of the other is euill: they which defend a iuſt cauſe, good lawes, and common profit, are not to be accounted ſeditious. Contrariwiſe, they which ſtriue againſt theſe thinges muſt be punished. Elias and Achab were both in one cōtentiō. We muſt conſider which part of thoſe troublers is guiltie. By the things which we haue ſpoken, we may diſcerne the ſame. Yet is it better to gather this by the wordes of the Prophet: Thou leadeſt the Iſraelites from the true God vnto Baal, and takeſt away the lawe of the true God, therefore art thou thy ſelfe a troubler. But I call backe the people vnto Iehouah the God of their Fathers, and I contend in behalfe of the lawes made vppon mount Sinai, and receaued by our forefathers, therefore I am no troubler nor ſeditious man. Thou & I follow thinges contrarie, but ſeeing I defend and maintaine the ſound opinion and the better ſide, I am not to be accuſed of troubling and making ſedition. And euen this may be lawfull for vs to returne vppon the Papiſtes, when they count vs troublers and ſeditious men. We maintaine the true worſhipping of God and the glorie of Chriſt, we receaue the Scriptures of God, we vſe the Sacramentes ſincerelie as they were inſtituted by Chriſt, we receaue thoſe Creedes, we will not worſhip Creatures, Images, or Idols, therefore we are no troublers. Iuſtlie are they accuſed of ſo great wickednelle which doe all thinges contrarie. Happie is that Commonweale or Church which is ruled and gouerned by the word of God: And contrariwiſe, vnhappie is the ſame, which followeth the inuentions of men, reiecting the Oracles of God. Happie is that people (ſaid Dauid) whoſe God is Iehouah, Wherevppon is concluded on the contrarie part: that vnhappie is the people which hath not Iehouah for their God. And in that hiſtorie [of Achab and Helias] we ſee that that kingdome of the x. tribes was greeued with famine, and had heauen cloſed vp. And albeit the Papiſtes be not troubled with famine of outward meate, yet are they pined with great penurie of gods word, and the light of heauen is moſt manifeſtlie ſhut from them. A verie ſtrong Argument it was of the Prophet, and by that meanes he ſtrake the heart of Achab, ſo as he had no aunſwere to make: Wherefore he gaue place to the Prophet. But the Romaniſtes at this day are not content with ſuch a reaſon, becauſe they make their owne inuentions equal vnto the ſcriptures, or elſe account them greater. Now reſketh it to ſee whether the Scriptures vſe the word of Troubling in ſuch ſort as I haue ſet it forth. In the booke of Ioſua, it is ſaid that Achan troubled the people, becauſe againſt the commaundement of God he had conueighed of the thinges accurſed: which thing greeuouſlie diſpleaſed. Alſo Iacob ſaid to Simeon and Leui, You troubled me; for againſt right and equitie and promiſe made, you ſlue the Sichemites the third day after their circumciſion. But much more plainelie doth it appeare out of Paul to the Galathians the firſt Chapter, where he ſaith: I marueil of you that ye ſo ſoone departed from Chriſt to an other Goſpell, which is not an other Goſpell: but that there be ſome which trouble you. He meant that the falſe Apoſtles troubled the Chriſtians in reſpect that they ledde them away from the Goſpell. How the word of Troubling is vſed in the Scriptures. Ioſua.7.25. Gen.34.29 Gal.1.6.

11 But for ſomuch as the Magiſtrate is a liuelie lawe, and that he repreſenteth God, they which riſe vp againſt him are iuſtlie ſaid to be ſeditious: ſeeing they aſmuch as in them lyeth, doe take away the execution of lawes, and the Image of God. Wherefore the Magiſtrate muſt be reuerenced: Neither muſt we be againſt him, ſo long as he ruleth according to the word of God, or beyond it. That thoſe which ſtirre againſt the magiſtrate, are Seditious. How farre forth the magiſtrate muſt be obeyed. Pſal.44.15. 1.king.17.1 1.Pet.2.18. Matt.5.41.

By honeſt ciuill decrees, or elſe while he commaundeth ἀδιάφορα [that is things indifferent,] although they may otherwhile ſeeme to be greeuous & painefull. For Peter ſaith that we muſt obay our Maiſters though they be froward. And thither may be drawen the wordes of Chriſt wherein he ſaid: If anie man ſhall conſtraine thee to goe one mile, goe with him

him twaine: And if a man will take away thy Cote, giue him also thy Cloke. But if the Magistrate will commaund vngodlie things, and those thinges which be repugnant to the word of God, he is not to be heard, neither Acts.4.19. must he be obeyed: For we must obey God rather than men. If he commaund to worship Images, to corrupt and deforme the Sacramentes, or commaund dishonest customes, or will aduenture to set forth new Articles of faith, we must not obey him: Neither by so doing can the crime of sedition or troubling be laid against vs. And not onelie we must not obey, but we must also gainesay and repugne vngodlinesse as much as in vs lyeth, after the example of Christ, of Iohn Matt.23.1. Matt.3.7. & 14.4. Baptist, and of all the Prophets and Apostles: and to thinke that those men were troublers, Exod.7.6. &c. is a wicked part. Moses and Aaron were against Pharao, in laying before him the word of God, and certainelie by him they were called seditious, whenas yet they were nothing lesse. Neither were Iosias, Ezechias, and Asah seditious princes, when they ouerthrewe the Images, Idols, and superstitions, which their Auncestors had erected, and held in estimation. The high priestes and Scribes, and also the Romane princes would haue had the Apostles to be altogether silent, and not to haue preached the name of Christ: which they would not doe. And Abraham would not worship the fire as it Dan.2.18. was worshipped in his countrie, Daniel and his fellowes laide to Nabuchad-nezar: We will not worship thy Image. Yet are they not therefore by the iudgement of the godlie accounted seditious. Wherefore let the Magistrate be obeyed, and had in honour, when he commandeth things according to the word of GOD, when he ruleth by iust decrees, or commaundeth things indifferent. But it is demaunded, whether Elias in calling the king a troubler, went against that precept, whereby GOD commanded, that no man should speake euill of the Prince of his owne nation. We answere, that commaundement is violated, when that is done rashlie, or for his owne aduantage: or else when the authoritie it selfe is contemned: which thing Elias himselfe did not. Onelie he accused his sinne so farre forth as belonged to his owne function. And Christ called Herod, a Fore: Luk 13.32. And as touching them which would haue Iohn.8.44. killed him, he said, That they were Children of the Diuill. Sometimes it furthereth verie much to the glorie of God, and also vnto the Church, that the sinnes of Magistrates should be reproued, and that is done without sedition or troubling. But hereof we

Whether Elias in calling the king a troubler, broke the law that speake euill of the Prince.

haue spoken sufficientlie.

VVhether it be lawfull for subiectes to rise against their Prince.

12 Let vs diuide subiectes, so as some of them may be more priuate men, and others in such sort inferiour, as ỹ superiour power in a manner dependeth of them: As among the Lacedemonians were their Ephori, and at Rome the Tribunes of the people. Those which onely are subiect and counted altogether priuate, ought not to arise against their Princes and Lordes, and displace them of their dignitie or degree. The two Apostles Peter and Paul haue commaunded the same: namely, that seruaunts shoulde obey their Lordes how rigorous and hard soeuer they be. Moreouer, the worde (as it is written to the Romans,) is onely giuen to the powers. And they which resist the power, are false to resist the ordinance of God. God woulde that the Iewes shoulde obey Nabuchad-nezar, and was angrie with Zedechias the king because he reuolted from him. Yea and Ieremie by the commaundement of God, admonished and exhorted the people to pray for the health of the king of Babylon. Dauid also would not stretch forth his hand against the annointed of the Lorde, when he might haue done it without any difficultie, and to his great commoditie. The godly souldiers of Iulianus the Apostata obeyed ỹ same Iulianus in fighting and pitching their Campes: neither did they at any time (notwithstanding they were armed) drawe weapon against that most cruell Tyrant. Phocas when he had slaine Mauritius, possessed the Empyre by great violence and iniuries, and wrote vnto Gregorie at Rome, who obeyed him, as his Prince, and gaue vnto him great reuerence.

In Iudg. 15. about the end.

Ephe.6.5. Col.3.22. 1.Pet.2.18.

Rom.13.1.

1.King.24. 19. & 20.

Ier.29.7.

1.Sam.24.9

13 But there be others in the Common weale, which in place and dignitie are inferiour vnto Princes, and yet in verie deede doe elect the superiour power, and by certaine lawes doe gouerne the Commonweale: as at this day we see done by the Electors of the Empire: And perhaps the same is done in other kingdomes. To these vndoubtedly if the Prince perfourme not his couenaunts and promises, it is lawfull to constraine and bring him into order, and by force to compell him to perfourme the conditions and couenaunts which he had promised, and that by warre when it cannot otherwise be done. By this meanes the Romanes sometime compelled the Consul, whom they themselues

selues had created, to goe forth of his office. The Danes in our time did depose their king, and held him long in prison. Polidorus Virgilius writeth that English men sometimes compelled their Kings to render account of the monie which they had misspent. Neither are we ignorant that Tarquinius the proud, was by the Romanes for his ouer much crueltie and arrogancie throwen out of his kingdome. I will not speake of Brutus and Cassius which slue Cæsar. But whether they did it iustlie or otherwise, most graue men vary in their opinions. And I in examining their enterprise by the rule of the Scriptures, doe not allowe it. For they gaue not vnto him the gouernement or Empire of Rome, but he vsurped the same himselfe by violence and power. And God as testifieth Dan.2.37. Daniel translateth Empires and kingdoms. Though also it be lawfull to resist Tirantes which assaile a kingdome, yet when they haue obtained the same and doe beare rule, it seemeth not to belong vnto priuate men to put them downe. Wherefore seeing that the kingdome of the Iewes was such a kingdome as in it all men depended of the king, (For they were not chosen by noble men, but the posteritie of that familie which God had appointed, did gouerne by succession:) Therefore in the lawes of Deuteronomie, and in the 1. booke of Samuell wherein is ordained the right of Princes, there is no libertie graunted vnto any man to disturbe them. Yea and sometimes it hath happened that some of them were killed, yet we neuer reade that God allowed the murdering of them: nay rather he punished the murtherers. When God at any time would displace the Kings of Iuda, he did it by the Babylonians, Assyrians and AEgyptians, but 2.King.9.1. not by the Iewes. He onelie armed Iehu against his Lord: which as it was peculiar, so must we not take example by it. He de- 1.Sam.31.2 stroyed Saule also by the handes of the Philistians and not by Dauid. And I am not ignorant howe manie things of this matter are decreed in the Code and in the Digests *Ad legem Iuliam Maiestatis*: But endeuoring to be briefe I doe of purpose passe them ouer. And although I knowe right well that the Ethnickes in the olde time appointed rewards for such as killed Tyrants: yet I haue aunswered, that godlinesse and the holie Scriptures allowe not the same. Assuredlie, if it be lawfull for the people to cast out of a kingdome those that vniustlie beare Rule, there shall neuer be anie Princes or Kinges in safetie. For although they liue iustlie and godlie, yet doe

Polidor. Virgil.

Of Brutus & Cassius.

When princes haue obtained kingdomes by force men must not seeke to put them downe.

Deut.17. 1.Sam.8.11.

they not satisfie the people.

VVhether Iehoiada did right in putting Athalia from the kingdome.

14 But there be many reasons, whereby it may be shewed that Iehoiada did well and rightly conspire against Athalia. First he was not altogether a priuate man, but was the high Priest in the common weale, vnto whom belonged to iudge not onely Ecclesiasticall and sacred, but also ciuill causes. For the Iewes had no other Bookes of lawe but the holy Byble. Further there conspired with him the Leuites and Priests, and also the Princes of families, and the most noble men of the kingdom, and the captaines of the souldiers. By which kinde of men it was made that the Common weale or kingdome of Iuda shoulde be deliuered from that womans Tyrannie. Moreouer than this were the promises of God which he had made vnto the familie of Dauid: which promises, it was the high Priests part to defende. Also the lawe of Deuteronomie was to be obserued, namely that the kingdome shoulde not fall vnto straungers. Besides, Iehoiada was ioyned in affinitie with the kings familie, forsomuch as he had to wife the sister of Achazias departed. Wherefore it was his part to prouide, that a confused order shoulde be rid out of the kingdome of Iuda. But perhaps some man will reproue this indeuour of Iehoiada. First because he did not rightly and orderly in disposessing of that person which was alreadie in office. Secte in deede it is for god men to trauell and indeuour to their power that the state of thinges present should not be changed, but when it is changed, and that some one hath gotten the couenraintie, and is entered into the gouernment: it is not lawfull to cast him out. Furthermore, although that some conspiracie maie otherwhile be good, yet it seemeth in his owne nature to haue the shewe of euill, whereforee men ought iustly to flie the same, especially Priests, whose part it is with all diligence to keepe innocencie. Besides this, Iehoiada might on this behalfe seeme to seeke his own. For seeing the childe was verie young, he after a sort did intrude himselfe to be gouernour in his steede. Moreouer it might seeme that God was displeased therewith, which in this respect may be proued, in that Ioas whē Iehoiada was dead, killed his sonne, as though God would reuenge the sinne of his father. Adde herewithall that this was done by the Leuites and Priestes by force and

2.King. 11. at the end. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 1. 2. 3. 2.Chron. 24.21. 4.

armes, which the holie ministerie ought to
5. eschue. Furthermoze because he set foz the
holy place to be violated with slaughter and
blond, which is thought to be contrarie to all
godlinesse. To all these things we will ans-
swere in ozder.

1. 15 To the first reason thus we answere,
that indede it is not the part of a priuate
man to put out of place a Magistrate already
constituted, oz a Prince which is in possessiõ
of a kingdome. But we denie that Iehoiada
was a priuate person, seeing in the common
weale he was the next person to the king, &
iudged, and sometime exercised both the sa-
cred and ciuill affaires, and was the keper
Deu.17.15. of the lawes. And in Deuteronomie there
is a lawe foz instituting of the king, which
now by Athalia was violated, and the pro-
mises made vnto Dauid and his posteritie
were hindered by Athalia. Besides this it
happened that he not onelie was a stranger,
but an Idolatres and that incurable: wher-
foze she was worthie to be depoled by the
primates and peres of the kingdome. And
2. whereas in the second place it was said,
that not onelie euill must be taken hede of,
but also the shewe of euill: wee admit the
sentence of the Apostle to be true: adding
neuerthelesse that the same is not generall,
in that it belongeth to things indifferent:
Albeit in those things which are of necessitie
to be kept, it cannot take place. But and if
those things which GOD hath commaund-
ed male sometimes in mans iudgement
seme to be euill, it is not in our power to
eschue that shewe of euill, but we ought in
any wise to doe that which is commaunded
by God. It was a shewe of euill foz a man
to be willing to kill his owne sonne, to ca-
rie away goods fozth of Egypt by fraude, to
disobey Antiochus that commaunded to eate
swines flesh, and not to doe that which the
Romane Cæsars commaunded, whereupon
the Christians were euerie where accused
of sedition: but those things that we haue
mentioned were so necessary to saluation, as
the shewe of euill was nothing there to be
passed of. So likewise seeing that vnto the
high priest by his office, belonged þ refoz-
mation of things fallen in decay, there was no
cause why he should stãd in feare of this shew
of euil. He was not occupied in an indifferẽt,
3. but in a necessarie matter. Whereas it was
afterward alleaged, that he might seme to
haue done these things foz his owne commo-
ditie, that vnder pretence of pzotectozship of
the child, he him selfe would beare rule vntill
Ioas had come to full age, is but vaine: since
that he ruled in dede the childs age as a god
tutoz, but the kingdome was gouerned by
the Counsell and iudgement of the Senate,
not by the iudgement of one high Priest. And
straightway the matter was discouered.
Foz he claimed not the kingdome foz him-
selfe oz foz his owne house, but foz him to
whom in right it belonged. So then the As-
samonites sinned verie much, not in dede
in that respect that they fought with strange
nations foz setting their religion and Coun-
trie at libertie, but because they did rather
claime the kingdome to themselues than to
the tribe of Iuda and familie of Dauid, where-
unto of right it belonged. Wherefoze the rest
of þ nobilitie being negligent, the care of re-
stozing þ kingdome turned to þ high Priest
himself: which if he take vpon him in respect
of his office, he is to be praised not reprooued.

16 Besides there was obiected as tou- 4.
ching the place, because he seemed to open the
Temple vnto slaughters and effusion of
mans blond, which was not conuenient foz
the holinesse thereof, the same being appoin-
ted foz sacrifices. Hereunto we answere that
Athalia had the Tyrannicall gouernment in
her handes, they could not easilie goe to the
vsuall place of assembly in Mispah, where
the people were wont to meete together at
other times in the moze daungerous cases,
as is manifest out of the Booke of Iudges and
first Booke of Samuel. Wherefoze a place fit
and free from suspitions was chosen. But
and if that Iehoiada would haue dealt by o-
pen foze, ciuill warre might easilie haue bin
stirred vp, and the Citizens haue bent them-
selues one against another: foz Athalia also
had her fauourers: neither was she vtter-
ly voide of Souldiers. To this ende therefoze
that the king which laie bid in the Temple,
might the easilier bee brought fozth from
thence, and also be annointed by the Priests
and be defended from violent assaultes by
any munition of some close building, there
could not bee perceiued a moze conuenient
place than the Temple. But as concerning 5.
slaughters and effusion of humaine blond,
these things made not so great a matter as
is wont to bee made of superstitious men.
God ozdained in the lawe as it is in Deute-
ronomie, that whosoeuer vnwittingly oz vn-
willingly had killed any man, he might re-
paire to Cities of refuge. But if a man had
aduisedly and of set purpose committed mur-
ther, him (saieth God) plucke thou away e-
uen from mine Altar. And when Ioab would 1.kings.2.
not depart from thence, Salomon commaun- 34.
ded that he should be slaine there: neither did
he feare to violate the Tabernacle of God. 1.kings.1.
But thou wilt say: he spared Adonias, when 51.
foz

foz the same cause he fled thither. I graunt:
but yet he did it not because he thought that
if he were slaine there, þ Tabernacle should
therefoze be polluted: but he did it, either foz
that he had not vtterly cast awaie all hope of
his amendment, oz else because he was not
guiltie as Ioab was, of two murthers and
ano those most vniust. Therefoze at such
time as the Temple might be spared, they
did the same gladly: but when the wicked
could not elsewhere be suppzessed, they feared
not to slaie them euen in the Temple, when
as the slaying of them should be a certaine
kinde of sacrifice not vngratefull to God.

In 2.kings. 11.p. 280. whether the high-priest ought to deale in ciuill affaires.
17 Lastly, it remaineth to see whether it
beseemed the high Priest & Leuites to take
armes vpon them, yea and whether it bee
meete foz Ecclesiasticall men in generall to
deale in martiall affaires after the example
of Ioiada and his fellowes. That this may
be the better declared, I thinke it best to shew
the difference betweene the state oz condition
of the olde testament and the newe. As tou-
ching them in olde time, I haue no doubt
but that it was lawfull foz them. Foz the
Leuitical tribe was not altogether exemp-
ted from Ciuill gouernment: nay rather to
them were committed the iudgements not
onelie of Ecclesiastical, but also of Ciuill af-
faires. Furthermoze the administration of
sacrifices and sacraments was not so great-
lie frequented, because the sacrifices were
made onelie in one place, that is in Salo-
mons temple. And whereas they were 24.
as wel of the Leuites as priests, they scarsely
once oz twise in the yeare, or else more mini-
stred their holie things: so as they had lea-
sure both to exercise iudgements and ciuill
affaires. And this also may be declared by
manie examples. When the Israelites tour-
nied thzough the wildernesse, the Leuites al-
so had their tents, and went fozward armed
with others of their brethzen. Besides this
Exo.32.27. Moses brought fozth the Leuites from one
gate of the Campe vnto an other, who with
their naked swoozds slue the Idolaters which
they met, sparing neither brethzen, noz kins-
men, noz alliance: vnto whom at the length
Moses said: Ye haue consecrated your hands.
3.kings.2. Banaias also þ sonne of Ioiada with them
31. ding he was a priest, was made ruler ouer
1.Sam. the host of Salomon. And the high Priest
Capi. &c. who neuerthelesse had the principalitie ouer
the people, and iudged Israell manie yeres.
Which thing also Samuel did, being a Le-
uite, who was present in the warres, and
2.kings.15. slue Agag the King of Amalecke: The As-
Vzias. samonites likewise, which were of the Order
of the Priesthood, fought against the Pha-

donians & were present at many battailes.
But why in times past both the principalitie Why in old time the kingdome and priesthood were ioyned together, this may be declared the cause, namely that in those persons Christ was shadowed: to whom was due both the true Priesthood and soueraine kingdome. But after his comming vpon the earth, we haue no other Priest but himselfe, our onely mediatour and redeemer. Vndoubtedly those ministers of the Church which are instituted by him, are appointed to preache the Gospell of the sonne of God, and to administer the sacraments. Wherefoze it is meete that they should be abstaine themselues from outward principalitie and administration of ciuill affaires, since they haue bin so instructed by Christ. Foz he said vnto his Apostles, The Princes of the nations haue dominion ouer them, but it shall not be so among you. And being required by a certaine man to commaunde his brother to di-
uide the heritage with him, saide: Who hath made me a iudge ouer you? shewing that it agreed not with his vocation while he re-
mained vpon the earth, to haue authozitie to diuide heritages. And after the same maner ought ministers to iudge themselues to bee sent; euen as he was sent from the father. Ioh.20.21. Moreouer Paul inioyning his Timothie, and instructing him as touching the holy minis-
terie saieth, No man that warreth intangleth himselfe with the affaires of this life. Where- 2.Tim.2.4. by he vseth an argument of comparison, to wit, from the lesser to the greater. Euen as if he should say: If it be not lawful foz them which are bounde by the othe of warfare, to take vpon them other businelle oz trades of life: much lesse ought they which are bounde to the holie ministerie, intermeddle themselues with other charges. Foz their vocation re-
quireth the whole man, because they must not (onely twise oz thzise in the yere) exe-
cute their office, but it is necessarie that (as the Apostle hath warned) they preache the Gospell, and earnestly apply themselues to reading and doctrine both in season and out 2.Tim.4.2. of season.

Iure & Holweit if it must be vnderstood, that Armes is not vtterlie taken away from the Ministers of the Church: because so it may otherwhile befall, as it shall be lawfull foz them to exercise the same. Foz if in a de-
sert place, anie of them should be set vppon by murtherers, wherein they cannot im-
ploze the ayde and helpe of þ Magistrate, it should be lawfull foz him, to repell violence by violence, & to vse weapons, if they should come to hand strokes, by making (as they terme it) a blameleese defence. Foz he that

is so inuaded, is not in that place a priuate person, but is armed by the Magistrate, and by iust and publike receaued lawes. For neither the lawes, nor yet a iust Magistrate would that their Citizens should rashlie perish. Wherefore in that case they giue leaue to vse weapons. God also by his lawes would, that if theues came armed to anie house in the night season, if they were killed by the owner of the house, that fact was not punishable: because they were iudged to haue come not onely to robbe, but also to murther: and God decreed no vniust thing. Seeing therefore that the Ministers not onelie doe seruice to the Church, but be also subiectes of a Citie and partes of the Commonweale, they ought not to be depriued of the priuileges, which other Cities inioy, especiallie, when as by the vse of them they are not reuoked from the holie Ministerie. Also it may so happen that there shal be so great scarcitie of men in a Towne, as without helpe of the Ministers, the walles or gates might not be defended, nor the enemie repulsed: in that case they are not let, nay rather they are bound, and that iustlie, to helpe their countrie being in danger. But if such, or the like necessitie doe not vrge, I thinke it not the part of a godlie Magistrate to compell them vnto warrefare: because they cannot with a safe conscience leaue their vocation: neither can they execute the same, together with the exercise of warre. But yet I deny not, but that it may be lawfull for a short time, and when necessitie vrgeth. Neither yet doe I deny but that he may be in the Campe to preach vnto the souldiers; yea rather I doe counsell, that this be diligentlie done: for in y place there is most need of y word of God, aswel for reprouing of the euill actes which commonlie depend vpon warres, as also to incourage the mindes of the that fight. For so much as God himselfe made the lawe, as it is in Deut, that y priestes should come forth into y Campe for to put the souldiers in remembrance of the promises of God. But yet notwithstanding these exceptions, the Pope and Bishops of our times are not excused, when they proclaime and make warres: yea rather they set princes together at variance, neither doe they thinke themselues to liue well and quietlie, vnlesse that slaughter, sworde, and warre, rage in euerie place.

When ministers may doe the part of souldiers

That the ministerie of the word ought to be in the Campe as well as the part of the souldiers.

Deut.20.2.

Of the indurying of Tyrannie by godlie men.

In Gen.34 19 Tyrant hath the name of the Greeks verbe τυραννεω, which is to rule or haue soueraintie: And that word sometimes we interpret in good part, and sometimes in bad. In good part in Virgill,

The word Tyrant is taken both in good part and in bad.

Some peace shall I haue, which haue touched the Tyrantes hand.

But in the songes of Horace the 3. boke, Acron erpounding that particle, *Late Tyranni*, saith, that Tyrant signifieth a cruel man, a mightie man, and a Lorde. And while it is ouriwen into the ill part, it is thus defined: That it is he, which beareth rule against right, honestie and lawes. This doubtlesse may be done two manner of wayes: either by inuading vniustlie, or by ruling the dominion naughtilie. Wherefore such a wicked priuate must godly men suffer, seeing they be priuate persons, and haue no authoritie ouer him. Neither is it their part, seditiouslie to moue warre against him. Paul saith: Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers: for whatsoeuer powers there be, they be ordained of God, and they which resist power, get vnto themselues damnation. And let vs reason thus: Those things which God will take away frō his by other meanes and instruments, let vs beare it with no lesse patience if he take them away by Tyrantes. And what godlie man will not abide diseases, losses, and losses, of which sort Iob suffered diuers: Without doubt we must assure our selues that euen these thinges are no lesse done by God through Tyrantes, than by those other meanes.

Godlie men must suffer the rule of Tyrantes.

Rom.13.1.

20 But he some man will say, If this reason take place, it shall neuer be lawfull for me by helpe of the Magistrate that I may be deliuered from vngodlie men, if they afflict me against right and vnlawfullie, because I shall thinke that God would haue it so to be done by them. But the reason is not alike, because in this case GOD hath opened a lawfull way vnto thee, that the conditions of pietie being kept, a man may inuoke obtaine remedie from the Magistrate. But against a Tyrant thou hast not how to beate, vnlesse thou wilt raise vp sedition, tumult or conspiracie against him, or else thou thy selfe of thy priuate authoritie wilt kill him: which thinges be contrarie to the meaning of the holy scriptures. But some exaple is vnto vs, Gideon, Samphon, Iphitah, and such other godlie Iudges. Howbeit, these men did not their Actes by priuate authoritie, seeing they were driuen by the spirit of God which himselfe testified, seeing we read that with great miracles he furthered their successes. What we are to doe in these thinges, let vs rather learne of Christ,

An obiection.

A solution.

Als other obiection.

Iud.6.11.

A solution. An example of Christ.

Mat.17.27. & 22.21. Christ: who payed tribute monie, and answered to the Herodians, that vnto Cæsar must be giuen that which is Cæsars: Neither would he euer moue vp wrake anie thing against the Romans, who without all doubt exercised tyrannicall power against y Iewes. But on the contrarie part Iudas and Theudas, as Iosephus theweth in his 18 boke of Antiquities, when they vaunted that they would set themselues against the tyrannie of the Romans, their successe was no lesse vnhappie than wicked. They filled all with robberies, turning at the length the weapons vppon themselues. As touching the Machabies, thou maiest affirme the same that we aunswered of the Iudges. For the 3. Mac. &c. Iud.19.29. Leuite which sent the dead bodie of his concubine, cut into so manie partes, and distributed through the tribes of Israell, and therefore seemed to haue rayled vp warre, is no cause to moue thee, seeing that fact was a kinde of accusation. When the Israelites were in that libertie, that they obeyed not a king, it was meete that such a haynous act should be iudged publikelie, that by publike sentence and counsell it might be punished. Three speciall wayes hath God exactlie set forth vnto vs in the holy Scriptures, of deliuering of his people from Tyrannie. First by giuing of miracles and power from aboue, as happened at the going forth out of Egypt. Sometimes on the other part, by changing the mindes of kinges and princes: As he would to be done in Cyrus and Darius. For these were made so gentle and willing towardes the Israelites, as they sent them home againe honorablie indued with most bountiful giftes. Otherwhile the Lord raiseth vp vnto his people some deliuerer, which may be the Authour of libertie and may haue a certaine calling to this purpose, as in the boke of Iudges we reade to be oftentimes done. Thou shalt note moreouer, that the brothers of Dina could obiect: The maide hurt by the Tyrant belongeth vnto vs, her virginitie is committed vnto vs, wherefore we may reuenge vppon him that hath violated the same. But they should haue consulted with themselues [saying] the longeth more vnto God than vnto vs, the is his, he will reuenge, he will deliuer. Seeing a lawfull way for vs vnto these thinges appeareth not, let vs beare it as we may, and let vs commit vnto God the matter which belongeth altogether vnto him. Neither can a theefe be taken away, nor hogges be slaine without he himselfe will: neither by tyrants, no nor yet by the diuell, as we may perceaue by the boke of Iob, and by the Gospell of Marke.

Rom.13.1.

That manner of wayes God deliuereth his people from tyrannie.

Exod.7.&c

Esa.11.

Iud.1.18.

Gen.34.&c

The deliuering of violated the same should haue beene committed to the reuenge ment of God.

Iob.1.& 2. Mark.5.12.

21 To be short: Because powers be of God, tyrannie must be abidden. And in the 9. Chapter of Daniell, when the Prophet would beginne to speake of this matter, he straightway said: And the word went foorth. And the wisedome of God speaketh in Salomon, By me kinges doe reigne. And because thou shouldest not thinke that he speaketh onelie of lawfull kinges, he also maketh mention of tyrantes. But if thou affirme that it must be there interpreted in the good part, let it not be forgotten which is written in the boke of Iob, that for the sinnes of y people an hypocrite doth reigne: albeit that according to the Hebrewe trueth, that place might be otherwise vnderstood. Also Christ plainelie aunswered vnto the president of the Romans, who exercised tyrannie in Iudæa: Thou shouldest haue no power at all against me, vnlesse it were giuen thee from aboue. Wherefore seeing thou art certaine, that tyrantes also doe reigne by the will of God, thou when thou art pressed with their yoke or iniuries shalt thus reason with thy selfe: Vnlesse that God would haue me to suffer these thinges, either he would by his power haue deliuered me from this iniurie after I was fallen therevnto, or else he would haue turned away the same, least I should haue runne into it. Either of both was easie to be done of him: but seeing he hath done neither, now am I certaine of his will, I patientlie suffer this hand of his. And thou being thus certified, thou wilt not attempt or indeuour anie thing seditiouslie in the Commonweale. Wherefore thou mult appeale onelie vnto the tribunall seate of GOD, when there is no other superiour or greater power ginen whom thy Tyrant is to obey. For if a greater were, there should be no let but that thou mightest flie vnto him: euen as Paul, who from the iudgement seate of Ierusalem appealed vnto Cæsar. Let all godlie men therefore perswade themselues of this, that their forces are discharged without reproch from the raysing of troubles in the Commonweale, in that respect that they would by violence doe anie thing against the publike Magistrat of what condition soeuer he be. And when they pretend an offending, an abusing and such like, of wife, of daughter, or sister, and that they would haue her to be deliuered from filthinesse, from the sworde, and from violence: let them alwayes haue that saying before their eyes: We must not doe euill that good may come thereof. Those thinges which thou maiest and are lawfull for thee to doe,

Dan.9.24.

Prou.8.15.

Iob.34.30.

Iob.19.11.

Tyrantes raigne by the will of God.

When we be oppressed we must appeale to the tribunall seate of God

Acts.25.11

Rom.3.8.

doe them faithfullie. Admonish a tyrant, desire him and neglect not those thinges which thou shalt thinke will further thy businesse, and most carefullie commit the matter vnto God.

Why Tyrants doe so rage against godlie men and against the Gospell. Ephe.2.2.

21 But now it seemeth good to treat wherefore tyrantes be so stirred vp against godlie men and against the Gospell. Paul in the 2. Chapter to the Ephesians 2. The prince of the world (saith he) woorketh with efficacie in the children of disobedience: euen as godlie men are mooued in the holy ghost. By which place it is manifestly gathered, that wicked men be instruments which the diuell vseth for the execution of his furie. And moreouer vnto the Diuell is giuen power against the Saintes: although the same be repelled and bridled within certaine boundes and limites, according as vnto the Lord it hath seemed profitable for his. For this cause doth the Diuell rage in his owne members, that he may be an hindrance vnto GOD and to the Gospell. And therefore doth God permit these thinges, to the intent that the excellent victories of Martyrs may appeare, and that the Church no lesse than the world may haue her excellent men. So then thou vnderstandest for what ende or purpole God suffereth these thinges to be doone. Allureditis it is no maruell that the Diuell rageth against the Gospell, because thou ought it, he is spyed by Christ: For the Gospell is the power Rom.16.1. of God vnto saluation to all them that beleeue.

23 There remaineth a doubt, why God doth prosper Tyrants which be altogether cruell and wicked: who haue had sometime such prosperous successes as their Kingdoms haue beene aduaunced to most ample Monarchies. As it is manifest by Romulus, Cyrus, Philip, and Alexander of Macedonia: which euē of Ethnick Historiographers, are noted to haue beene most violent and vniust.

Why, how, and to what end GOD suffereth the wicked to encrease.

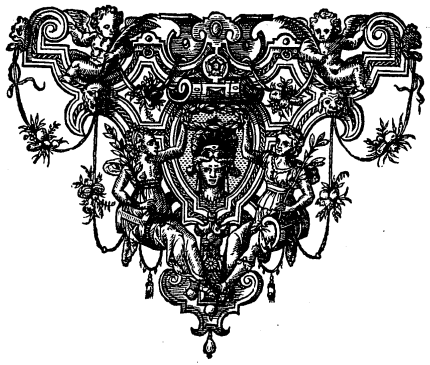
First as touching these Monarchies, howe they haue growne, this shall be imputed the cause: that in the world there is a certaine conjunction betweene causes and effectes, firmelie appointed by the institution of God, which cannot easily be changed: nay rather it seemes many times to take place. Wherefore those Princes or people which haue obtained and kept these studies and Artes of gouernment which are of force, aswell to increase as amplifie dominion and Empire, haue obtained this good successe. For present example, let vs speake of the Romans, They (as the histories declare, and as Augustine testifieth) might get themselues so great power, because they had those things by which it hath bin dually obtained. First they had a desire of praise, not in verie deede altogether false and counterfait, namelie such as thereby they might approue themselues founde and iust Iudges. Moreouer they were liberall of monie: yea and aboue, if ye will, that they were oftentimes contemners of the same, and pellrons of glorie. Which glory not withstanding they attribd to their countrie in generall: which they so loued, as they would haue it for a long time to be free, but euermore to be the Ladie of other countries. And by Virgill is set forth that excellent propertie of the Romans: To spare the subiects, and to vanquish the proud.

24 They suffered not themselues to be weakened with delightes and pleasures: neither set they their minde vppon heaping of riches. Besides this, there was a patient enduring of labours, and also a discipline of warre. They pould not their subiects, but protected them. They waited not their monie vppon Stage players, Iesters, Dicing, Harlots, or haunting of victualing houses. They obtained not their offices by guile, by deceits, or by yll practises: but by honest meanes: whereby at home they vsed great diligence, and abrode a iust government. They gaue counsell fralie, taking heede least their minde should be subiect to lustes and vices. Wherefore, seeing they had so excellent studies, vertues and facultias, they easlie obtained by nature to beare rule ouer others. For such a coniunction and linking together in the world is ordained by God, as of such causes (vnlesse he himselfe let it), thole things doe alwaies or for the most part followe. Howbeit I denie not, but that in the comuon wealth of Rome, there were manie vices also, seeing the people was constrained sundry times to auoide from ỹ Tyrannie of the Fathers: Albeit that euen in those times they had some excellent active and valiant men which tempered and corrected such vices. But afterward when the Empire was obtained, whē vices had exceedinglie preuailed, vices were supposed together with the verie hugenesse of so great a kingdome, and people and nobilitie. So notwithstanding that they themselues abused so great an Empire, yet God did both punish the world and the infinite wickednesse thereof. And the Church was wonderfullie increased with witnesses, and heauen with Saints. There be moreouer other causes, (as vnto vs vnknowen, so most iust) for the which God suffereth these things to happen. The Romans Empire at the length gaue

gaue peace vnto the Church. In the Monarchie of the Persians, the people of Israell was restored into their owne countrie. And while Nabuchad-nezer enioyed the kingdom of the Chaldeans, the name of God was published and spread abroade among the Gentiles. Vnder the kings of Macedonia the holie Scriptures were translated out of the Hebrewe into the Greeke tongue while Ptolomæus did beare rule in Egypt. And thus shalt thou euermore finde, that God verie well knoweth howe to vse an euill thing.

The end of the fourth Part.

To God alone the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, glorie and dominion for euer and euer, Amen.



ANOTHER

Collection of certeine Diuine matters and doctrines of the same M.D. Peter Martyr (the titles wherof appeare in the page following) necessarilie added to this volume, for the greater benefit and comfort of the Christian Church.

At the end is placed a table of all the particulars, and the Authors life at large.

Translated, and partlie gathered by the said ANTHONIE MARTEN.

Meliora spero.

Philipp. 1, verse. 9.

I praie that your loue may abound more and more in knowledge, and in all iudgement, that ye may discerne things that differ one from another.

Seene and allowed according to the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions.

1583.

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The life of D. Peter Martyr.

To hir Maieſtie.

WHen I had now, by the ſpeciall goodneſſe of almightie GOD, brought to a perfect end the foure Parts of M. D. *Peter Martyrs* Common places, and perceiued that in certeine new editions of the Latin copie printed both in *England* and in *Germanie*, were put, by waie of addition, manie other works of his latelie found out, and not before imprinted: and hauing alſo found, by the helpe of my freends, other things woorthie the bringing into light, which before this time were neuer printed in anie toong: I likewiſe thought it neceſſarie (though my labour therby ſhould be increaſed, the quantitie of this booke inlarged, and the longer before it could be publiſhed) to tranſlate theſe things alſo into Engliſh, and to publiſh the ſame. That ſeeing Maiſter *P. Martyr* is that reuerend man, whoſe profound and ſincere iudgement (as all godlie and learned men confeſſe) is not onelie equall in each reſpect, but in ſome degree beyond all the Diuines of our time: and in plaineſſe of ſtile, and agreeableneſſe of doctrine, more certeine and correſpondent both to the truth, & to himſelfe, than ma-

nie of the ancient fathers: and further, seeing in these additions dooth appeere the forme of his preaching, the vniformitie of his doctrine, his sharpenesse in disputing, and soundnesse in answering, his vehement and sweet motions to vertue and holinesse, his sundrie graue & well written Epistles in matters of moment, with diuerse other points right woorthie the reading, and not particularlie mentioned in the bodie of the foresaid booke. For these (I saie) and the like reasons, I haue presumed, with your Maiesties fauour, to impart the same to your godlie and well disposed subiects: that they may euen as it were gather all the honie out of those flowers, which he hath planted in the garden of the Lord, and so ioifullie carrie the same into the hiues of their hart, that in time to come they may be found profitable bees vnto the Lord their Sauiour, and reape of him an incomparable reward in the kingdome of heauen, where he reigneth with the Father and the holie Ghost, three persons and one immortall God for euer and euer:

So be it.

Certeine other Common places of Peter Martyr, and first of Free will.

Free will.

That the word *Liberum arbitrium* is no where found in the holie scriptures.

THis woord *Liberū arbitrium* (so far as I remember) is not found in the holie scriptures: yet neuertheles must not that, which it signifieth, be but lightlie accounted of. For the same is euerie where disputed of, & is at this daie a great controuersie, and alwaies hath been, among the Doctors and Diuines. Albeit, euen the Philosophers themselues, speaking of the soule, neuer made mention thereof: but in the stéd of it they put this woord προαίρεσις. For in the mind they onlie put the vnderstanding and the will: of some is added the memozie. Also Cicero, an excellent author of the Latine tong, neuer named *Liberum arbitrium*: but in his booke *De fato*, he once or twise named *Liberam voluntatem*, which is all one in effect. The Græcians called it αὐτεξούσιον, the woord being compounded of αὐτὸς and ἐξουσία: and it signifieth nothing else, but a man to be at his owne libertie, and in his owne power, and cannot be constreined.

And after this maner frée will may be attributed vnto God, who cannot be compelled; because he hath no will that can be turned. Also the good angels neither can sinne, nor yet be turned from God, whom they haue before their eies. After this maner they are said to haue frée will, yea and the diuels also. Neither is the woord αὐτεξούσιον (so far as I knowe) in the holie scriptures. The Latine woord *Arbitrium*, consisteth of two woords *Arbitrium* and *Liberum*. To arbitrate, is to esteeme, to perceiue, to be of the opinion, to iudge: and *Liberum* we haue alreadie said, is for a man to be at his owne libertie. Wherefore it séemeth to be frée will, when the appetite is of the selfe accord carried vnto that, which the vnderstanding or power of knowing shall shew it. It is indéed in the will, but it taketh rot in the vnderstanding: because it behoueth, that the thing be first iudged and esteemed, then insueth either eschewing or following of it. Augustine oftentimes said, that it is a faculte both of the reason and of the will. Damascene also said, that frée will doth both iudge and take. Iudgement belongeth to the part of vnderstanding, but desire belongeth to the will. Reason or vnderstanding hath the place of one that counselleth: but the will desireth, taketh in hand, or refuseth.

To arbitrate what it signifieth.

Augustine.

Damascene

2 Wherefore, we may thus define frée will, that it is a certeine facultie of the will; the which, while it followeth the part of knowing, it doth of his owne accord refuse or desire some thing. When I saie the facultie, I vnderstand nothing else but power: least anie man thinke, that I here meane some qualitie; as though it were an habit added. Although that Barnard said, that frée will is a frée habit of his owne mind. Wherefore it is a power of the will, not as it is will absolutelie, accepting as we now dispute thereof (for we would euen felicitie, neither can we otherwise:) but it is said to be a power of the will, according as προαίρεσις, of choise precedeth of it. Those things that we chose, we chose for another thing: not by themselues, but by a certeine counsell that went before. For we chose not, except those things that were seuered: but it behoueth that this seuering be done by the vnderstanding part. This is the definition of the cause, which, if it will not satisfie, we will bring another: which is of the Master of the sentences, in the second booke of sentences, the 25. distinction. He saith, that frée will is a power of the reason, and of the will, whereby is chosen good, when Gods grace alloureth, or euill when his grace ceaseth.

The definition of free will.

Barnard.

The Master of the sentences.

The Master thought it meet to adde grace, least he should séeme to agrée with the Pelagians. But yet for all that, he nameth no instilling grace, but a preuenting grace, which may knock

at the mind, and may stir vp the one and the other: then if we assent vnto the word of God, there followeth regeneration. These things I thinke sufficient for to knowe the nature of frée will. But the things, that is, the obiects into which this will is carried, must be diligently sifted. Those be of two kinds. Some be of a baser sort, which be subiect vnto the senses and mans reason, and they exceed not our capacitie, neither haue they néed of a supernaturall light: as is, that I now teach, or not teach; that I arrise, or not arrise; that warre be taken in hand, or not taken in hand. These things are subiect to our senses, and by reason we may discerne them on either part. Other things there be more high, whereof we cannot so much as dreame: as, to beléeue in Iesus Christ, to obeie the commandements of GOD, to trust in him, to loue him with all the heart, with all the soule, and with all the strength, to be obedient to the lawe through good motions and guiding of the spirit of God. These be verie high things, so as Paule saith; The naturall man perceiueth not the things of the spirit of God. Againe, The things which eie hath not seene, neither eare hath heard, neither came into mans heart, which God hath prepared for them that loue him; but GOD hath reuealed them vnto vs by his spirit, &c.

The obiects of free will are of two sorts.

1.Cor.2.14.

1.Cor.2.9.

A distinction of the state of men.

3 This distinction being put, there followeth an other, which belongeth to the state and condition of men. Adam, before he sinned, had his state. After this followed a miserable corruption, before that men were regenerate, when as yet they liued in méere darkenesse. The third state is in regeneration it selfe. The fourth state is after regeneration, when men are now borne anew, and are staied vp by grace. The first is, of the blessed, when they be now in the kingdome of heauen. Of all these I haue no néed to dispute: for, as touching the state of the first man, we haue but few things in the holie scriptures. Onelie we knowe, that God made man righteous, and that he fell by his frée will. Neither is it néedfull at this time to speake of the latter [state;] bicause it doth not much serue to our matter. Wherefore three states there remaine to be considered of; namelie, before man is regenerate, also how it standeth with him in regeneration, and thirdlie when he is now regenerated. Dauid, when he was put to his shifte by the prophet Gad, was in that third state: he was now regenerate, he also returned into fauour. But yet that the whole matter may be made the plainer, we must speake of other things. Now then I saie, that men not yet regenerate haue partlie frée will, as touching those good things which are subiect to the senses; and do not exceed the capacitie of man. Sith experience teacheth, that I can stand or sit, that I can go my waies hence, or abide still: for thus is it naturallie done in vs, the sinewes and muscles and members are moued by the cogitations: [herein] are greater motions, but in the will or reason there is a certeine power of restraining.

2.Sa.24.12.

The freedomp of them that be not regenerate.

This thing the hypocrits verie oftentimes doo: they also haue naughtie motions, but being leadthrough deséire of glorie, they represse them by reason; for they iudge, that by that waie of common affections, they cannot obteine the glorie of God. Notwithstanding, this cannot alwaies be done: therefore I said, that in part they haue it not, bicause such a vehemencie there is of the motions and affections, as it is not in the power of reason to constraine them. And it is to be noted in this place, that these first cogitations, or first assaults, are not in our power, when they be stirred vp, and when they first breake forth; but that they are moued: neither is reason it selfe that restraineth alwaies in our diuine power. Wherefore Ambrose (as it is often) alledged by Augustine) saith; Our heart is not in our owne power. This I vnderstand [by adding] Eucmore; bicause otherwhile it is in our power. And then may be so great a perturbation of feare, as they, which haue decreed to abide firme in battell, may run awaie; séeing reason cannot represse them. This happened to the Chanaanits vnder Iosua: they, when they would haue destroied the Israelits, could not stand before the face of Iosua; bicause God, according to his promises, strooke a terror into them. Partlie therefore there is alibertie in these things, and partlie there is not. Neither is it in euerie age: for children and fooles are rather moued like brute beasts, then do moue [with reason.]

Iosua.5.1.

What the not regenerate can do in the lawe of God.

4 If it be demanded, whether by this frée dome granted in part, men can do those things which may agrée with the lawe of God: I saie, that we can after some manner vse that word, yea but fourdlie vnderstood: séeing the scriptures so speaketh. Paule, vnto the Romans, saith; The Gentils doo by nature those things which pertéine to the lawe. For there is no nation so sauage or barbarous, which is not touched with some sense of right, iustice, and honestie: otherwise, if the lawe of God be vnderstood properlie and trulie, in this libertie men cannot do those things, which are agréeable with the lawe. Bicause the lawe requireth not of vs outward things onelie; yea rather, that shall be the least thing also: but it requireth most of all good inward motions, that we should loue GOD with all our heart, with all our soule, and with all our strength. And that precept is as it were the soule and spirit of other precepts: so as he that will obeie other precepts, must do that with all the heart, with all the soule, and

Rom.2.14.

and with all the strength, with which he can loue God: and with that mind absteine from robberies, from fornications, and from other such things for Gods sake, whom he loueth with all the hart. We might rather said, that by this libertie, our works may agrée with the lawe ciuill and economicall, which considereth those things that are outwardlie done, and is not much occupied about the will.

1.Tim.1.9.

The vse of the lawe.

And whereas Paule saith; that The lawe is appointed vnto the wicked, to the vngodlie, and vnto murtherers: it is not thereof to be inferred, that we can do the lawe. For albeit that a man may saie, that the lawe is not appointed for iust men (bicause they being regenerate, & frée from the danger of damnation, haue no lawe to accuse or condemne them, but in that they are not yet perfectlie regenerated:) yet can it not thereof be concluded, that men by this their libertie, wherof we speake, can performe the law. For that lawe, being so appointed, may haue manie other ends than the doing of it; namelie, that men may acknowledge their sinnes, and the weakenesse of their owne strength; that they may sée what they ought to haue done, and be stirred vp vnto better things, and may come vnto Christ: that instrument doth God vse to bring them home into the waie. Augustine, in his booke *De gratia & libero arbitrio*, the second chapter, séemeth thus to teach; that Of the verie precepts doth consequentlie followe our frée will, otherwise the precepts should be impossible. Hereunto I saie, that the lawe, being so put, doth infer a frée will, as touching man made in his first state of perfect nature; and likewise as touching men regenerate, that they may obeie by an vnperfect obedience, but not by a perfect. But by the commandements what is conteined, as touching men not yet borne anew: Mans strength and power cannot thereby be pmoued, but that they haue a will [it may be pmoued:] which being moued by grace, they shall haue some power to obeie, or to doo their dutie; since it is not repugnant vnto it to be renewed, as being of such a nature, that it may be regenerated of GOD, and at the least wise to obeie him with an obedience vnperfect.

Augustine.

Note that frée will doeth followe of the precepts.

Further, if outward things be considered, it hath some libertie: but this is not to do the law, which spectallie requireth the verie inward motions, that doo proceed of faith and inspiration of the spirit of God. Wherefore I grant some such kind of libertie, bicause experience teacheth, that it is so: not that I am constreined by that argument [to confesse,] that if the lawe cannot be kept by a frée will, magistrates shall punish offenders in vaine, and that the lawes were giuen in vaine. For if this argument were firme, it should be concluded thereby, that we, while we are not regenerate, haue also frée will vnto those supernaturall things; séeing euen to those that be not regenerated, God hath giuen lawes as touching these things, and for them doth punish, except they haue them. I grant therefore, that as touching outward things, we haue partlie this libertie: but yet I could not be moued by those arguments, vnlesse there were another thing to moue me. For the magistrate A similitude. himselfe, if there should be brought vnto him an open robber, or a theefe, so they wittingly and willingly did anie naughtie act, he will punish them. The magistrate will not then inquire, whether they had a frée will, or whether they were moued by affection, in such sort as reason could not withstand. For a man men not as yet regenerate, which are without faith, hope, and charitie, if they should die, GOD would punish them; neither would he respect, whether in that state they could haue them, or not haue them. And God himselfe punished originall sinne: neither doth he sée he when we are borne, whether we may be without it, or not without it. Augustine, Augustine. in his booke of confessions, saith; that Infants also at that age haue their vices and sinnes: for they are infected with enuie. And sinnes they are, when as neuerthelesse it lieth not otherwise in their power; neither haue they reason to resist those motions.

Rom.1,19.

That which commanded, frée will is committed with; séeing if we obeie, or if we resist, that doo we with the will. For we do not assent or dissent with our nostrils, fingers, or other members of the bodie; but with our iudgement. Howbeit, it is not thereby proued, that we are able to do so much, as is commanded vs. Therefore, although I be not moued by this reason, to affirme this frédome; yet I grant the same, being moued by experience; not euerie experience, but with the same, which hath a testimonie out of the holie scriptures, which doo not deceiue. In the first chapter to the Romans, is intreated of them, which were not renewed; which are said to haue knowne the inuisible things of God (I meane the Godhead and eternitie) by the creatures. The verie which thing Dauid affirmeth; The heauens declare the glorie of God, &c. And in the same epistle; The Gentils, which haue not the lawe, doo naturallie those things, which bee conteined in the lawe. And as touching things to be done, they were said to haue had the knowlege of equitie. For; When as they should haue knowne the righteousnes of God, and that they which doo such things, are worthie of death, they not onlie doo those things, but they also consent

The Psal.19,1.

Rom.2,14.

Ibidem.3.

vnto

vnto those that doo them, and so are made inexcusable. For they cannot pretend ignorance, sith they knew, that they did not euen that same small thing that they attained vnto. Neither can they rightlie excuse the weakenesse of their strength; seeing they themselues made a voide therevnto, by the sinne of Adam, in whom all men sinned. Also Christ said; If yee onelie loue Matth.5,46 them which loue you, the Publicans and harlots doo thus.

And no man doubteth, but that generallie good maners are to be allowed; and to regard friendship is a rightfull thing: for they are despised, which either betraie or hurt their freends. Matt.7,11. Also the Lord in the seuenth chapter of Matthew, saith; If you, when ye be euill, can giue good things vnto your children, &c. Neither thinke I, that it is to be doubted, but that naturall affection of parents towards their children, whereby they willy well vnto them, is good: for they that contemne their owne children, or doo verie cruellie handle them, are greatlie despised. Moreouer, Paule, when he was yet an enimie of God, and persecuted the church, did profit in outward iustice aboue verie manie of his Gal.1,13. fellowes, as vnto the Galathians he testifieth. And to the Philippians he theweth, that he was vnreprouable and faultleile, according to the righteousnesse of the lawe. Also, the liuingies of the Ethnikes doo shew of manie things, that Scipio, Pompeie, Cæsar, Cato, and Cicero, did singularlie well speake, decree, and execute, for the commodities of their countries, and publike profit sake: when as neuertheleile they were strangers from Christ. Hereby it appeareth, as well out of the holie scriptures, as out of the liuingings of the Ethniks, that some thing must be granted to this libertie, although that degrees must be appointed therein; for it seemeth not to be granted vnto all men alike. The varietie may be according to the temperatures of the bodie, according to the instruction of education, according to the places of countrie, exercises and such like.

Neither are we to leaue it vnspoken, that these notable acts, which in the liuingies are mentions of the infidels, happened by some motion and peculiar instinct of God; who would, that such examples should be extant, to the intent that Common-weales and kingdomes might be preserued. And that all things should not run to confusion, it behoued some to be adorned with excellent conditions, who might do good to others, by keeping them in their dutie. Wherefore, as we grant that the spirit of prophelying, and such other kind of graces, are sometime giuen by God vnto lacked men: so libenesse, without a sufficient grace there might be giuen of God, besides the common influence, some spirits of fortitude, of chastitie, and of seueritie, and such like. Wherefore this is the free will, which I judge is to be granted: with the which neuertheleile there are ioined wonderfull infirmities and bondages. First in the vnderstanding, there is great darkenesse and blindneile; so that it fareth at anie time vnderstanded what is to be done. And in the will, there is great want of strength to resist lusts. Moreouer, seeing there is a perpetuall conflict betweene the superiour part and the inferiour, it cannot be, but that men doo sometime faint in courage; and that they, which so fight, cannot auoid wounds, which manie times be deadlie.

Here withall is ioined the infirmitie of the bodie, which both is corrupted, and is burthensome to the soule; and oftentimes is the cause why we cannot bring to paile those things, which we thought meet to be done. Seeing that is true, which Paule said of the regenerate; that They feele an other lawe in the members, striuing against the lawe of the mind, and leading them captiue whither they would not: And that; If the flesh doo so lust against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, that they doo not that which they would: Againe; If they doo not that good thing which they desire, but the euill which they hate, what thinke we doth happen in them that be not regenerate? Undoubtedlie much more grieuous things. Moreouer, let vs consider the naturall end, which the philosophers haue appointed, that men should liue according to reason and the excellent vertue; and let vs see, vnto how few it hath happened; and thereby learne the weaknesse of mans strength, euen in those things, which exceed not the capacitie of mans reason. An other necessitie besides may be considered of, wherevnto men in this state are subiect; the which is the necessitie of sinne. Because, whatsoeuer they doo without the grace of God & faith, of necessitie they are sins: for They be the children of wrath. And seeing they beleeue not in Christ, the wrath of God remaineth vpon them: wherefore they can doo no good thing that may please God; for God hath more respect vnto men than to their gifts. They be euill trees, therefore they can beare no fruit, except it be euill. And Paule calleth those his Iewish good works not onlie dong, but also lusts; because they were offensiue vnto him. Further, that which is of flesh cannot be but flesh: and that men not regenerate be flesh, it hath manifold proofs. Yea and in the booke of Genesis, the first and eight chapters, it is declared, that the imaginations of men, which they deuiile, are euill; yea and that from their infancie.

Further more, those things which be done of the regenerate, doo want their due end; because they are not referred vnto God: so as they cannot

not loue God aboue all things, which in verie deed is to refer all things vnto him. So then, all their workes are corrupt, and therefore sinnes, Rom.14,23 seeing they be without faith. For; Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Those things, which be commanded vnto vs by God, if they be compared vnto that state, whereof we now speake, are vnpoilible; although they may be performed of the regenerate by a certeine new begonne obedience. This necessitie of sinning, Augustine acknowledged in his booke *De natura & gratia*, the 66. chapter, where he wrote; that Of the corruptions of nature, not of the condition of nature, there is a certeine necessitie of sinning. Wherefore we crie out vnto the Lord; From the necessities, ô Lord, deliuer vs. And in the same place, the 67. chapter, he teacheth, that Certeine things done of necessitie are to be disallowed, where a man would doo rightlie and cannot. But these things he will haue to be, not onelie sinnes, but also punishments of sinnes. And in the second disputation against Fortunatus the Manichei, he writeth; that The first man tarried not in free will, and that we thereby fell headlong into necessitie. And in the booke *De natura & gratia*, the 46. chapter, he saith; that Not all necessitie striueth with the will: for we would felicitie, neither can it be otherwise. Yea and the God of iustice himselfe hath no more a will, than a necessitie. The same author, in his third booke *De libero arbitrio*, the 18. chapter, which is also touched in the first of his retractations, the 9. chapter.

In the booke *De natura & gratia*, the 66. chapter, he speaketh of man not regenerate: He is euill, neither can he be good, either because he seeth not that is to be done, or if he shall see it, he cannot doo that which he knoweth he ought to doo, that he may be good. And vndoubtedlie, this is a thing receiued, that it was possible for the first man, not to die, as it was possible for him not to sinne: & when we shall be in the kingdome of heauen, it will come to passe, that it shall not be possible for vs to sinne, and not be possible for vs to die. The same father also, in his treatise *De spiritu & litera*, wrote; that Whereas free will is not of force except vnto sinne, it must haue relation vnto the present state of men. And in the Mileuitane Councell, those were condemned, which said; that The grace of iustification is giuen, to the intent that it might be the easilier performed which was required by free will: as though indeed free will could performe this by it selfe, but somewhat hardlie. This necessitie also doo the holie scriptures shew; The wisedome or sense of the flesh is enimitie against God, and is not subiect to the lawe, nor in verie deed can be. And in the same chapter; That which was vnpossible to the lawe, forsomuch as it was weake, because of the flesh, &c. Wherefore, those that be

not regenerate, be vnder this necessitie of sinning; which neuertheleile must be vnderstood generallie, not of particular sinnes: for it is of no necessitie that they should rather admit this sinne than that. There is also a certeine other necessitie, which hath respect vnto the prouidence of GOD, and to the foreshewings of the prophesies. Moreouer, the necessitie is not absolute, but by supposition, or (as they call it) of the consequence. Of that I will speake afterward, when I shall handle the place of predestination: but at this present I will touch it no further.

6. It is also to be considered, that in the varietie of mens wils, there is an intercourse of affections; so as one maistereth another, and this is done by turnes, and those haue the ouerhand which be the more vehement. Moreouer, there is a difference of affections: insomuch as some be more honeil, some leile honeil. And herein the will hath some free dome, that sometimes it yeeldeth to the one sort, and sometimes to the other. Againe, this must we not forget to consider, that the will it selfe in his owne nature is blind, & that it followeth no other thing than is shewed by the mind or vnderstanding. Also knowledges are so to be diuided, as either they doo belong to the sense, or to the reason, or else to faith. And the will will assent to the knowleges, according as they shall be more vehement: neither is it in the power thereof, to be more set on by one sort than by another. Some saie, that this is the power therof, to constreine the mind to reason, & that it is inclined to the better sort of reasons & counsels, & suffereth not it selfe to be call from them. But that this is a good thing, the will of it selfe knoweth not; except so much as reason hath taught it. Wherfore I knowe not a more present remedie, than to call vpon God, that by his spirit, he will make that cogitation and counsell in the will to be of the greater power, which may more belong to our saluation, and to his glorie. To him it belongeth examplie to kindle and lighten the same, whereby our will, euen aboue other things, may be moued. For we all knowe that the will doth beare rule, and commandeth mens actions: but since it is betweene knowledges and affections, we dispute whether it be put in the power thereof; by which sort it should be moued more vehementlie.

Doubtles, when it is ouercome of sinnes, it is made the seruant of them. For Peter, saith; that Euerie man is seruant vnto him, of whom he is ouercome. And to the Rom. it is written; that We become the seruants of him to whom soeuer we giue our selues [as seruants] to obey. Againe; Whereas ye were the seruants of sinne, ye were freed from righteousnes. Christ also said, If Christ haue made you free, then ye shall be free. Wherevpon it followeth, that men are falselie termed free,

Augustines places touching the necessitie of sinne.

The end of vertue of the philosophers.

Eph.2,3. Iohn.3,36.

Gen.4,5. Matth.7,18

The Milenitane Councell. Phil.3,8.

Gen.6,5. and 8,21.

Rom.8,7.

verse.3.

The diuersitie of affections by turnes.

The will is governed by the mind.

A diuision of knowledges.

The will commandeth mens actions.

The captiuitie of the will. 2.Pet.2,19.

Rom.6,16. 20.

Iohn.8,36.

frée, when they are not yet regenerate. Besides all these things, there is the tyrannie of the diuell, which holdeth men captiue, before they belong vnto Christ. For Christ said, that The strong armed man keepeth his house, and withholdeth the spoiles captiue, vntill there come a stronger than he, who taketh awaie those things. And in the second epistle to Timothie, the second chapter, it is written, that They which speake against the truth, are withheld captiues by Sathan at his will. Also it is a common saieng, that The will is as it were a horse, which one while hath the spirit of GOD and grace to sit vpon it, but otherwhile the diuell; and is sometime stirred vp by him, and sometime is gouerned by grace: therefore the libertie thereof is apaired by the manifold bondage thereof. And it is a wonder, that seeing the libertie thereof is so small, especiallie in this state, that the same is rather called frée than bond. These things Luther considering, called this *Arbitrium* rather bond than frée. If one were in prison fast bound with fetters and manicles, should he rightlie saie that he is frée, because he might stir his head, and lift vp his eies? Doubtlesse our will can frælie refuse spirituall gifts, while we be conuersant in this state; it can also chose things contrarie vnto them, but the good things themselues it cannot challenge of desire to it selfe.

Matt.12,29

2.Tim.2,26

A similitude.

Luther.

A similitude.

Merit of congruitie and condignitie.

And seeing it is so fræle, as it can onlie performe certeine outward things, and that of the baser sort; there haue beene some, which in this state attributed vnto it the merit of congruitie; that is to wit, that if they should do that, which lieth in them to do, they should alter a far better grace, although not of condignitie (as they speake) yet at the least wise of congruitie. Let these feigned deuises go; Grace, if it should be giuen bicause of works, now should it be no grace. Howbeit, I so speake these things as I would not slacke the bridle vnto sinnes and wickednesse: for euen they themselues that be not regenerate, if they performe not those outward things which they can, they shall be far more grieuouslie punished. But if anie complaine, that by this meanes frée will is too much extenuated, I saie it is not so: but while it is debased, as it is indeed, manie profits are gathered thereby. First, that they, which shall know these things, are not puffed vp, nor yet are pond of their owne strength; but are the more earnestlie stirred vp, to desire the helpe of God, when they shall perceiue themselues to be so weake. And when they shall afterward be regenerated, and shall perceiue from how manie euils they be deliuered, they will be the more earnestlie moued to giue thanks to their deliuerer. These things the Pelagians did not obserue, the which thought, that before regeneration they might by their owne merits deserue grace; and therefore, by ertolling themselues more than was meet, they both vnto themselues, and disturbed the church.

Rom.11,6.

7 There might also be added an other distinction; to wit, that God vseth our mindes as instruments: for The heart of the king is in the hand of God, he bendeth it which waie soeuer he will. So Nabuchad-nezar, when he was at the head of the two waies, and in a doubt whither he should bend, and perhaps would haue set vpon the Moabits or Ammonits. He consulted by lots, and God tempered them, and directed him vnto the Ierosolomits, which were to be punished for their deserts, as we haue it in Ezechiel. And in other the prophets it is said, that these monarchs are in the hand of GOD, like vnto an axe and wood. But bicause this vse of God bringeth not strength into our minds, therefore a libertie, such as it is, towards these things which we now speake of, is not vtterlie taken awaie. Therefore I grant it, and I haue confirmed the same out of the holie scriptures. Wherefore the knowledge morall, ciuill, and economicall, & andeth and remaineth firme for all men. Neuertheless, to some I may herein seeme to be deceiued: bicause I haue said, that the name of *Liberum arbitrium* is not found in the Latine translation of the diuine scriptures, neither yet the Greeke word αὐτεξούσιον. Certeinlie I spake not this of the thing, but of the words: and that which I then said, I affirme againe. But that προαίρεσις, or προαιρεῖσθαι is not found in the holie scriptures, I said it not. Yet, if it be demanded, whether these words be all one: I answer, that they seeme not to be.

Prou.21.1

Ezec.21.21

Esai.10,5.

And vndoubtedlie Damascene, in the second booke, when he intreateth of frée will, and other things, which be in vs, nameth αὐτεξούσιον, but he defineth προαίρεσις, where he intreateth περὶ τοῦ θελήματος, [of will.] I will adde the reason why they differ, bicause αὐτεξούσιον belongeth vnto the generall word of qualitie; for it is an affect and propertie of the will: but προαίρεσις, is an action. And how qualitie and action do differ in themselues, all men knowe. That προαίρεσις is an action, the same author theweth in defining of it. He saith, that προαίρεσις is λόγων προκριτικῶν ὀρεκτικὴ καὶ ἐνεργητικὴ τοῦτο πρὸ ἑτέρου; that is, Two things being propounded to chose, & prefer the one before the other. Further, the same author, where he spreadeth of the will of the Lord, saith; that the word θέλησις, that is, will, agreeth vnto that, which vndoubtedlie is αὐτεξούσιον, that is, selfe power, & not προαίρεσις, that is, frée election. For that requireth consultation, which noteth a former ignorance, and that cannot be ascribed vnto God. Furthermore, as we haue it in Aristotle, the

the third booke of his Ethiks, the word βούλησις, is occupied about the end; but προαίρεσις about those things, which belong vnto the end. Besides this, to προαίρεσις do belong those things which can be done of vs: but the will is touching those things, which cannot be done of vs; as when we wold one wrestler to ouercome another, & a ship to hold his right course. These things are in our power to will, but not to chose: for the will of his owne accord and power would sometimes things impossible, as not to die. But election is occupied onelie about things that be possible: wherefore they differ, so as αὐτεξούσιον extendeth more largelie; seeing it not onelie agreeth to προαίρεσις, but also to βούλημα: yet is it not the generall word of them.

But if thou wilt saie, that of προαίρεσις is inferred αὐτεξούσιον: I will grant it, although the words do not signifie one thing. And I confesse, that the thing it selfe is found in the holie scriptures, although the word be not there extant: euen as ὁμοούσιος, concerning the word it selfe, is not in holie scriptures; albeit that the thing it selfe is there concluded and proued. Seeing these words be not in verie deed all one, I might rightlie saie, that the one is not in the holie scriptures, though the other be there found. Neither haue I alone affirmed this, but Oecolampadius (a man well learned, and verie frendlie to our church of Tigurie) wrote this vpon the prophet Esaie, when he intreateth of these words; If ye be willing, and doo harken vnto me, &c. For he saith; This place the Pelagians, and manie also of the fathers abuse for the affirming of frée will, saieng; If ye be willing, and if ye be not willing; Therefore our choise is frée. And vnto this purpose they draw a testimonie out of Ieremie, the 21. chapter; Behold, I laie before you the waie of life and death. So is it also in the 15. chapter of Ecclesiasticus, and in the 30. of Deuteronomie. Vnto which we answer: Trulie, if the contention be about the name, to saie that *Voluntas*, that is, will; and *Liberum arbitrium*, frée choise; or αὐτεξούσιον, selfe power (which name I haue not yet found in the scriptures) is all one; for somuch as the churches maner is not to contend, we permit them so to vse those names: sith charitie is more precious vnto vs than little words. For who knoweth not, that the willing sort both sin, and do well? But if, vnder the pretence hereof, the glorie and mercie of God be derogated, it is better to speake contrarie vnto men, than to be made partakers of blasphemie, &c.

Occolampadius.

Esai.1,19.

Ierem.21,8.

Eccl.15,18. Deu.30,15

And a little after: Howbeit, they are not (as I haue said) to be lamented for this cause, as though they were kept in barbarous seruitude; for GOD maketh good men to be partakers of his frædome, and They be trulie free, when the spirit of GOD worketh in them, who is more rightlie said to further than to take awaie the will: whose worthinesse the apostle commending, saith; Whosoeuer are led by the spirit of God, they are the sonnes of God. For, so much the better are our works, as they more purelie proceed of God. And in good things, not the least thought or indeuour commeth else-where, but from God. And frait after; Vnto God is the glorie, vnto vs is onlie confusion due. But shalt thou not most trulie saie, that those be seruants, who being destitute of the spirit of GOD, which put to his hand, that they should not fall, are carried headlong by their owne fault, whither soeuer their sensualitie leadeth them? O miserable frædome, that we haue libertie to sin! For God doth leaue vs a power to sinne, and such, as by nature we can turne our selues from him. And by and by after; Why doo we boast of the frædome of will, whom the scripture reproueth to be seruants of sinne? In the 8. of Iohn; Whosoeuer committeth sinne, is the seruant of sinne.

Rom.8,14.

verse.34.

Rom.9,16.

Ierc.15,19.

And there a little after: Therefore, euen he that saith; If ye be willing, he it is that stirreth the will in vs, and worketh: and whatsoeuer it is. It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. And a little after: For such are we in our owne nature, after that Adam sinned; as being left vnto our selues, we war slothfull, and become deafe at the voice of the Lord, we fall into sinne: and whereas, not to will, is by it selfe a damnable thing; we being destitute of the spirit of God, are compelled, and there also make GOD to be angrie, whose word we contemne. The demonstration of this sentence doth also Ieremie teach, in the 15. chapter; Be ye conuerted, & I will turne, &c. And a little after this did Augustine iudge, saieng; Giue that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt, &c. By these words we gather, that we are not to contend for the word, and that *Liberum arbitrium*, or frée choise may be granted; so it be the same thing that will is, so that there be not attributed vnto it a frædome vnto spirituall things. We also account will not to be frée, except it be by grace; otherwise that it is a bond will. It is also assured, which I haue set downe, that these words *Liberum arbitrium*, and αὐτεξούσιον, be not found in the holie bookes.

8 That προαίρεσις is had and taught among the philosophers, I denied not: but I said, that they do place in our mind the vnderstanding and will, and perhaps the memorie. Not that they there place *Liberum arbitrium*, as a fourth or fift power of the mind; but do attribute προαίρεσις vnto the will. But whether these two words *Liberum* and *Arbitrium*, be Latin words, I neuer called it into question: but a compounded word of these two *Liberum, arbitrium*, I said is

is not extant in Cicero. And the same thing I now confirme. And I might further adde, that it was not vsed of Cæsar, nor of Terence, nor of the men of that age. And thus much shall suffice for a defense of those things, which I spake in the beginning [of this place.] Now I come vnto the matter, and I search, as touching a will not yet regenerate, how it is towards diuine and celestiall things. All men admit, that those things cannot by themselues either be vnderstood, or desired of them that be not regenerate. And they affirme, that it is needfull, that the Spirit of God, through the word, be present, admonish, exhort, and persuade. For, as the sense cannot apprehend vniuersall things; so our mind, while it is corrupted, cannot atteine vnto supernaturall things.

But whether it suffice to haue them suggested vnto vs by the spirit of GOD, the word and the promises, some affirme it is. I denie it. For vnlesse these powers be amended, we cannot by anie means vnderstand and imbrace diuine and celestiall things. Neither is it in our power, that those things, which are set before vs, should please. Wherefore it is needfull, that certeine things should be set forth vnto vs by a strength, efficacie and power; so that the vnderstanding may be throughlie lightened, and the will strengthened, that it yeeld not vnto naughtie desires and drawings aside, whereby it is called awaie from spirituall things. Which being done, it consenteth vnto the words and promises of God, wherupon followeth iustification, towards which assent it dealeth actiuelie, and it selfe willeth and consenteth vnto those things which are laid before it. But towards that power of God, vehemencie, and efficacie, whereby it is healed and changed, [it dealeth] passiuelie: for it receiueth these things, and by him they be in it. Neither should this seeme an absurd thing, for somuch as the scriptures saie, that we are dyaine: the which noteth a certeine passion and disposition. It is also said, that God standeth at the doore, and knocketh. Wherefore those knockings and motions are receiued in the mind.

The will dealeth actiuelie and passiuelie.

The feet of Enthusiasts

Howbeit, for all that, we do not make hereby a sect of beleeuing Enthusiasts. For the Enthusiasts are reproued, who saie, that they suffer I know not what inspirations and infligations vnto things euill and forbidden, being repugnant to the word of God. But we appoint such an efficacie of God, as may incline minds vnto the promises and saiengs of God, and may stand together with the word of God: although that in manie, there is made onelie a lightening, or an imitation and suggestion without a change, seeing that efficacie and vehemencie of Spirit is not giuen vnto all men, neither can all men be made capable of heauenlie gifts, the which God himselfe dispenseth, distributeth, and tempereth as it shall seeme good to him. Wherevpon there arise two kinds of callings: for one is common; but the other is according to the determinate purpose [of God] whereof we will speake at large when the place serueth. And those, whom GOD indueth with his gift and strength, he (as it hath beene said) constraineth not, nor vseth violentlie; so as he should corrupt his will or choise, called *Arbitrium*; but rather maketh it perfect: euen as a forme adopteth and accomplisheth the matter, but destroieth it not.

This power of God, in our conuersion, Huldricus Zuinglius (a godlie and learned man, and who deserueth well of the church) hath noted vpon the epistle vnto the Romans, expounding these words; It is the power of God vnto saluation to euerie one that beleeueth. And he saith: For when we could by no means be saued by our owne power and strength, it was needfull to be saued by the power of God. This power he gaue vnto vs by Christ, who restored vnto life all men that were dead in Adam. This place taketh awaie the freedome of the will, and the power of mans strength, &c. Which saieng I vnderstand as touching supernaturall things, which exceed our capacitie. The same Zuinglius, in his booke *De vera & falsa religione*, in the chapter *De Deo*, thus writeth: But the faithfull (for, so do they commonlie vse to call the beleeuers, or godlie, or true worshippers of God) in this one thing be faithfull; for that they beleeue one true, onelie, and omnipotent God, and him onelie do trust. Moreouer, how it happeneth, that the godlie do in this wise iudge of God, and do not after the maner of the Gentils alcribe euerie vnknowne power vnto God, it is easie for a godlie man to shew. It is done, both by the power and grace of him, in whom a man beleeueth. For, as touching the disposition and nature of man, so farre forth as he is a naturall man, the godlie differeth nothing from the vngodlie. Therefore, in the error concerning gods, that might happen to euerie man, which happeneth to this or that man; vnlesse there were a more certeine noble power, which should call vnto it selfe, and fast bind vnto it mans mind, which in nature nothing differeth from them that do erre most of all. And here do the first beines of faith and godlinesse open themselues.

Rom.1,16.

9 And certeinlie, we must vnderstand, that the heresie of the Pelagians seemed after a sort to grant the grace of God, and they confessed those suggestions of the holie Ghost, illuminations, and such like: but this gift and efficacie of the spirit, changing our minds, they neither acknowledged, nor atteined vnto. This doth Augustine, in his treatise of the grace of Christ against Pelagius and Cœlestinus, the seuenth chapter, reproue, saieng;

The heresie of the Pelagians.

Augustine.

saieng; But behold what he hath added vnto vs, we being doubtfull in this expectation. For God (saith he) aideth vs by his doctrine and reuelation, while he openeth the eies of our hart, while he sheweth vs of things to come, that we should not be held of things present, while he taieth open the sleights of the diuell, while he lighteneth vs with the manifold and vnspeakable gift of the heauenlie grace. Afterward, finishing his sentence as it were with a certeine conclusion; He that saith thus (saith he) doth he seeme vnto thee to denie grace? Or whether doth he confesse the free will of man, and the grace of God? Further, in the eight chapter, the same Augustine saith; Hereby therefore it plainlie appeareth, that he confesseth this grace, whereby God sheweth and reuealeth what we ought to do; not whereby he giueth and aideth vs to do, seeing the knowledge of the lawe is rather a helpe vnto this; if the helpe of grace be wanting, by meanes whereof commeth a breach of the commandement, &c.

Moreouer, in the tenth chapter, Pelagius is brought in, speaking thus; He worketh in vs, to will that which is good, to will that which is holie, while, by the greatnesse of the glorie to come, and promise of rewards, he kindleth vs which be giuen to earthlie lusts, louing (after the maner of brute beasts) those things onelie which be present vnto vs; while by the reuelation of his wisedome he sheweth vp our amazed will to the loue of God; while he persuadeth vs to all things that are good: which thing thou fearest not else-where to denie, &c. But in the same tenth chapter, Augustine confuteth him in these words: Yet we do not principallie desire that [outward] but this [inward grace,] he must needs at length confesse, whereby the greatnesse of the glorie to come is not onelie promised, but also beleeued and hoped for; and is not onelie reuealed in wisedome, but is also euen loued; and whereby euerie good thing is not onelie suggested, but also throughlie persuaded: for all men haue not faith. The same Augustine, in his booke of grace and free will, the 16. chapter: For it is certeine, that we do keepe the commandements if we will, but bicause the will is prepared by the Lord, we must make petition vnto him, that we may will so much as is sufficient, and in willing we may do it.

1.Thes.3,2.

Certeine it is, that we will when we be willing; but he it is that causeth vs to will that which is good. Of whom it is said, which a little before I affirmed, that the will is prepared by the Lord. Of whom it is said; His steps shall be directed by the Lord, and hee shall order his waie. Of whom it is said; It is God that worketh in vs both to will and to do. Certeine it is, that when we do, we do it; but he causeth that we do, by giuing most effectuall strength to the will. Who said; I will cause that ye shall walke in my commandements, &c. The same Augustine, against the two epistles of Pelagius to Boniface, the third booke, the ninth chapter; What is it then (saith he) that they conceiue, where they rehearse those things, which themselues bid? They saie, that they conceiue, that grace also helpeth euerie good purpose, but yet that it doth not put an indeuour of vertue into him that receiueth, &c. This also would Augustine haue caused the Pelagians to grant, that God putteth an indeuour of good things, euen into them that resist: the which cannot be done, vnlesse our mind be drilleried, and that of an euill and corrupted will it become good. This is that change, which the holie Ghost worketh in vs. Hereby are we mollified, when we be hard and stubborne. The same father saith, that when God hardeneth, it is nothing else; but that he will not mollifie: bicause, vnlesse it be done by him that we be mollified, we continue still in our hardnesse.

Phil.2,13. Ezek.36, 27.

The holie Ghost bringeth it to passe, that we are made readie scholers of GOD, then of our selues we are vnteachable of diuine things. Salomon, as we haue it in the third booke of the Kings, the third chapter, desired of God an vnderstanding hart, or such a hart as would easilie be taught. This is it, which is said in the Gospels; that We be taught of GOD: which thing was promised by the prophets. God is the true master, who not onelie instructeth and teacheth, but also bringeth to passe, that we do learne: but that are not outward makers able to do; for God giueth eares to heare, eies to see, & an hart to vnderstand. Wherefore Christ in the Gospell said; He that hath eares to heare, let him heare. Vnlesse this be done in vs, we seeing shall not see, nor hearing shall not heare; neither shall we perceiue with the hart. It is written in Deuteronomie, the 29. chapter; He hath not giuen you eies to see, not eares to heare, nor a hart to perceiue; namelie, those things which in the wilderneſſe GOD did among you, and the words which he spake. And why this ought to be done in vs, the excellencie of diuine things doth declare vnto vs. For as the apostle Paule saith; The eie hath not seene, & the eare hath not hard, neither yet haue entered into the hart of man, the things which GOD hath prepared for them that loue him. Wherefore it is written in the 1. to the Corinthians; The naturall man perceiueth not the things, which be of the spirit of God, neither can he [know them,] for they be foolishnesse vnto him. The reason is afterward added, why a naturall man cannot vnderstand or desire these things: bicause they be spirituall things. And if they be spirituall things, they are onelie iudged by the spirit.

John.6,45. Esaie.54,13 Matth.13,9 Deut.29,4. 1.Cor.2,9. Ibidem. 14.

2.Cor.3,5. And in the second epistle to the Corinthians he saith; that We are not sufficient of our selues to thinke anie thing as of our selues, bicause our sufficiencie is of God. But if so be we cannot so much as thinke of those things; how shall we be able to vnderstand or desire them; which is a far greater and more difficult matter than to thinke? Wherefore, if the spirit of God shall propound vnto vs, either the lawe, or the promises, or the words of the holie scripture, and that no change commeth; we will not be moued: bicause we are neither sufficient, nor apt vnto those things. It behoueth that a conuersion go before, which may be called a certeine dispositio. The same do the Papists attribute vnto humane strength, and vnto our owne power; as though we can dispose it vnto grace and vnto faith. Howbeit, this must be vtterlie ascribed vnto the spirit of God, not vnto mans strength and will; as we haue declared. Also it might rightlie be called the health of the mind: of which healing, Augustine, in his booke *De spiritu & litera*, hath oftentimes made mention. As touching sinnes, we first of all affirme, that the nature of man is corrupted and defiled. Further, we perceiue that euill acts do breake out. So on the other side we must affirme, that there is first some healing of the mind that goeth before; afterward, that there followeth a consent of faith, a confidence and loue towards God, and an imbracing of his word.

One conuersion and dispositiō must be attributed to the spirit of God.

But and if such a conuersion or medicine haue not gone before, we will flie from GOD. This was verie well shewed in Adam the first man, as in a certeine type or figure; who, when he was fallen, after the breach of Gods commandement, into corruption and spirituall death, he hiding himselfe fled from God. And the apostle Paule, although he had heard and read manie things in the prophets concerning Christ, yet neuerthelesse was he turned from him, and made hauocke of the church: bicause (as he himselfe said vnto the Romans) The wisedome of the flesh is enimitie against God, and is not subiect to the lawe of GOD, neither yet can it be. And bicause it is manifest, that this is the gift of God, hereof are the praiers of the saints, who

Gen.3,8.

Acts.9,1.

Rom.8,7.

Psa.118,37. saie; Lighten mine eies, least they see vanitie:

Ibidem. 73. Giue me vnderstanding, that I may learne or knowe thy commandements. And Paule vnto

Ephes.1,18. the Ephesians praied God To lighten the eies of their vnderstanding, that they might knowe what was the hope of their calling. And as tow-

Psa.119,36. ching the will, Dauid praied; Incline mine hart

Psal.51,12. vnto thy testimonies. Again; A cleane hart create in me, o God. And Salomon his sonne

1.Kin.8,58. praied God, that he would giue vnto the people an vnderstanding hart. Seeing therefore that the saints do praie on this wise, what do they craue? What do they praie for? That God will shew his word, or that his spirit may knocke; howbeit, this he doth by himselfe, and that alwaies: as these men saie. But if they haue it in their owne power, why do they praie? Let them selues do it, seeing they haue it in their owne power.

Neuerthelesse, since praier is made rightlie of the saints, it is a token vnto vs, that this is required of GOD, to the intent he may change our harts. This argument did Augustine diuers times vse. Wherefore, in his booke *De libero arbitrio*, the 14. chapter, thus he writeth: For if faith proceed onelie of a free will, and is not giuen of GOD; to what purpose do we praie for them, which will not beleeue, that they may beleeue? Which we should do altogither in vaine, vnlesse we did verie rightlie beleeue, that wills also, which be peruerse and contrarie vnto faith, may be turned of the omnipotent GOD to beleeue. No doubt, but the free will of man is egged forward, when it is said; This daie, if yee Psal.95,8. heare his voice, harden not your harts. But vnlesse that God could also take awaie the hardnesse of the hart, he would not saie by the prophet; I will take from them their stonie hart, and Ezec.11,19 giue them a fleshie hart. The same father, against the two epistles of Pelagius vnto Boniface, the first booke, and 19. chapter: For to what purpose hath the Lord commanded vs to praie for them which persecute vs: Do we desire this, Matth.5,44 to the intent the grace of God may be recompensed to them for their good will; or not rather, that their euill will may be turned into good? Euen as we beleeue, that Saule was not then in vaine praied for by the saints, whom he persecuted; that his will might be turned into the faith which he destroied, and that his conuersion came from aboue, it appeared by a manifest miracle? Now manie enimies of Christ are daille vpon the suddē, by the secret grace of God, to atone vnto Christ.

And in the same place, in the 20. chapter, he declareth how true it is, that GOD conuerteth and changeth the wils of men, and saith; that This is true, we gather it not by the coniecture of man, but we discerne it by most euident authoritie of the scriptures. It is read in the booke of the Cronicles; And verelie the hand of God 2.Pa.30,12. was in Iuda, that he might giue them one hart, to do the commandement of the king & princes, according to the word of the Lord. Also the Lord saith by the prophet Ezechiel; I will giue Ezec.36,26 them another hart, and a new spirit will I giue them; and I will pull out of their flesh their stonie hart, and I will giue them a fleshie hart, that they may walke in my commandements, and keepe my iudgements to do them. Now what is it that Hester that Queene praieth, and saith?

Giue

Hester.14, verse.13. Giue me an eloquent speach, and make my words cleare before the lion, and turne his hare vnto the haered of them that be our enimies. And to what end doth she speake these words in hir praier vnto GOD, if God do not worke the will in the harts of men? And so vndoubtedlie it came to passe as she praied: for that king, as a fierce bull, at the first sight beheld hir, and his crueltie was turned into lenitie. Finallie, a Acts.16,14. place in the Acts of the apostles, the 16. chapter must be weighed, as touching Lydia, the woman which sold purple, whose heart God opened that she might giue eare vnto those things which were spoken by Paule. Manie doubtlesse were present, but it was particularlie said to that woman, that God opened hir hart.

Which place Conradus Pellicanus (a verie learned and holie man) being my predecessor, thus erpounded it: And this repentance commeth not of nature, but of grace, whose hart (saith he) the Lord opened, that she might vnderstand those things which were said by Paule. For in the Gospell none may trust to his owne strength, but in the gift of God, not in our owne presumption. Wherefore let vs, hearing the promises of the Gospell, mistrust the strength of our flesh; and let vs hasten to GOD, that he will open our hearts, that he will giue the gift of the holie Ghost, to beleeue with the heart, and to fulfill indeed that which we heare should be done; which thing we read came to passe in this woman that verse.16. sold purple. And the historie of Samuel, the first booke, the tenth chapter, teacheth it, where it is written; that They whose heart God had touched followed king Saule. And here vnto belong Ezec.37,26 those things, which Ezechiel spake; that He would take awaie the stonie heart; and would giue a fleshie heart. Vnto the Philippians also, Phil.2,13. Paule taught; that It is God which worketh in vs, both to will and to performe, and that not at our, but at his good pleasure. And vnto the Ephe- Ephe.2,8. sians it is written; that We by grace are saued, through faith, and that not of our selues.

By which words, our two; king together; namelie, that which is active, is removed: indeed, not as touching the consent of faith, but as touching that change by grace, of which we now speake. And it is added, that It is the gift of God. And 1.Thes.3,2. in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, it is written; All men haue not faith, bicause that healing or medicine of the spirit is not giuen to all men: vpon this it cometh, that all men consent not to the promises of God. Againe; Who Ephes.1,19. beleeue according to the working of his mightie power, which he wrought in Christ, raising him from the dead. By which words is shewed, that it is one and the selfe-same power, whereby our will is changed and conuerted to beleeue, and whereby Christ is raised vp from the dead.

And Pellicanus, erpounding this place, saith: Pellicanus. And in such sort doth God and our father declare his power and godnesse in vs; bicause he, by a certeine secret and vnspeakeable power, hath so transformed vs from the old institution, as setting all other things aside, we put our trust in him alone; and contemning those things which we see, do hope for of him; those things which we see not, &c. These things agree with those, which be written by the same apostle, in the same epistle, the second chapter; that When we were dead in verse.1. our sinnes, God quickened vs togither in Christ.

Wherefore, euen as a dead man is able to do nothing towards his owne raising vp or resurrection, so we also do not rise againe, although the words of God call vnto vs aloud, vnlesse the spirit and life be first restored vnto vs; then do we moue and stir vp to well doing. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians it is written; For 1.Cor. 4,7. who separateth thee, o And what hast thou, that thou hast not receiued? And if thou hast receiued, while dost thou glorie, as though thou haddest not receiued? If we should appoint, that free will can receiue the promises offered, and can consent to the saiengs of God propounded, the answer will be easie to make, He hath seuerallie appointed vnto me my free will aboue others, bicause I would, they would not; I haue consented, they haue refused: wherefore the difference would appeare to be of vs. And when Paule saith; Thou hast nothing that thou hast not receiued, he meaneth not that of creation, but of faith, of christianitie, and regeneration. For he dealt with the Corinthians themselues, who professed christianitie.

10 Further, seeing this healing of the mind Iere.17,14. dependeth of God, we rightlie praie; Heale me Psal.80,7. Lord, and I shalbe whole. And in the Psalmes; Turne vs o God of strength. Which thing when God doth, he taketh the veile from our hearts, whereby we were let, that we could not be meet for heauenlie things. And the naile of obstinacie and stubbornesse is driuen out, by the naile of the word of God: for Christ said; No man commeth John.6,44. vnto me, except my father shall drawe him. Wherevpon Augustine speaking in his 26. treatise vpon John, saith: Feare not, as though thou shouldest be drawne against thy will; the mind is drawne, and is drawne with loue, neither hast thou (saie) Drawe me I beleeue willinglie, if I be drawne? Thou art not onelie drawne by will, but also by pleasure, for as the Poet saith; Euerie mans owne pleasure draweth him. And he addeth similitudes; Thou shewest to a little A similitude. chepe a greene bough, & thou drawest him. Thou shewest nuts to a child, and thou drawest him. We are not drawne by the hurt of the bodie, but by the ioy of the hart. Further, making this drawing more plaine, he saith; I, while I speake

unto you, that no I: I bring in a noise into your eares, vnlesse there be one within to reuealе, that speake I: What saie I? I am he that trimmeth the tree without; the Creator is within. But he that planteth, and he that watereth is nothing: it is he himselfe that giueth the increase, and maketh all men apt to learne. All which men? They which haue heard and learned of the father, they doo come vnto Christ. He intreating of the verie same matter, against two epistles of the Pelagians, the 19. chapter, writeth: Who is he now, if he was already willing? And yet no man commeth, except he be willing. Wherefore he is by marueilous meanes drawne to be willing by him, which knoweth how to worke inwardlie, euen in the verie hearts of men: not that men should beleeue against their wils, which is impossible to be done; but that of vnwilling they should be made willing.

1.Cor.2,7.

John. 6,45.

I know that some be of the mind, that all men are drawne of God; and that some come not, because they will not: not because they are not drawne. Howbeit, this exposition agreeth not with the discourse of the Gospell: for some contemned the words of Christ, murmured, and went their waies. But the twelue cleaued vnto Christ, who seemeth to giue the reason of this difference; namelie, that none should come vnto him vnlesse the father shall drawne him. Of this sentence it may be proued; They depart, and come not vnto Christ; Therefore they are not drawne. The apostles cleaue vnto Christ and followe him: Therefore they be drawne. So then these be drawne, and those be not drawne. And the cause why one is drawne, and an other is not drawne; iudge not thou (said Augustine) if thou wilt not erre. Yoke might yet be said of this drawing, but I increase. I come vnto Paule, and to the prophet Esaie; who in such sort compare us with God, as he is the potter, but we the claie. Which must not onelie be inverted of our creation, but also of our forming anew: for to Paule vnto the Romans vseth the same similitude. And it must be diligentlie considered, that a potter doth not onelie forme and fashion the claie, but doth also soften, renew, and temper it; the which thing belongeth vnto that change, wherof we now speake.

Esai 45,69. Rom 9,20.

Rom.9,16.

It is also said vnto the Romans; It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in GOD that sheweth mercie. In which words Paule testifieth, that our saluation is wholie of him; and that we ought not to contend with him as touching the bounds: as to saie, This is mine, and this is his; but we must sincerelie and truelie confesse, that all our saluation, how much so euer it be, is of God. And this dis Oecolampadius (a singular man in godlinesse and learning) note in 26. chapter of Esaie, the 16.

Oecolampadius.

leaue. But we muck not thus imagine, that God prospereth the businesse, and yet doth nothing: for euen this doth he a little after proue to be false, yeelding vnto God all our works. Neither do we giue ouerlie titles vnto him, as vaine flatterers do vnto kings; because, through the authoritie of kings, manie thousands are slaine in battell, when as they themselues meruelie, while are occupied in the meane time in games and huntings. Augustine, in his treatise *De bono perseuerantiæ*, the second chapter, saith; that We liue well, when we attribute all vnto God. And Cyprian (as he is alleged by Augustine) saith; that Of vs there is nothing, and that therefore we may not glorie. This he spake not alonelie for christian modestie sake, but because of the truth, to that to the thing is.

And if the exposition were true, which some men make of these words; It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that hath mercie: that it is therefore said, because our will and strength are not sufficient, vnlesse the mercie of GOD be present: the sentence might be inuerted, to that we might saie, that it is not in God, that hath mercie, but in man that willeth. Because, according to the iudgement of these men, the mercie of God is not sufficient, vnlesse that we also be willing. But this wrong turning he thinketh ought not to be suffered, as he teacheth in his Enchiridion vnto Laurence, the 22. chapter; but more largelie in the first booke to Simplicianus, in the second question, where he writeth after this maner: Those words also if thou diligentlie marke; Therefore, it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that hath mercie, the apostle shall not seeme onelie for this cause to haue spoken this, because we may by the helpe of God attеine to that, which we would: but also in that sense, wherein he saith in an other place; Worke yee your owne saluation with trembling and feare: for it is God which worketh in vs, both to will and to worke, according to his good pleasure. Where he sufficientlie sheweth, that euen that same good will it selfe is done in vs by the worke of God. For if therefore onelie it be said; It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that hath mercie; because the will of man alone sufficeth not vnto vs, to liue iustlie and rightlie, vnlesse we be holpen by the mercie of GOD, it may also be said after this maner: Therefore it is not in GOD that hath mercie, but in man that willeth, because the mercie of God is not alone sufficient, vnlesse the consent of our will be added. Yet this is manifest, that we will in vaine, vnlesse God take mercie of vs.

But I know not how this can be, that God taketh mercie in vaine, vnles that we be willing: for if God take mercie, we also be willing, sith vnto the same mercie belongeth our willingnesse. And it is God that worketh in vs both to will and to worke, according to his good will.

Phil.2, 13.

For if we demand, whether a good will be the gift of God, it were a wonder, if anie man dare denie it, &c. And in the same question to Simplicianus, he writeth the same thing: But if this calling be so effectuall a worker of a good will, as euerie one being called doth follow it, how shall this be true; Manie are called, but few are chosen? Which if it be true, and that he, which is called, now not consequentlie obeie his calling, and that to obeie, is put in his will, it may rightlie also be said, Therefore it is not in GOD that hath mercie, but in man that willeth and runneth, because the mercie of the caller sufficeth not, except an obedience do follow. But perhaps they, which being called after this maner, do not consent, yet being called after another manner, may consent: so as that saieng also is true; Manie are called, but few are chosen. So that, although manie be called after one maner, yet because all are not effected after one fort, they onelie can followe their calling, which are found fit for to take the same. And this map be no lesse true: Therefore it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercie, who in such sort called, as was fit for them, which followed their calling.

Matt.20,16.

And to others doubtlesse the calling came, but because it was such, as thereby they could not be moued to become apt to take the same, they might indeed be said to be called, but not to be chosen. But this is not now likewise true; Therefore it is not in God that sheweth mercie, but it is in man that willeth and runneth: because the effect of the mercie of GOD cannot be in the power of man, if he in vaine take mercie, man being vnwilling. For so much as, if he would also take mercie of them, he might in such sort call them, as should be conuenient for them, that both they might be moued, and vnderstand, and followe. Wherefore it is true, that Manie be called, but few be chosen. For those choien were called fitlie to the purpose, but they which were not fit, nor were tempered together for their calling, were not chosen, because they followed not, although they were called. Againe it is true, that It is neither in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that hath mercie [illegible] cause that, although he call manie, yet he taketh mercie of them onelie, whom he so calleth, as is fit for them to be called that they may followe. But it is false, if anie man saie: Therefore it is not in God that taketh mercie, but in man that willeth and runneth: because God taketh not mercie vpon anie in vaine. And of whom he hath mercie, he so calleth, as he knoweth it is agreeable to him, that he should not refuse the caller.

Here will some saie; Why was not Esau so called, as he would obeie? For we see that men are some one waie, some another waie moued to beleeue those things; which are shewed or signified. As for example sake: Simeon beleeued in our Lord Iesus Christ, being yet a young infant, knowing him by the spirit reuealing vnto him. Nathaniel, at one sentence that he heard of him; Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast vnder the tree, I saw thee, answered; Master, thou art the sonne of God, thou art the King of Israel. Which thing a good while after, because Peter confessed, he deserued to heare that he was blessed, and that to him should be giuen the keies of the kingdome of heauen. At the miracle done in Cana of Galile, which Iohn the euangelist mentioneth to be the beginning of the signes which Iesus did, when he turned water into wine, his disciples beleeued in him. Christ by speaking, stirred vp manie vnto faith. Manie beleeued not, no not when the dead were raised vp. The disciples being terrified with the death and crosse of Christ, staggered; and yet the theefe then beleeued. When he saw him not his better in worke, but his equall in the fellowship of the crosse. One also of the number of the disciples, after his resurrection, gaue credit not so much to the liuelie members, as he did to the greene wounds. Some of that number, of whom he was crucified, which seeing him do miracles, had contemned him, yet beleeued the disciples which preached him, and did such things in his name.

Luke.2,25.

John.1,48.

Matt.16,18.

John.2, 11.

Wherefore, since that one man is moued after one sort vnto faith, but another man after another sort; and that oftentimes one and the selfe-same thing spoken after one maner doth moue, and spoken after another maner doth not moue, and another man it may moue: who dare saie, that GOD wanted the maner of calling, whereby Esau also might aplie his mind, and ioine his will vnto the faith, wherin Iacob was iustified? But and if there can likewise be so great an obstinacie of the will, as the turning awaie of the mind should be hardened against all the waies of calling; it is demanded also, whether that same hardenesse it selfe be of the punishment of God? For, when as God forsaketh man, by not calling in such wise; how can he be moued vnto faith? Who also will saie, that the verie [God] omnipotent hath wanted meanes; whereby man also should be persuaded to beleeue, &c. Now it appeareth what Augustine thought as touching that place; It is neither in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, &c. After these things I referre my selfe vnto that, which Paule wrote; And because ye are sonnes, God hath sent forth the spirit of his

Rom.9,16.

Gala.4,6,

sonne into your hearts, crieng, Abba, Father. But if the spirit, being sent forth by God vnto men, maketh them crie; it maketh them also to beleeue, and therewithall maketh them to liue well also. For when it was said by the prophet; I will take from them that stonie heart, and will giue them a fleshie heart: It is added; And I will giue my spirit among them, and will cause them to walke in my commandements, &c. Also to the Romans it is written; As manie as are led by the spirit of God, those be the sonnes of God.

Ezc.11,19. & 37,26.

Rom,8,14.

Wherein is to be noted, that the saints otherwhile are passiuelie subiect vnto certeine motions of the holie Ghost. And if of some it be granted, that our will is sometime onelie a subiect passiue, when troubles and greefes do greatlie vrge vs, making vs nothing else but death; for the soule is then sustained by God, least it should faint: what let is there, that we should not also be passiuelie subiect to this change, whereof we now speake? Wherefore I saie the will is the subiect of both conuersions, as well of healing as of faith; but as touching the first, it onelie concurreth passiuelie, and as touching the other [both passiuelie] and actiuelie, because we beleeue willinglie. In the first, the spirit worketh alone, but in the other it worketh together with vs. Vnto the Galathians it is written; But when it seemed good vnto him, which had separated me from my mothers wombe: But it is not said; When it seemed good vnto me. And vnto the Romans; God distributed to euerie one the measure of faith. And of these gifts it is written; that Those the spirit of God distributeth to euerie one as he will. And he is no lesse the Lord of regeneration, and the GOD of our faith, than he is of these gifts: and therefore he distributeth both kinds, as it pleaseth him. In the epistle to the Philippians we read; that To them it was giuen not onelie to beleeue, but to suffer for Christ. And in the 2. epist. to Timothie it is written; For God hath not giuen to vs the spirit of feare, but of power, of loue, and of sobrietie. Christ also said vnto the apostles; that To others, vnto whome he spake in parables, it was not giuen that they should vnderstand; but vnto them that were his apostles it was giuen. And verie manie other testimonies of the holy scriptures might be alledged for this matter, howbeit, I will be contented with these: but if there be anie, which will not beleeue these verie manie [alledged,] neither will they giue credit vnto moe.

Gal.1,15.

Rom.12,3.

1.Cor.12, 11.

Phil.1,29.

2.Tim.1,7.

Mat.13,11.

11 But manie saie; If thus the matter stand, then shall we be as stocks and stones, which are moued of God. The matter doth not so stand, because both stocks and stones, while they be moued, do neither perceiue nor vnderstand, nor will. Further, if it anie thing we be moued passiuelie, as stocks and stones we: yet I would we not to be called: albeit in this change, whereof we now speake, we are not moued violentlie, as be stones and stocks, but by a motion meet vnto our end and perfection. Howbeit, that which they adiect against vs, is not well considered: for it is an argument in the first figure of propositions affirmatiue: as thus should we say, Stones and stocks are moued passiuelie; Men in this change of conuersion are moued passiuelie. Therefore are they stones & stocks. Against vse saie; Stones & stocks be brutes; they be vnlike vnto vs: Vnlike matter meet are bodies into bodies: Therefore they are stones & stocks. All men see, that the conclusions are not firme, & do belong to the second figure of the negatiues. Wherefore the rule, of this our saieng, which we defend, as touching the change in God, or the healing of the mind, before vs can either beleeue, or hope, or expect celestiall things, it followeth not, that we make God Swenkfeldius's idle he seemeth to put faith before the word of God, but we do not so. Because we admire the word of God as well an outward as an inward instrument of the holie Ghost, wherewith he may perswade and shew what things are to be beleeued and done, and may declare and vtter his efficacie in the changing of vs. For we know, that Faith is by hearing, & hearing by the word of God. Paule saith; How shall they beleeue in him, whome they haue not heard? And else where it is written; Lord, who hath beleeued our preaching? Further, Swenkfeldius seemeth to appoint the outward word to be as a certeine exercise of faithfull men, and reiecteth the ministerie. Which opinion we detest, for we affirme, that as well the outward word as the inward, be instruments of the holie Ghost wherefore do we doubt, but that the word; especiallie by nature, goeth before faith, seeing it is the subiect thereof.

Rom.10,17

Esaie 53,1.

Rom.10,16.

12 Wherefore we determine, that the will of choise, before regeneration, can do nothing by it selfe as touching diuine and spirituall things, but that the spirit of God is necessarie, because it propoundeth and teacheth: neither that the same is anie thing, except it worke a change of the mind. Peregrinus said, that the grace of God is required, but yet to this purpose onelie, that we may the easilier beleeue, & do well. The whole-Diuines, because they would differ from them, haue affirmed a preuenting grace: but we demand, what maner of grace that is? And we saie, that it is not sufficient to answer [that it is such a grace as] thereby are propounded vnto vs the words of God, and his promises, either inwardlie, or outwardlie: but that there ought to be applied a change or conuertion, and that

that it ought not to be put in our will or choise, to follow or cleaue vnto the promises. Augustine put vs in mind, that vnder the praises of nature, lie hidden the enimies of grace. Wherefore, now that we haue thus determined, there appeare two kinds of callings, one common, an other effectuall.

Augustine.

Two kinds of calling.

Which diuision I first prooue out of the holie scriptures. Paule saith; Whome he hath called, those also he hath iustified. Wherefore if it be one kind of calling, where vnto iustification is ioined: for that is Paules collation; namelie, to haue the linkes fast knit together.

Rom.8.29.

On the other part, it is said by Christ; Manie are called, and but few chosen: now here is calling spoken of, whereunto followeth not iustification.

Mat.20,16.

Moreouer, there is a certeine calling, which by Paule is specialliе called According to the purpose [of God,] which is shewed to differ from the other common calling. Wherefore it is prooued by the holie scriptures, that there is a difference of callings. This Augustine confirmeth: First, against two epistles of the Pelagians, the 19. chapter, where he writeth: For all that be called, are not called according to the purpose; For manie be called, few be chosen. They therefore are called according to the purpose, who were chosen before the world was made. And of this matter the same Augustine to Simplicianus, at the end of the first booke: Wherefore it remaineth that wills be chosen; but the will it selfe, onelesse some thing happen, which may delight and allure the mind, cannot by anie meanes be moued. But that this should happen, it is not in the power of man. What else willed Saule, but to inuade, to draw, to bind, and slaie the christians? How raging was his will? How furious? How blind was it? And yet was he with one voice from aboue ouerthrowne. Doubtlesse, such a vision happened vnto him, as thereby crueltie being taken awaie, that mind and will was reuerted and conuerted vnto faith. Suddenlie, of a wonderfull persecuter of the Gospell, he became a more wonderfull preacher [of the same.] So then it is manifest, that the calling is of two sorts, one common, and an other according to the purpose: to the vnderstanding whereof we must knowe, that this purpose is nothing else, but a sure, firme, and constant decree of God, wherein he foreknew, and appointed those, which he would ioine together, iustifie, and bleste in Christ.

Augustine.

Ephe.1,5. &9.

Augustine.

The calling, which vnto this purpose is confirmed, is effectuall, and changeth men through the word of God, by the helpe of the holie Ghost. But the other is common, whereby are offered the promises of God, though the word either outward or inward; but not with such an efficacie, as thereby the minds can be healed. This distinction did Augustine verie well know, who against Iulian the Pelagian, in the fift booke the third chapter, writeth after this manner: Not all men, which be called, are called according to the purpose: For manie be called, but few are chosen. Wherefore, els where also he saith: According to the power of God, who hath saued vs, and called vs with an holie calling, not according to our works, but according to his owne purpose and grace, which was giuen to vs in Christ Iesus, before the beginning of the world. The same Augustine *De predestinatione sanctorum*, the 16. chapter: For manie, which be predestinate, God calleth his sonnes; that he may make them the members of his onelie predestinated sonne, not with that calling, whereby they were called which would not come to the marriage; with by that calling, both the Iewes were called; Vnto whome Christ crucified is a stumbling blocke, and the Gentils also, vnto whome Christ crucified is foolishnesse. But he calleth the predestinate by that calling, which the apostle distinguished, saieng; that Hee preached Christ the power of God, and the wisedome of God vnto them which are called, both of the Iewes and Grecians.

Augustine.

Mat.22.

1.Cor.1,23.

Ibid.24.

For so saith he in these words; Vnto them which are called, that he might note them which were not called; knowing that there is a sure maner of calling of them, which are called according to the purpose, whome he foreknew and predestinated to be made like to the image of his sonne. Which calling he signifieng saith; Not by works, but by him that calleth it was said vnto hir: The elder shall serue the yonger. He saith; Not by works, but by beleeuing. Also he vtterlie take this from man, that he might yeld the whole vnto God. Therefore he said; But by him that calleth, not by euerie kind of calling, but through that calling whereby man is made a beleeuer. This also had he a respect vnto, when he said; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. The same father, in his Treatise *De spiritu & litera*, the 34. chapter, mentioneth an other difference of these callings, that the one counselleth, and the other throughlie persuadeth. And he saith; Now if any shall presse vs to search that deepenesse, why one is so counselled, as he becommeth throughlie persuaded; and an other not so: two things in the meane time I call to remembrance, which I think good to answer; O the deepenesse of the riches, &c. Againe; Is there anie iniquitie with God? He that shall not be content with this answer, let him seeke better learned; but let him beware he find not them that be presumptuous.

Rom.8,29.

Rom.9,12.

Rom.11,33.

Rom.3,5.

13 After this maner did Augustine conclude this sentence, because he saw there were men found out, which sought for a cause of the difference

rence by free will, whom he called presumptuous. He writeth in like manner in the ninth chapter *De predestinatione sanctorum*: But while it is not given in all men, it ought not to move a faithfull man; which beleeveth, that by one man all men vndoubtedlie went into most iust condemnation. Euen so, there should be no iust reprehension of God, although that none were deliuered from thence. Wherby it is manifest, that it is a great grace that manie are deliuered. Againe, that should be due vnto them, they know by those which are not deliuered; that they which glorie, may glorie in the Lord, not in their owne merits, which they see to be like to theirs that be damned. Here also Augustine plainlie teacheth, that whosoeuer of vs are deliuered, we are not all called by that calling, by which we be deliuered; & that without anie iniustice of God. And in the same booke the 8. chapter: Wherefore, saie they, doth he not teach all men? If we shall saie, Because those, whom he teacheth not, will not learne; it will be answered vs; And where is Psal.85.7. that signe, which is said vnto him? Lord turne thou againe and quicken vs: as else if God, of vnwilling make not willing, whie doth the church, according to the precept of the Lord, praie for them that persecute him, &c. Augustine reseth not vpon that answer; to wit, that they are not taught, because they will not learne: for he saith, that of vnwilling, GOD can make willing. Prosper, *Adcapitul Gallorum*, answereth to them which obiect, that they which are called, are not called alike, but some [are called] that they should beleeue, &c.

The answer followeth. If calling be onlie vnderstood in preaching of the Gospell, it is not true lie said, that vnto diuers men it is diuerlie preached; seeing there is one God, one faith, one regeneration, and one promise. But if there be a respect had to the effect of planting & watering, there is one thing done in them, whose outward eares are mooued by a bodilie voice; & an other thing in them, whose inward sense God hath opened, & in whose hart he hath put the foundation of faith, & the feruencie of loue, &c. Those two kinds of calling could not more euidentlie be expressed. Zuinglius, in his booke *De providentia*, tome 1. leafe the 370. That appointment or ordinance, whereby is decreed, that a man is now called by God, not onelie by this generall calling, which betokeneth the outward preaching of the apostles; but also by that, whereby the spirit doth earnestlie put the elect in remembrance, that they desire to obeie GOD, in that he commandeth or promiseth, &c. The same author, vpon the epistle to the Romans, the eight chapter, tome 4. leafe 428. To them, which according to the purpose, who indeed were called from the beginning. These words do I vnderstand of the inward calling, that is, of the election; not of the outward calling of the word. As if he should saie: I haue now said, that to the saints, & them which be called, all things turne vnto good. Which saieng I allow; for all things are grounded vpon the free election of God. God, which knew all things, before they were, determined also before hand, that they should be coheires with his sonne; so neuertheless, that Christ is the first begotten, that is, the naturall and essentiall sonne of God, and we the adopted sonnes. Whom he hath so before hand appointed and ordeined, those afterward he calleth by an inward calling: that is, he draweth inwardlie. John.6. that is, he maketh faithfull; he draweth them, that their mind may cleaue fast and trust vnto him. Whom he thus maketh faithfull, those also he iustifieth, though an allured faith, that is to wit, of his sonne, &c.

The same author, in his booke *De providentia*, tome 1. leafe the 368. saith: For they saiwe that this thing is not now signified by signes, but done before the eies; whereby the sinnes of the whole world were purged: but as touching this [outward calling] there was nothing done, because onelie they did repent, whom the holie Ghost lightened, that they might knowe this man to be the sauiour; and the father did draw them, that they might come vnto him, and might imbrace him: further, to knowe that outward things are not able to do anie thing else, but signifie and shew, &c. Conradus Pellicanus, vpon the first chapter to the Ephesians, interpreting these words: Who hath predestinated vs to the Ephe.1.5. adoption of sonnes, thus writeth: In the which thing must be noted the order, wherein election holdeth the first place, next vnto that, the adoption to be sonnes; which is said to be the calling, while the Lord draweth vnto him those which be indued with the spirit, in giuing a knowledge of himselfe: finallie, there succeedeth an holinesse of life, &c. Now, by these excellent and holie men aforeth these two maner of calllings, not deuised by me, but both receiued, and put in writting by them. Whereof it commeth, that of them, which be at one and the selfe-same sermon, and heare the selfe-same Gospell, some beleeue, some contend, some inuiace, and some laugh to scorne. Wherelie, they which contend, scorne, and refuse, do it of their owne naughtinesse, which God inspireth not into them: but they, which beleeue and imbrace, do this by the effectuall calling of God, the which is not giuen vnto all men.

Whereforе Augustine *De predestinatione sanctorum*, chapter eight: Therefore, when the Gospell is preached, some beleeue, and some beleeue not: they which beleeue, the preacher speaking outwardlie, do inwardlie heare of the father, & do learne; but they, which do not beleeue, do heare outwardlie, inwardlie they do not heare, nor yet

yet learne. This is as much to saie, as: To the one sort it is giuen to beleeue, to the other it is not giuen: because No man (saith he) commeth vnto me, except my father shall drawe him. The same father, euen in that booke, the 6th chapter: Euerie man heare the word of truth, but some beleeue, and some speake against it. That these three saie will beleeue, and that these will not, who can be ignorant of this? What can denie it? Howbeit, seeing the will of man is prepared by the Lord, and of sons not; we are in verie deed to discerne what sayings of his mercie is, or what his iudgement. That which Israel sought (saith the apostle) it obteined not, but election obteined it. But others be blinded, as it is written: God hath giuen vnto them the spirit of slumber, eies that they might not see, and eares that they might not heard, euen vnto this daie, &c. Wherefore, verie great is the difference of hearers: the which Augustine, as we haue knowne, noteth by the diuersitie of callings. And therefore God so tempereth and distributeth them, he in the same booke the eight chapter teacheth in these words. But while he teacheth not all men, the apostle hath opened so much as he thought meet to be opened: because He minding to shew his wrath, and to make his power knowne, suffered with long patience the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction, and that he might declare the riches of his glorie vpon the vessels of mercie, which he prepared vnto glorie, &c. Here the reason, as it manifestlie appeareth, is deriued from the finall cause; because God determined to make manifest not onelie his goodnesse, but also his righteousnesse and seueritie. But some man will saie; If this be the case stand, God shall not be vniuersall, but particular. The which doubtlesse in this respect cannot be denied: for we see that he ruleth at his pleasure, and distributeth these two kinds of callings. But of this matter we will speake afterward, when we shall come vnto praedestination.

The vse of the doctrine. 14 In the meane time let vs answer them, who say, it is but a small matter that they beseech, and that the free will, which they would haue to be granted them, they saie to be but a certeine little sparke. The same we do grant, so farre as godlinesse will permit, namelie, in those things which are subiect to the sense & reason of man, and which do not exceed the capacitie of our nature. Also, to them that be renewed, we grant it as much as mans infirmitie doth suffer, while we liue in this world. But vnto those, which be not renewed, we cannot grant the same as touching heauenlie and spirituall good things; because such a sparke it is, as it would not bred brightnes, but smoke, whereby men would soone become proud, and withdraw much from the grace and mercie of God. For by this little sparke, they would boast, that they are discerned from others: but [the scriptures] will not haue them discerned, otherwise than by the grace and mercie of God, not by free will, or by [their owne] gifts and vertues. Of which matter, thus Augustine write in his booke *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, the fift chapter: For are men discerned from men, by those gifts, which are common vnto all men? But here he first saith; For who separateth thee? 1.Cor.4,7. And then he added; And what hast thou that thou hast not receiued? Because a man, being puffed vp against another man, might saie; By faith, my right consisteth, or if there be anie thing else, discerneth me. Such cogitations the good Doctor preuenting saith; What hast thou, that thou hast not receiued? And of whom, but of him which hath separated thee from another? To whom hath he not giuen that, which he gaue vnto thee, &c.

But they saie; This verie small thing which we demand, worketh nothing by it selfe. But the selfe-same thing might we saie of grace, because it worketh nothing by them, vnlesse the consent of our mind come there vnto. And vndoubtedlie it is verie absurd, that vnto the change or regeneration, we should bring anie thing naturlie; seeing no man doth anie thing toward the begetting of himselfe. Which if it be true in those naturall and carnall things, how much more is it to be granted in spirituall things, the which are a great waie further from our strength & power? This did Oecolampadius, in his treatise vpon the first chapter of Zacharie see, when he interpreted these words; And thou shalt saie vnto them, turne ye vnto me. Where he thus writeth; Ieremie said; Conuert me Lord, and I shall be Iere.31,18. conuerted, for thou art my Lord GOD, yea as soone as thou turnedst me, I did repent. If that could not beget my selfe vnto a carnall life, when I was not, how shall I not beget my selfe vnto a spirituall life? Wherefore John pronounceth, that the same birth is of God. So as they that striue against vs in this place, contended not onelie against vs, but against the grace of God. And they gather that, which the holie Ghost shunneth: for those things that be here taught, are therefore taught, that we may knowe the citie to be built by the mercie of God. Out of this do they gather, as though there were some thing free in vs, and giuen of our carnall nativitie, whereby we may be conuerted, and that so we may by our owne strength build the citie, &c. Oecolampadius denieth not, but that we haue had some thing free from our nativitie; but he denieth that to be such, as thereby we may be conuerted.

They saie also, that they haue God [for their guide] as men [vse,] who vnto waifarers do

A similitude. Oecolampadius. Zach.1,3. John.3,5.

faithfullie shewe the waie, and do counsell and admonish vs to choole a safe waie, and to leaue that which is dangerous and deadlie. Neuertheless, if they be not heard, they are not in fault, and they haue done their part. Howbeit, such a similitude hath no place here; because they, which shew the waie, haue it not in their power, to perswade or to change the will of them that take the tournie. But GOD can do these things, if he will, and both it towards them, whom he calleth effectuallie. Also they affirme, that there is no man so corrupt and past grace, but that he may by his owne free will wish for felicitie, and for the grace and fauour of God, that it may happen well vnto him. I confesse, that men not regenerate do generallie desire felicitie: but and if that be laid before them, which we should haue by Christ, and the faith in him, and by the crosse, I saie that it is not put in their choise to desire that; naie rather, they despise and refuse it.

An obiection. Nazianzen

15 The saieng of Nazianzen is obiected, ὠνον ἡ κατορθωμένον ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐστι, βλέποντος δὲ καὶ λαμβάνοις, καὶ ὅπω νεύσει, that is, Euerie thing rightlie established by God, is giuen to them that call vpon him, and so do consent vnto him. Howbeit, if this be rightlie vnderstood, it maketh on our side. By the word κατορθωμένον, I vnderstand the duties of beleeuing, hoping, louing God and our neighbour, and of right liuing. These things (I confesse) are of God, and are giuen vnto them that be called: who, if they haue beene called effectuallie, and are healed, do vndoutedlie grant and giue their consent, which before preparation or health receiued they could not haue done. Chrysostome also is alledged, who saith; ἕλκει μὲν θεὸς, βασιλεύων δὲ ἕλκει, &c: that is to saie; God trulie doth drawe, but he draweth him that is willing. This saieng also we reiect not: but it must be considered, that seeing the diuine drawing causeth the change, if the point thereof, whereat it beginneth, be considered, man is found to be vnwilling; and when he is changed by God, and is healed, he is made willing; and when he is drawne vnto further matters; namelie, to beleeue, to hope, and to loue GOD himselfe, now is he willinglie drawne; who neuertheles, at that first moment, wherin he began to be drawne, was vnwilling. Chrysost.

Augustine. Herie well therefore laid Augustine against the two epistles of Pelagius, the 19. chapter, that Christ aptlie vsed the word of drawing, but not of leading: for they are led, which were before willing; but they are drawne, which were not willing. Therefore, least we should imagine that we had a good will, when we began to be moued by God, he said we are drawne, not led.

Wherefore, if it be demanded, whether Paule in his conuersion (whereof at this daie there is perelie celebrated a daie of memorial) were drawne by free will; I saie the proposition is doubtfull, neither can it be satisfied by one answer. For if I should be demanded, by that part of the mind God began to heale Paule, and to conuert him; I would easilie grant, that it was by that which is called *Liberum arbitrium*, that is to wit, by the will and vnderstanding, which did painefullie concurre to this newe thing. But if I should be asked, whether Paule were drawne of free will, where by, as by an actiue beginning, he might come to his first renewing and preparation, I denie that the drawing was by free will; especiallie as touching the first moment of such a change. And why I may not therin admit that free bonne, I will shew the cause; for that at the beginning he wanted both the spirit and grace; which being absent, there is no strength to the furtherance of celestiall and supernaturall things. But they saie, that seeing the promises are offered vnto vs, although we be not regenerate, we must striue to beleeue. This is some commanded, but it cannot be done; because, except we be framed anew by the spirit, we shall striue against it, but we shall not striue [to obteine it;] and we shall flie a waie, euen as Paule was against the true faith; and as Augustine before he was conuerted and healed. The conuersion of Paule. Liberum arbitrium, What it is. A power passiue and obediential.

16 They saie, that we expect violent motions, which is not true: we expect not violence, but we preach the efficacie of the diuine power. Violent, as Aristotle defineth it in his third booke of Ethiks, is that, which is moued from an outward beginning, and doth not [immediatelie] bring anie thing at all: howbeit, such is not our will. But that it may appeare what it bringeth, we must vse a naturall similitude. The first matter, by transmutation taketh meere formes, and is moued by the efficient cause;] and it bringeth the subiect, for it is subiect vnto those motions; further, it hath a certeine power or abilitie vnto these formes: euen so mans mind is the passiue subiect of this conuersion and healing. Againe, it hath a certeine power or abilitie, indeed not actiue, but passiue; and that while it is compared vnto God, because it can be actuelie changed by him. For we are created reasonable according vnto the image and similitude of GOD. And certeinlie, a passiue power of this kind may, after the manner of the Schole-men, be called an obediential power: because we be capable of the diuine change, when God shall be minded to worke the same. Here by may be well vnderstood that, which is spoken of Augustine, that to be able to haue faith, hope, and charitie, is of nature; but to haue them is of grace. For of nature we haue it, that we can passiuelie be changed of God; but that we are changed in verie deed, this is of grace. An obiection. A similitude. An obiection.

Rightlie

Augustine. Rightlie said Augustine in his booke *De correptione & gratia*, the eleuenth chapter, that Free will is but little, vnles it be changed by the God omnipotent; and that we haue no need of power, if there should onlie haue beene vsed a perswasion or the wing of good things. Wherefore a power is required vnto this, that the change might be counted wonderfull. For which cause the same father, in his treatise of the grace of Christ against Pelagius, and Coelestinus, the 24. chapter, in vnto verie well: Therefore let them read and vnderstand, let them behold and confesse, that God worketh in the hearts of men, not onelie true reuelations, but also good wils; not though the lawe and doctrine sounding outwardlie, but by the inward and hidden lawe, by a marueilous and vnspeakeable power. But they obtest vnto vs out of Iohn; God hath giuen them power to be made the sonnes of God. Howbeit, they tale nothing. For Iohn speaketh there of the regenerate, and of the beleeuers; seeing it is forthwith added; Euen to them that beleeue in his name: and fraitwaie after; They that be borne of God. But if thou wilt vnderstand these things, of them that be not renewed; we may saie, that they had that power by predestination before all eternitie, although they do not yet possesse the same in act. This also seemeth to be a let, which is written in Zacharie; Turne you vnto me, And in Ezechiel the 18. chapter; Make you a new heart. Where we also our selues seeme to come together actuelie. Nevertheles, as I said at the first, we must distinguish of the drawing, if we weigh the end, from whence beginneth the motion, while we be vnwilling. There doth God conuert, change, and heale vs, and of vnwilling maketh vs willing. Howbeit, sith for the time that we liue here, we are not perfectlie turned vnto God, neither are we so pliant, tractable, or obedient vnto his commandements, as we ought to be: therefore is it commanded vs, that as being now workers together with God, we should moue and moue conuert vnto him; and that we should euerie daie moue and moue, make to our selues new hearts. Augustine. Rebellion. Iohn.1,12. Deut.30. Ezech.18,31 An obiection.

But there is an other cauillation of some men. First they affirme, that the lawe is the reuealed will of God; they adde, that the same is mightie & inuincible: and they demand, while all men may not performe the same: If God (saie they) commanded the lea to abide within his bounds, and to discouer it selfe, & that it was done, because it be bound it to be; likewise [when he commanded the dead man that he should be raised vp, his will was not in vaine, but brake forth into act: while then hath not his will, which is in the lawe, come to effect? Doubtlesse, not for anie infirmitie thereof, but because it seemeth that God would so command these things, as he might leaue them in vs to do, which himselfe would not do. I answer, that God would his commandements to be kept, yet not though the strength of free will onelie, but by grace, whereby we are first healed, and afterward are led vnto this obedience. Moreouer, when it is said, that the lawe is the will of GOD, I grant: but yet it is not euerie will [of his.] It may be called the appointing will of God, it is the will of his good pleasure, also a preparing will; but it is no working, appointing, decreeing, and effectuall will towards all men; but towards all those to whom it shall seeme good vnto God. Euen as also we late concerning sinne, that he would it not; because he forbiddeth it, it displeaseth him, and he punisheth it: yet is not his will so towards it, that he effectuallie, and substantiallie, & by appointing and decreeing would it not; otherwise he would not permit it, but let it. And there be no wils so peruerse, which God cannot change. An obiection. A distinction of the will of God

But it is yet demanded, whether we be able to resist the calling of GOD? We may, and especiallie the common and generall calling; yea rather we die aiwaie from the same, when we be not yet regenerate; as Adam at the beginning, and Paule did it a great while. Yea and afterward, when we be healed and prepared, we oftentimes fall: as we know that it happened vnto Peter and Dauid. But if thou shalt aske, that when the calling, which is effectuall, and according to the purpose, is present, whether it do preuaile? I grant it doth: for vnto Paule it was said in the verie houre of his conuersion; It is hard for thee to kicke against the pricks: not that there is a violence brought vnto the will, seeing that cannot be: albeit in Luke the 14. chapter it is written; Compell them to come in. But there it is rather spoken of the gwdnesse of God, the which in calling them that he bis, is impotunate, and vseth (if I may so speake) a certeine importunitie [or vnwonderfull diligence,] and dealeth not onelie by exhortations, but also by rebukes and scourges. Albeit Augustine wrested this to the Edicts of christian princes, the which against heretiks appoint greeuous punishments, banishments, prisonments, penalties, & other such like. And albeit that faith be voluntarie, yet God driueth [men] to it by such waies & means. Also this is obiected; How often would I haue gathered thy children togither, as the hen gathereth hir chickens? But herevnto Augustine answereth: And yet thou, whom I would gather togither, I gathered, euen against thy will. Gen.3,8. Gal.1,13. Matt.26,69. 2.Sam.11,2. Acts.9,5. Luke.14,23 An obiection. Mat.23, 37. Objections out of Augustine.

Yet the same father seemeth to haue spoken hardlie, in his treatise against Adimantus the Manichei, the 26. chapter, where he wrote, that It is in the power of man to change the will into better. Herevnto notwithstanding he himselfe

An

answereth, in his first booke of retractations, the 22. chapter, where he saith; But that power is nothing, vnlelle it be giuen of God, by whom it
Iohn.1, 12. is said; He gaue them power to be made the sonnes of God. For seing this is in the power, that when we will, we do, nothing is so much in the power, as is the will it selfe: but the will is prepared of the Lord, and by that meanes he giueth power. So must that also be vnderstood, that I said afterward it is in our power, either that we be ingrafted by the goodnesse of God, or by his seueritie be cut off; because it is not in our power, sauing for that he followeth our will, which being prepared by the Lord to be mightie and strong, that which before was hardned vnpossible, is sone become a worke of godlines, &c. Wherefore, let this rule and expolition be of force [to answer] all the places of Augustine, in which he seemeth to attribute more than is meet vnto free will, as touching heauenlie and supernaturall things. We must answer, that this [selfe power] hath onlie place in willes alreadie prepared and healed. This rule did this father neuer withdraw, but put it as firme and certeine in his retractations. Yea and in the tenth chapter of the same booke he sheweth, that those things which he wrote, as touching free will, against the Manicheis, were spoken, to the intent he might declare, that there is not a certeine first cuill beginning contrarie vnto the good God; from which cuill beginning for both sinnes should flowe: but that the beginning of sinnes was from the will. Wherefore, it was not agreeable to that drawing, that he should speake much of the grace of God that prepareth and healeth, which neuertheless he after some hot left not vntouched. And of free will he spake rather, as it was in nature [first] instituted; than as it is now found in nature defiled and corrupted.

How far forth free will is granted.

It is also obiected vnto vs, that we do enill in denieng free will, and that we giue an occasion of bringing the same in question, and that we offer an offense vnto the Papists. Howbeit, I take not away free will in generall; but I grant the same in outward things, and in those things, which are not aboue the capacitie of man. Moreouer, I grant the same in part, vnto them that be prepared, healed, and conuerted by the grace of God, as a little after shall be said. Further, we are not to passe much of the slander of the Pharisies; They be blind, and leaders of the blind: and therefore they are not to be regarded.
Matt.15,13. Euerie plant, which the heauenlie father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp. Besides, they aske whether God do towards all men as much as sufficeth to their saluation? Some saie he doth. But it seemeth not so vnto me: for I knowe
Matt.11,21. out of the holie scriptures, that they of Tyre and Sidon would haue beleeued, if they had seene those things that were done of Christ in Chorazim, Bethsaida, & Capernaum. And this also did Prosper *ad caput Gallorum* note, when he answereth vnto the tenth chapter, wherin they obiected against the doctrine of Augustine, because he affirmed, that the grace of the Gospell was by God withdrawne from some. He writeth there after this maner: Also, he that saith that the preaching of the Gospell is by the Lord withdrawne from some, least by receiuing the preaching of the Gospell they might be saued, may discharge himselfe of ill report, by defence of our Sauiour himselfe, who would not (he saith) haue his works among some, which he saith would haue beleeued, if they had seene his signes and miracles. And he bad his apostles to preach the Gospell vnto certeine people. And yet still he suffereth some nations to line without his grace, when as neuertheleste we beleeue it most certeinlie, that the church shall be spred abroad into all the parts of the world, &c.

Of the verie same matter also the same father, *Ad excerpta Genuensium*, the eight dout, thus writeth: As touching the men of Tyre and Sidon, what thing else can we saie, but that it was not vouchsafed vnto them to beleeue? And yet neuertheleste the truth it selfe reporteth, that they would haue beleeued, if they had seene such signes of powers as were done among vs that beleeue. What why this was denied vnto them, let them that falselie accuse tell it if they can; and let them shew why the Lord did marueilous things among them, whom they should not profit. Also we, if we be not able to attaine vnto the cause of his doing, and to the depenelle of his iudgement, yet do we most manifestlie know, that both it is true, which he said, and that which he did: and that not onelie the men of Tyre and Sidon, but also they of Chorazim and Bethsaida, might haue beene conuerted, and of infidels might haue become faithfull, if the Lord would haue wrought this in them. Neither can it seeme false to anie, which the truth saith; None
Iohn.6,44 can come vnto me, except it shall be giuen him of my father. And; To you it is giuen to knowe
Matt.13,11. the mysterie of the kingdome of heauen. Againe; No man knoweth the sonne, but the fa-
Matt.11,27. ther; nor the father, but the sonne, and he to whom the sonne will reueale him. Againe; As
Iohn.5,21. the father quickeneth the dead, so the sonne quickeneth whom he will. Againe; No man can
1.Cor.12,3. saie that IESVS is the Lord, but by the holie Ghost. The same Prosper also sheweth, that the preaching of the Gospell hath not alwaies beene giuen to all nations, nor yet in all times; and yet the same neuertheleste is necessarie vnto saluation.
That all men haue not beene called by preaching.

Ad capita Gallorum, the fourth chapter, wherein it was obiected against Augustine, that according

ding to his iudgement all men are not called vnto grace; thus answereth: Although it should appeare, that the whole world had now in euerie nation, and in all the ends of the earth receiued
Mar.16,15. the Gospell, which in verie deed is most trulie pronounced that it shall come to passe; yet were there no doubt but that, since the time of the resurrection of the Lord, vnto this present age, there haue beene men, which haue departed out of this life, without knowledge of the Gospell; of whome it may be said, that they were not called, because they not so much as heard of the hope of calling. But if anie man affirme, that this full generalitie of calling, hath beene alwaies so celebrated, as after the time of the ascension of the Lord into heauen, not so much as one peare passed ouer, within the which there came not vnto all men the preaching which was sent; let him see how he will proue, that the people of Asia were called, when as the apostles (as it is
Act.16,6, 7. written) were forbidden by the holie Ghost to preach the word in Asia, or to the Bithynians, vnto whom the same apostles assaied to go, and the spirit of Iesu suffered them not. Let him see also, how he can defend the forestewing of the
Mat.24,14. truth it selfe, which said; This Gospell shall bee preached ouer all the world, for a witnesse vnto all nations, and then shall the end come. For the truth of that prophesie (which were wickednesse to be spoken) staggereth, if the world were replenished with the Gospell, within the space of foure hundreth yeares [after Christ;] and as yet the comming of the Lord is deferred, &c.

The same father in an epistle to Ruffinus, as
1.Tim.2,4. touching that which is written; Who would all men to be saued: And againe, at the verie same time, wherein preaching was sent to all men, certeine places were forbidden the apostles to go vnto, euen by him that would all men to be saued, & to come to the knowledge of the truth: manie doubtlesse, in that delaie of the Gospell, being withheld and turned awaie, died without knowledge of the truth, and were not consecrated with regeneration. Wherefore let the scri-
Act.16,6. pture tell what was done. It saith; When they had gone through Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, they were forbidden by the holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia. But when they were come into Misia, they sought to go into Bithynia, but the spirit of Iesu suffered them not. But what marueil is it, if at the verie first preaching of the Gospell, the apostles could not go, except whither the spirit of God would haue them to go, since we see that manie nations forthwith at the first began to be partakers of Christian grace, and that others haue not as yet had anie maner of smell of this godnesse? But shall we saie, that mens wils, and that so beastlie and rude maners of these men do stop the will of God, that they do not therefore heare the Gospell; because wicked harts are not open to preaching? But who hath changed the hearts of these
Psal.33,15. men, but he that seuerallie framed their hearts? Who hath mollified this rigorous hardnesse to the affect of obedience; but Hee that is able of
Mat.3,9. stones to raise vp children vnto Abraham? And who shall giue vnto preachers a bold and inuiolable constancie, but he which said vnto the apostle Paule; Feare not, but speake, and hold not
Act.18,9. thy peace, for because I am with thee, & no man shall withstand thee to hurt thee, for I haue much people in this citie? And I thinke that no man dare saie, that anie nation of the world, or anie region of the earth should be passed ouer, therein ought not to be spred the tabernacles of the church, &c.

By these things it appeareth, by how manie reasons this father hath proued, that the preaching of the Gospell, which is necessarie vnto saluation, hath beene wanting to manie nations, & in manie ages. Whereby cannot be affirmed, that God did that, which sufficed to the saluation of men. But that his meaning may the more appeare, let vs adde those things, which he wrote throughlie vpo the 4. chap. to the Gauls: Also, he that saith, that all men are not called to grace; if he speake of them, vnto whome Christ is not shewed, he must not be blamed; because we knowe indeed, that the Gospell hath beene sent into all the parts of the world: but we thinke not now, that it hath beene preached in all the ends of the earth; neither can we saie, that there is the calling of grace, where there is as yet no regeneration of the mother of the church, &c. The same Authour, in his answers vnto the collections of the Genuenses, to the first doubt: And as we cannot complaine of him, that in the ages which be past, permitted all nations to walke in their owne waies; so should we not haue anie iust complaint, if grace yet ceasing, we should perish among them, whose cause and ours was all one; who neuertheleste, as then, of all the world he made choise of a few; so now, of all mankind vniuersallie he saueth innumerable, not according to our works, but according to
2.Tim.1,9. his owne purpose and grace, which was giuen vnto vs in Christ Iesus, before the beginning of the world, &c. Now both it plainlie appeare by the saieng of this man, that the grace of GOD sometime ceased; and that all men had not alwaies a iust calling vnto saluation: wherefore it is not so vniuersall as some will, but is rather particular.

But because some vse a certeine shift, to saie; that they, to whom the Gospell was not preached, had calling enough of God, sith by the elements, by the spheres of heauen, and by other creatures they were instructed concerning the

onelie true God, whom it behoued them to wor-
Rom.1,18. ship; so that in the epistle to the Romans, they are blamed as inexcusable. But how true this is, the same Prosper theweth in an epistle unto Ruffinus, as touching frée will, where he thus writeth: For neither is it removed from the common consideration of men, in how manie ages, that innumerable thousands of men, being left to their owne errors and impieties, fell away without any knowledge of the true God; euen as in the Acts of the apostles the words of Barnabas and Paule did declare, saieng to the
Acts.14,15. men of Iconium; O men, whie doo ye these things? We also are mortall men like vnto you, and preach vnto you, that ye should turne from these vaine things vnto the liuing GOD, which made heauen and earth, the sea, and all things that in them are; and who in times past suffered all the Gentiles to walke in their owne waies. And verelie he left not himself without witnes, in that he did good vnto them, and gaue raine from heauen, and fruitfull seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladnesse. Merelie, if either naturall vnderstanding, or the vse of Gods benefits, might haue sufficed to atteine eternall life; then the reasonable contemplation, and the temperature of the aire, and the abundance of fruits and meates in our time might saue vs; bicause vndoubtedlie, we hauing a better vse of nature, should worship our Creator, bicause of his dailie benefits.

But farre be it from the minds of the godlie, and them that be redéemed by the bloud of Christ, to haue an ouer-foolish and pernicious perswasion [hereof.] He doth not deliuer mankind, without the man Christ Iesu, the onelie mediatour betweene God and man. Without him there is no health to anie man, euen as he himselfe reneweth vs, and not we our selues, &c. This father therefore hath decréed, that it had not béene enough to be called to saluation, by the elements and creatures. For if this kind of calling had béen effectuall at anie time, it should also be effectuall at this daie; séeing the state of man is not apaired, nor become in worse case after the comming of Christ, than it was before. Moreouer, this he affirmeth, which is most true, that saluation cannot consist without Iesus Christ our sauiour apprehended by
Rom.1,19. faith. And as touching Paule, who in the epistle to the Romans, maketh them inexcusable, bi-
What the Gentiles are inexcusable. cause of that naturall knowledge of theirs: first I answer, that that excuse is therefore fullie taken from them, bicause they did not faithfullie reteine that small thing, which they knew by the creatures of God, touching the holding fast of one God onlie; neither did they followe that iustice, which they had perceiued in their mind. Further, they were therefore made inexcusable; bicause they so much trusted to their owne strength, as they thought they had onelie need of a teacher, and of the knowledge to do things: which when they should obteine, they thought themselues able to performe the iustice which they knew. Therefore, whereas of God they had receiued by his creatures, some knowledge of iustice and righteousnesse; séeing they framed their life against the same, they were vtterlie void of excuse.

Moreouer, it is to be considered, that the nations, which were without the word of God, and preaching of the Gospell, had not that same drawing, wherwith God draweth to Christ. For this (as it hath béene shewed) is we haue respect to the ordinarie calling, consisteth of the word of God outwardlie preached, or else inwardlie reuealed by the spirit, and that effectuallie. Which thing whether the Ethnikes had, it is both vncertéine, and cannot be proued. Wherefore we must not affirme, that God towards all men did so much as was sufficient vnto their saluation. For he called not all by the preaching of the Gospell; and to whom he vouchsafed the preaching, he granted it not to them all effectuallie, whereby their minds might be healed. Howbeit they saie: But God, when he calleth, dallieth not, but calleth vs indeed. Neither do we saie, that God doth dallie; but we saie that he calleth indeed, bicause he himselfe it is that calleth. For the reuelations of god things, & the motions of doing well, are not but of the true God; & those things, which he prompteth, such as be the commandements and promises, are true, and not subiect vnto falsehod. Wherefore he trulie calleth euen them, to whose calling he applieth not efficacie. Neither doth he dallie in so calling: for somuch as he hath his owne ends; which though they be not knowne vnto vs, yet (as the scriptures teach) this he sometimes doth of iudgement, and that men (as it hath béene said) may be made inexcusable; and that the godlie and elect may the more plainlie perceiue in them, which he so called, what a great benefit they haue receiued in comparison of them; and may vnderstand, that they, as touching their owne part, might after the same maner haue bene called, séeing they had their cause common with theirs.

Also this kind of calling is of force, to the blinding and hardening of men for their ill deserts: euen as we read in Esaie, when he was
Esai.6,10. sent, Blind-thou (saith God) the eies of them, harden & make grosse their harts, least they should conuert, and I might heale them, &c. They are wont also to obiect against vs, that such are the men made by him, as they are not to be led by stripes and cudgels like vnto asses; the which I also denie not. For I make not that effectuall calling

calling (as I haue often said) not to be violent nor without the word: by which I affirme, that they, which be conuerted, are not onelie counselled, but also thoughtlie persuaded. Christ in verie
John.10,27 deed said, that His sheepe heare his voice. But yet we must consider, that first they be and are made his sheepe, before they heare: euen as also
Mat.7,17. it is necessarie, that first the trées be good, before that they can beare good fruit. Neuertheless, men do imagine, that so the matter is to be diuided; as if it is Gods part to giue, and ours to receiue. And indéed I grant, that it is we that receiue the gifts, which God offereth: howbeit, we receiue them not by our selues; naie rather, we would refuse them, vnlesse he by changing of vs should cause vs to receiue them. Wherefore God doth both the one and the other: for both he offereth his gifts, and bringeth to passe that we do receiue them. But that is not in the power of men; séeing a father otherwhile offereth something vnto his children, but he cannot change their will, that they may be willing to receiue that which he offereth.

Lastlie, to the intent they may shew, that the drawing done by God is vniuersall, they are wont to alledge that, which is written in the 12.
vers.32. of Iohn; When I shalbe lifted vp from the earth, I will draw all men vnto my selfe. But they are deceiued: for that generalitie must be restreined vnto the children of God, not to them onelie which are now in present possession, but which were alreadie predestinated before the world
Iohn.11,51. was made: whom the same Euangelist, in the 11. chapter expressed, when he said that Caiphas prophesied, that Iesus not onelie should die for the people, but that he should gather together the children of God, which were disperssed: and those were not onelie of the Iewes, but also of the Gentils. Wherefore Chrysostome, interpreting those words, saith; that that generalitie must be referred both to the one and the other people: namelie, vnto the Gentils and vnto the Iewes. They which required then to be admitted vnto Christ, were Græcians. Howbeit, Christ admitted not the Ethnikes vnto his companie, while he liued; but shewed, that he would then admit all kinds of men, when he should be exalted by the crosse, and by his death. Wherefore, not all men in euerie kind are here to be considered, but rather the sundrie kinds of all men. But to returne to the verie preparation or healing of the mind, whereunto I said, that our mind doth onelie come together passiuelie; I saie, that I manifestlie proued the same by the scriptures, and also by the testimonies of the
The opinion of the Schoolemen. fathers.

And now do I adde, that this is no strange thing to the Schole-diuines: for they also grant, that there be habits, and diuine vertues infused by God, to the receiuing whereof we onelie behaue our selues passiuelie. And in defining of them, they saie, that they be good qualities of the mind, the which God without vs worketh in vs: for so doth he bestowe vpon vs the spirit of wisedome, the spirit of counsell, the spirit of fortitude, and other such like. Yea and Augustine, in his
Augustine. booke of grace and frée will, the 17. chapter thus wrote: Therefore, that we may will, he worketh without vs; but that we will, and that we so will, as we do execute, he worketh together with vs; but yet without him either working that we may will, or working together when we do will, we are able to do nothing towards the good works of godlinesse. Of him which worketh that
Philip.2,13 we will, it is said; It is God that worketh in vs, euen to will. Of him working together with vs when we now will, and we in willing do execute; We knowe (saith he) that all things worke
Rom.8,28. together for the best vnto them that loue God. But while we be thus prepared and healed by God, he doth not take awaie from vs [the power] to will; but he granteth vs to will well: neither taketh he awaie [the power] to vnderstand, but granteth vs to vnderstand rightlie. And vndoubtedlie it is the will it selfe that bringeth forth the act of willing: howbeit, God giueth it strength, that it may bring forth the same.

Wherefore Augustine, in his treatise *De spiritu & litera*, the third chapter, thus writeth; But we saie, that mans will is so holpen to do righteousnesse, as besides that man is created with a frédome of will, and besides the doctrine wherin it is commanded him how he should liue, he may receiue the holie Ghost; by which there may be in his mind a delight and a loue of that chéefe and vnchangeable goodnesse, which is God, euen now, when a man walketh by faith, and not yet in glorie; that as it were by this earnest pennie of a frée gift giuen vnto him, he may war more feruent in cleauing to the Creator, and be inflamed to come vnto the participation of that true light, that thorough him, of whom he hath his being, it may happen well vnto him. For neither can frée will auaile anie thing, except to sinne, if the waie of truth be vnknowne. And when that which is to be done, and wherein we ought to indeuour, beginneth to be knowne, vnlesse it is also delight and be beloued, it is not done, it is not taken in hand, we do not liue well. But that it may be beloued, the loue of God is powred into our hearts, not by the frée will, which riseth of vs, but by the holie Ghost which is giuen vnto vs, &c.

By these words he theweth, that of vs ariseth not frée will (for as touching the health of the mind, it cómeth actiuelie) but that it is wrought by the holie Ghost, that we afterward do well, by louing of God, and liuing vprightlie. Grace

doth not expect our will; becaule if it ſhould expect it, we might thinke in our ſelues, that we had ſtrength beſore to deſire ſpirituall & supernaturall good things. The Arauſican Counſel, in the 4. canon, condemned that opinion, whereby is beleaued, that the diuine grace expecteth mans will. In verie deed it preuenteth, and yet for all that it cauſeth no violence. For the plainer expreſſing whereof, a ſimilitude of the reſurrection of the Lord verie much ſerueth. He was raiſed vp from the dead, as concerning his humanitie; to the which raiſing vp from the dead, the humane nature behaued it ſelfe onelie paſſiuelie. Now is it expounded, how in things, that be outward and ſubiected to mans capacitie, ſome freedome is to be attributed to our will; which afterward, as touching celeſtiall and ſupernaturall things, is denied vnto it, vnleſſe it be converted and prepared by God.

The Arauſican Counſell.

Of the ſtate of free will in them that be regenerate.

17 Now muſt we conſider of the ſtate of them that be regenerate, vnto whom a freedome, as touching celeſtiall and ſupernaturall things, is granted; ſo far forth as the infirmitie of this life will ſuffer. Of that matter wrote Proſper, in an epiſtle to Ruffinus, concerning free will, which they will haue to belong vnto all men labouring in the vncerteintie of this life, and laden with ſinnes: ſo that they, which will imitate the meekeneſſe and gentleneſſe of our Sauiour, and ſubmit themſelues vnder the yoke of his commandements, may find reſt to their ſoules, and hope of eternall life. But they, which will not do this, are by their owne default voyd of ſaluation: which if they would, they might haue obteined. But let them heare what is ſaid by the Lord, to them that vſe free will; Without me ye can do nothing. Againe; No man commeth vnto me, except my father which ſent me drawe him. Againe; No man can come vnto me, except it ſhall be giuen him of my father. Againe; As the father quickeneth them that be dead; ſo alſo the ſonne quickeneth whom he will. Againe; No man knoweth the ſonne, but the father, neither knoweth anie man the father but the ſonne, and he to whom the ſonne will reueale him. All which ſaiengs, ſeeing they be vnchangeable, and cannot by anie interpretation be wreſted to anie other ſenſe, who doubteth, but that this free will doth obeie the exhortation of him that calleth, ſeeing in him, the grace of God hath ingendered an effect of beleeuing and obeieng. Other wiſe it ſhould be inſufficient for a man to be warned, not that the will alſo ſhould be made new in him: according as it is written; The will is prepared by the Lord. And as the apoſtle ſaith; It is God that worketh in vs both to will and to performe, euen according to his good will. According vnto which good will, no other but that, which GOD wrought in them: that he, which gaue to will, might alſo giue to perfourne, &c.

John.15, 5, John.6, 44. Ibidem. 65. John.5, 21. Matt.11, 27 Phil.2,13.

18 Of the verie which thing the ſame Proſper, in the place now alleged, thus writeth; Neuertheleſſe, if we behold with a godlie conſideration, that part of the children of God, which is reſerued to the works of godlineſſe: ſhall we not find in them a free will not deſtroied, but renewed? Which doubtleſſe, when it was alone, and left to it ſelfe, was not moued but to his owne deſtruction: for it had blinded it ſelfe, but it could not lighten it ſelfe. But now the ſame will is changed, not deſtroied, and vnto it is giuen to will, otherwiſe, to perceiue otherwiſe, and to do otherwiſe; and to repoſe the ſaſetie thereof, not in it ſelfe, but in the phyſician: the cauſe, neither as yet doth it enioie ſo perfect a health, that thoſe things, which diſhurt it before, cannot anie hurt it: or elſe, that it is now able of his owne ſtrength to temper it ſelfe from thoſe things, which be vnwholeſome for it. Therefore, man, which in free will was euill, in the ſame free will is become good: howbeit, he is euill, by himſelfe; good, by God, who (according to that original honour) hath renewed him with another beginning, as he not miſe would forgiue him the fault of an euill will and action, but alſo would giue him grace to will well, to do well, and therein to continue. For euerie good gift (ſaith the apoſtle Iames) and euerie perfect gift is from aboue, and commeth downe from the father of lights, &c.

Proſper. Iam.1,17.

By theſe things we ſee, that vnto Liberum arbitrium, that is, to will now reformed, no ſmall power muſt be attributed. Therefore I affirme, that the regenerate can know ſpirituall things, that they can alſo make choiſe of them, and after a ſort can do them: becauſe they are not now [onelie] mere and bare men, but they are men of God; they be ingrafted into Chriſt, they be his members, and therefore partakers of his freedome. To them it is ſaid; Worke you your ſaluation with feare and trembling. They be no longer the enimies of God, but friends of God, and of Chriſt; and therefore he hath made knowne vnto them, thoſe things which he heard of his father; Now they haue the lawes of God written in their harts, and in their bowels. They are not in the firſt point of the waxing; from whence the motion beginneth; but hauing proceded further, of vnwilling they are made willing. Fittie agreeth vnto them the ſimilitude of Auguſtine vpon John, of the graine bough the wed to the yong thepe; and of the child, vnto whom nuts are offered: before they would not go, afterward they are drawne with great delight. Of them alſo this may be aptlie ſaid; If thou be not drawne, praie that thou maieſt be drawne. When they be children, they are

Phil.2,15. 1.Iohn.1,5, 6. Ioh.15,15. Iere.31,33.

A ſimilitude.

Rom.8,14. are now led by the ſpirit of God, and are ſo led, as themſelues do thoſe things that be right. Of which matter wrote Proſper, in an epiſtle to Ruffinus, ſaieng thus: For all men haue not faith, neither do all men beleeue the Goſpell; but they, which beleeue, are led by the ſpirit of God; they which beleeue not, are turned awaie by free will.

Ephe.2,8. Wherefore our conuerſion vnto God, is not of vs, but of GOD: as the apoſtle ſaith; By grace ye are ſaued through faith, and this not of your ſelues, but it is the gift of GOD; not of works, leaſt anie man ſhould boaſt himſelfe, &c. Alſo the regenerate can ſtir vp in themſelues the gifts and grace of God, as Paule wrote vnto Timodie the ſecond epiſtle. Alſo they applie themſelues vnto the holie Ghoſt, that they map poſſeſſe and vſe the more excellent and profitable ſpirituall gifts, as the Corinthians are admoniſhed by Paule in the firſt epiſtle. Again, they that be renewed, do works which are pleaſing vnto God: for Abraham is commended by God, becauſe he, for Gods ſake, ſpared not his onelie begotten ſonne. And the almes of the Philippians were called an odour of a good ſmell before God. And vnto the Hebrues, the 13. chapter it is written; that God turnes and hoſpitalitie are acceptable ſacrifices to God. They are now good trees, and therefore no marueil if they bow bring forth good fruits: who euen of Chriſt himſelfe being iudge, ſhall at the laſt daie be alſowed. And hereunto do the regenerate attcine, that they be called perfect, and prepared to euerie good worke: who neuertheleſſe, in all things that are to be done well, haue alwaies need of the ſpeciall helpe of God.

2.Tim.2,6. 1.Cor.12,1. Gen.22,19. Phil.4,18. Hebr.13,16. Mat.7,17. Mat.25,35. 2.Tim.3,17.

And hereof wrote Proſper, in the epiſtle ſo often alledged: Therefore, whomeſoeuer the grace of God inſtituteth, it maketh not of good men better, but of euill men it maketh good; afterward by proſiting, it will make of good men better, not by taking awaie of our free will, but by ſetting of it free [vnto righteouſneſſe.] But when it is lightened by the mercie of Chriſt, it is deliuered from the kingdome of the diuell, and is made the kingdome of God, wherein alſo it map continue. Neither doubtleſſe is it ſtrengthened ſufficientlie by that power, except it obteine thereby a perſeuerance, from whence it receiued an vnderpour. Yet for all this, haue not they which be conuerted, prepared, and healed, anie full freedome of the will, while they liue here; but They perceiue an other lawe in their members, rebelling againſt the lawe of the mind. They do not the good, which they would, but the euill which they hate. Neither are they able throughlie to fulfill the lawe. In their mind they ſerue the lawe of God, but in their fleſh, the lawe of ſinne. The ſpirit luſteth againſt the fleſh, and the fleſh againſt the ſpirit, ſo as they do not thoſe things which they would. And ſometime the euent doth not anſwer to their determinations, and horrible faults do otherwhiles happen, as it came to paſſe in Peter and Dauid. Neither can they be without ſinnes: for Iohn ſaith; If we ſhall ſaie that we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues, and there is no truth in vs. Alſo Iames wrote; In manie things we ſinne all.

Rom.7,23. Ibid.verſ.19 verſe.25. Gal.5.7. Mat.26,41. 1.Iohn.1,10 Iam.3,2.

19 Howbeit, there is a difference betweene the wicked and the regenerate: for thoſe delight and reioiſe in ſinnes, but the godlie do ſorrowe and mourne, and do euerie daie praie; Forgiue vs our debts, &c. They crie alſo; O vnhappie man that I am! Who ſhall deliuer me? And when they ſee themſelues vnperfect, and to haue onelie the firſt fruits of the ſpirit, they wiſh that their daie of death were preſent; to wit, that they map be made fullie perfect in the laid regeneration. And finallie, they ſeeme to haue ſaid rightlie, which haue appointed three ſorts of freedome [of the will.] One from neceſſitie conſtraining, the which is common, as well to the godlie, as to the vngodlie: for mans will cannot be conſtrained. An other freedome they haue appointed, from ſinne, which the vngodlie in no wiſe haue; but the regenerate do in ſome part poſſeſſe it, as it hath beene alreadie declared. The third freedome, is from miſerie, which the wicked haue not, but we after ſome ſort haue it: For although we be tolled with diuers miſfortunes, yet by hope we are ſaued both from ſinne and from miſerie. When we ſhall come into the kingdome of heauen, we ſhall be at full libertie. And let theſe things ſuffice as touching free will.

Mat.26,41. Rom.8,24.

Certeine clauſes or ſentences concerning Free will.

Theſe things, which are ſet forth to be knowne as touching free will, are no light matters, but they are of verie great importance. For ſo manie of vs, as are renewed by the grace of Chriſt, well knowing the feblenes and infirmitie of free will, will not become proud, neither will we extoll our ſelues by the power thereof. Nay rather, we will be the more earneſtlie kindled to crane the helpe of God. And when we ſhall proceed further, and ſhall vnderſtand, out of how manie euils and dangers we be deliuered, we will be the more earneſtlie moued to giue thanks to our deliuerer. Moreouer, the honour thereof will be attributed vnto God, to whole goodneſſe, mercie, and liberalitie, doth redound whatſoeuer ſhall be aduanced in our power and abilitie. This did the apoſtle rheſtie require, that 1.Cor.1,31. Wee ſhould not glorie, but ſhould yeeld the 2.Cor.10, whole 17.

whole vnto God. But in giuing vnto free will so much as is required of some, both free iustification is brought into doubt, and free election and predestination cannot consist.

A definition of free will.

Liberum arbitrium is a certeine power of the will, the which while it followeth the part knowing, doth of his owne accord either refuse, or desire some thing.

It is affirmed to be a power of the will: but that is so far forth as προαιρέσεις, or free choise is drawne out of it.

The maister of the sentences, in the second booke, distinction 25. saith; that It is a power of the reason and of the will, whereby is chosen that which is good, when grace assisteth; or euill, when grace faileth.

A distinction of the obiects.

The things, vnto which the will is carried, be of two kinds. Some are subiected vnto the sense and reason; but some do exceed our capacitie, as being diuine and supernaturall.

A distinction of the states of men.

Also the states and conditions of men are distinguished. Some be not as yet renewed, but are still strangers from Christ; but others are regenerate.

The first proposition.

Men not yet regenerate, haue partlie a free will towards those things, which are subiect to sense and reason, and which exceed not our capacitie; and partlie they haue not. They haue it, because it is in our power to walke, to stand, to sit, to ridde, to buy and sell, to trauell into strange countries, &c. And oftentimes reason may resemble the outward motions, or like three men vp. Partlie they haue not free will; because oftentimes there is stirred vp so great a perturbation, & so manie assaults, that it is not in the power of reason to restreine them; as are men that be angrie, they tremble, they are disquieted. Sometimes they cannot remoue from their place, and with so much feare being abashed, they cannot but flie awaie: euen as the Chanaanits were not able to stand against the Israelites. Also the first motions are not in our power.

The freedome of them that be not regenerate.

By this freedome [of will] which we grant, men are able to do those things, which are agreeable with the ciuill and economicall lawes. Wherefore the ciuill and moral sciences remaine without impeachment, and the authoritie of a magistrate is not hindered, but established. Also, they are able to do manie outward things, which may seeme to agree with the lawe of God, as hypocrites do: but in verie deed, such doings are not according to the lawe of God. For Gods lawe requireth faith, good inward motions, and that this be done with all the heart, with all the soule, and with all the strength.

To grant the freedome now declared, I am led by experience, which hath testimonie out of Rom.1,18. the holie scriptures. Paule to the Romans speaketh of wicked men, and them that were not regenerate: yet doth he attribute vnto them, that they could haue knowne God by his creatures. Also he granted, that they did knowne manie iust, right, and honest things. Paule himselfe, being not regenerate, profited in the Iewish religion aboue his companions; in so far he liued vnblameable. And there be certaine manie notable examples of the Ethnikes.

The first proposition.

This freedome, which I grant as touching morall and economicall things, suffereth great difficulties. In reason there is darkenesse, in the will no small infirmitie. And whereas there is a perpetuall conflict betweene the part that belongeth to reason, and the grosser powers of the mind; wouldst thou not needs be giuen, and oftentimes reason is ouercome: wherevnto commeth the infirmitie of the bodie. And if so be it be spoken of the regenerate; (The spirit striueth against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, so as yee doo not those things that ye would: and if so be that They perceiue a lawe in their members rebelling against the lawe of the mind: and if They do not the good, which they would, but the euill which they hate;) how much more hath this place in them that be not regenerate?

Gal.5, 17.

Rom.7,23. Ibidem.19.

The second proposition. Freedome in spirituall things.

We adde, that while they be not regenerate, there is a certeine necessitie of sinning: not such a necessitie, as the will is thereby constreined to will anie thing whatsoeuer it be, that can not be: but a necessitie, whereby they cannot otherwise do, while they continue in that state. For those things that they do, seeing they do them not by faith, they must needs be sinnes: for, Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. And seeing they be as yet euill trees, they cannot beare other than euill fruit. And, The thoughts & imagination of mans heart is euill, euen from his childhood. The wisedome of the flesh is enimitie against God: it is not subiect to the lawe of God, neither indeed can it be. And while they be thus, they do not loue GOD aboue all things. Wherefore, since they do not referre vnto him all the actions which they do, they must needs be sinnes.

Rom.14,23. Matth.7,17. Gen.8,21. Rom.8,7.

Hereuntill adde, that He which sinneth, is (as Christ said) the seruant of sinne. And vnto the Romans: His seruants you are, to whom ye haue giuen your selues to obeie. And then shall you be free indeed, when the sonne shall make you free. Peter also said; that Euerie man is become the seruant of him, of whom he is ouercome. Wherefore in this state, while men be without Christ, they are not truelie free.

John 8,34. Rom.6,16

Another difficultie ariseth by the diuell, who 1.Pet.5, 8. alwaies seeketh whom he may deuoure: because he, being a strong armed man, deteineth them Matt.12,29. that be his, till there come one stronger than he.

And

1.Tim.2,26. And vnto Timothie it is also said, that He at his owne pleasure withholdeth captiue, those that resist the faith. Wherefore this freedome before declared I do admit, but yet impaired by reason of great difficulties.

Another subiection also might be added; that God vseth our minds as instruments, to performe the counsels of his prouidence; For the hart of the king is in the hand of GOD, he inclineth it what waie soeuer he will. As in Ezechiel, God directed Nabuchad-nezar rather against Ierusalem, than against the Moabites, or Ammonites; when as otherwise, Nabuchad-nezar himselfe was in a doubt. And the prophets saie, that these monarchs be in the hand of God as a saiwe and staffe. But because this vse vsed by God [towards them] taketh not awaie the freedome, which I haue set downe; neither doth violence to the will of men, or constreineth it: therefore it remaineth safe, as I haue deliuered the same. For the things, which these men do, they do them willinglie at the becke of God.

Prou.21, 1.

Ezec.21,21.

Hier.10,5.

The diffi. culties which are a let vnto free will.

But I saie, that these men, which be not regenerat, are not free as touching spirituall things: as is, to beleeue in Christ, to hope, to loue God aboue all things, in faith to obeie the lawe of God, but be vnable. And that these men should will and receiue these things, it behoueth that the holie Ghost be present thereto, who by the word either outward or inward, or both together, may lighten the mind, incourage the will, warne, exhort, and perswade.

But whether this be sufficient, some affirme; but I denie: because, vnlesse that these powers be amended and healed, we shall not imbrace, nor take hold of those diuine things. Neither is it in our power to be content with those things, which are propounded vnto vs. Wherefore, it is needfull, that by the holie Ghost the vnderstanding be indued with a speciall light, and that the will be confirmed, least it be rouuing aside, and giue place to commodities, or to wrong opinions; whereby it is withdrawne from spirituall things. This being done, the mind inclineth to the words and promises of GOD, and of such a consent or faith followeth iustification, by the mercie of God through Christ. Vnto which consent the mind behaueth it selfe actiuelie, sith it is we that both will and consent, when we beleeue those things that are propounded. But vnto that efficacie and power of the holie Ghost, whereby our mind is prepared, changed, and disposed, the mind commeth there with passiuelie: for it receiueth those things, and they be in it by the spirit of GOD. This should not seeme an abhord thing, seeing the scriptures saie; that Woe are drawne by the father vnto Christ: but meaning signifieth a passion, and a certeine disposition. Also GOD standeth at the doore and knocketh,

John.6,44.

Apoc.3,20.

and those knocklings be done in the mind, and are receiued.

The power and efficacie of the holie Ghost

This efficacie (I saie) of the holie Ghost doth incline the mind and our harts to the loues of God, and to the imbracing of the promises. And yet by this efficacie of the spirit, is not either forced or inferred violence vnto minds; so as that, which they will, they will it against their will, or beleeue vnwillinglie: but with a pleasant and gentle persuasion, it maketh willing of vnwilling; and it is so far from corrupting or spoiling the will, as it rather maketh perfect the same. And this is it that God worketh in vs both to will and to performe: otherwise; All men haue not faith. For they, which are not so prepared, do not beleeue. And the scripture doth plainlie enough testifie, that the will is prepared of the Lord: and vndoubtedlie, that is to put an indeuour of vertue into them which wrestle euen from the beginning.

Phil.2,13. 2.Thes.2,3

This change of our mind, when of euill it is made good, standeth in this; that our hart, otherwise stonie, be made soft, and become a fleshie hart: as GOD promised by Ezechiel, that we may become easie to learne diuine things. Wherefore Salomon prayed God, that he would giue him a hearing or vnderstanding hart; figuratiuelie, that his part, by reason of nature corrupted, did way vnto diuine things. This is to become instructed by God, this is to heare of the father and learne, and To haue eares to heare, without which, we seing shall not see, and hearing shall not heare. For such are these diuine and celestiall things; As eie cannot see, eare cannot heare, neither can there ascend into the hart of man those things, which God hath prepared for them that loue him. This naturall man perceiueth not those things, which bee of GOD. We are not sufficient of our selues to thinke anie thing, as of our selues, our sufficiencie is of God. Vnlesse our mind be thus prepared and healed, we will tie from diuine things, as Adam did: we persecute and hate, as Paule did.

Ezec.36,26 Ezec.36,26 3.King.3,9. Iohn.6,45. Matth.13,9 1.Cor.2,9. 2.Cor.3, 5. Ibidem.14 Gen.3,8.

Vnto thee doo we pray; Giue mee vnderstanding that I may learne thy commandements! Open thou mine eies! And Paule vnto the Ephesians willed their eies to be opened, that they might see what should be the hope of their calling. Dauid; Incline my hart vnto thy testimonies! Create in me, O God, a cleane hart! and renewed the spirit of the woman that told parts, that she might giue eare vnto those things that were spoken. Those, whose hart GOD had touched, followed Saule. By grace you are saued through faith, and that not of your selues. Neither is denied our working together, as touching that healing. Also vnto the Ephesians; We beleeue, according to the working of his mightie

Act.9,1. Psa.119,34 Psa.119,18. Eph.1,18. Psa.119,36. Psa.51,12. Act.16,14. 1.Sa.10,26 Ephes.2,8. Ephes.1,19.

power,

power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him vp from the dead. When we were dead in trespasses and sinnes, hee quickened vs with Christ. The dead haue no power to prepare themselues, nor yet to regenerate themselues. We haue our preparation of GOD, otherwise we might glorie of the same; What hath thou that thou hast not receiued? For who separateth thee? Some man might say; Free will separateth me. We praie for the infidels, that God will open their heart; No man commeth vnto me, except my father drawe him. But he that is said to be drawne, it is thereby, that he was vnwilling before, otherwise he seemeth not to be drawne, but rather to be led. Wherefore, he that is drawne was at the first vnwilling, but in that change, of vnwilling he is become willing: afterward, he willingly and of his owne accord followeth the drawing. Neither (to shew this by the waie) must it be vnderstood (as some do thinke) that all men be drawne, because the circumstance of the text will not suffer that. For a reason was yeelded, whie they which murmured, should depart; and whie the apostles should tarrie still, and cleaue vnto Christ: Namelie, because these were drawne, and the other were not.

Ephe.2,1.

1.Cor.4,7.

Iohn.6,44

We are towards God, as is claie: but the potter not onelie fashioneth the claie, but he sodeneth and tempereth it: It is neither in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercie. Here is the whole attributed vnto God, especiallie as touching predestination, and that first healing of the mind, which is done by the holie Ghost, through the word of God. God turned the hart of king Assuerus from fiercenesse vnto good will towards Hester: he gaue vnto Saule an other hart.

Rom.9,20.

Ibidem, 16.

Hest.14,13.

Two kinds of calling.

There be two kinds of calling: for some be so called, as they be in some wise lightened with the outward preaching, they be earnestlie moued with some certeine suggestions, they be perswaded; and they haue some stirring vp thereunto. Others berelie there be, who (besides that which I haue spoken) are prepared, they are made gentle, they willinglie giue care, & vnwilling they become willing, their stonie heart is taken awaie, it is changed and healed. The first kind is named calling absolutelie: the second is calling according to the purpose. Paule saith; Whom he hath called, those also he hath iustified. This calling hath alwaies faith and iustification ioined with it, and it dependeth of election: for Paule saith; Whom he hath predestinated, them also hath he called. And in the second epistle to Timothie; Who hath called vs with his holie calling; not according to our works, but according to his owne purpose and grace, which was giuen vnto vs through Christ Iesus, before the times eternall. Behold, he saith; that this calling is conioined to the eternall predestination. Hereunto also belongeth that saieng; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. But of that first kind it is said; Manie are called, but few be chosen.

Rom.8,29.

Ibidem.

2.Tim.1,9.

Rom.11,29.

Mat.20,16

These kinds of callings God distributeth as he will: for with his owne he may do what seemeth good to him, without iniurie to anie man. But Is thine eie euill, bicause I am good? May I not doo with mine owne what I will? Marie well said Augustine: Whie this man is drawne, and not that, iudge not thou, if thou wilt not erre. And GOD, if he would, might haue healed the mind of Esau, as he did of Iacob. But to Iacob he would giue, to Esau he would not. And in Deuteronomie, the 29. chapter it is written; Neither did God giue vnto you a heart to vnderstand, and eies to see, and eares to heare, euen vnto this present daie.

Matt.20,15

Rom.9,11.

They that be thus prepared by God, are they, to whom he hath giuen power to be made the sonnes of God: for they, being healed, do beleeue, and are borne of God. And so often as the fathers, especiallie Augustine, seeme to attribute anie thing vnto free will, as touching these spirituall and celestiall things, that must be vnderstood of free will healed, changed, and alredie prepared. Yet be it demanded, whether we can resist the calling of God? I saie that we can, and that sometime at the beginning we striue against it for a while. And after we be regenerate, we do sometimes against the calling of God, and doubtfullie do fall, and that graeuouslie, as did Peter and Dauid. And when as God hath fully purposed to change some man, and of vnwilling to make him willing; his will is altogether framed, and that without violence. Wherefore it is said vnto Paule; It is hard for thee to kicke against pricks.

Mat.16,23.

2.Sam.11,1

Acts 9,5.

But and if an effectuall calling be not giuen to all men, it will come that God hath not done vnto all men so much as was sufficient to saluation. This I graunt: for the scripture also saith; that The men of Tyre and Sidon would haue repented in sackcloth and ashes, if in them had been done those things, which were done in Chorazin and Bethsaida. Wherefore God did not grant vnto them those things, which he knew might haue beene sufficient to moue them to repentance. Experience testifieth, that manie ages passed ouer, wherein the word of God was not preached to the Ethnikes: and manie places are in new India, the which euen vnto these daies haue heard nothing at all of saluation through Christ. Yea and the apostles, in the 16. of the Acts, were forbidden to preach in Asia, and to go into Bithynia. Wherefore we, vnto whom it is giuen, ought speciallie to giue thanks

Mat.11,11

thanks vnto God.

That there be some things done in our mind by God, without expecting our consent & will, there is no doubt: for faith, and diuers gifts of the holie Ghost are infused into vs by GOD, wherein our former consent is not required. God, by this change of his, doth not take from vs [the power] to vnderstand; but grieueth vs to vnderstand rightlie: he taketh not from vs [the power] to will, but grieueth vs to will well: he himselfe conuerteth and healeth vs. But when we be renewed, our selues also are said to conuert vs, and more and more to make perfect: as by and by shall be said.

Rom.12,2.

Gal.5,17.

Rom.7,25.

Phil.2,12.

Iohn.15,15.

Ierem.31,33.

Psal.6,14.

1.Tim.1.6.

Genes.18?

Phil.4,18.

Matt.7,17.

Matt.26,35.

2.Tim.3,13.

Rom.7,23.

Ibidem. 19.

Gal.5,17.

Rom.7,25.

Iohn.1,10.

Iames 3,2.

the third proposition.

Renewed into spirituall works, which may please God, haue a free mind, that they may at the least-wise performe those things with a certeine new obedience. Wherefore they are able to knowe, iudge, & chose spirituall things, and after a sort to do them: bicause they be not meere men, but men of God. They be ingrafted in Christ, they be his members, and are made partakers of his fredome. To these it is said, that They worke their saluation with feare and trembling. These be no longer seruants, but freends; and therefore they haue knowne those things that be of God; they haue a fleshie, not a stonie hart; they haue the lawes of God written in their harts, they are led by the spirit of God, and they can stir vp the grace which they haue in them; they can applie themselues vnto better spirituall gifts. So the worke of Abraham is praised by God. The almes of the Philippians were an odour that smelleth sweete. Seeing they be good trees, they can bring forth good fruit; and their worke shall be commended in the daie of iudgement.

They are come to that passe, as they may be called perfect, & prepared to euerie good worke: yet so neuertheles, as in euery good worke, which they do, they haue not onlie need of the generall influence of God, but also of the speciall helpe of the holie Ghost. And yet in this libertie recouered, they are not so renewed, but that They feele some lawe in their members contrarie to the lawe of the mind, that they do not the euill which they hate; that they so fulfill the lawe, as the lawe requireth; that there is not a striuing betweene the flesh and the spirit, and such a striuing, as they do not that which they would. Neither are they so free, but that In mind they serue the lawe of God, but in flesh the lawe of sinne.

Also the euents and successes are not in their owne power. Grieuous faults also do happen betweene vs; neither are they free from sin. John saith; If we shall saie that we haue no sin, we deceiue our selues, and the truth is not in vs. Iames saith; In manie things we sinne all.

But yet this is the difference betweene the wicked, and the regenerate; that the wicked do delight themselues in sinnes, they sorrowe not; naie rather, they be occupied in them willinglie, and of their owne accord. But the regenerate do lament, sorrowe, sigh, mourne, and perpetuallie crie; Forgiue vs our trespasses. And seeing they haue the first fruits of the spirit, they wish that their last haure were come. And thus much of free will.

Of Prouidence and Predestination.

The doctrine of prouidence and predestination is most profitable: for in it is shewed the fountaine of our saluation. And therefore it coms that we attribute all our goodnes, not to our owne selues, but to the administration and dispensation of God: and in the reprobate we may see, what might also haue beene done in vs, vnlesse that the mercie of God by his predestination had preuented. By this faith that we are predestinate, we receiue great comfort in aduersities. From hence reasoned Saint Paule to the Romans. We haue also out of this ground a certeintie of our saluation, which if it depended of mans inconstant free will, and not of the fredfast predestination of God, should be vncerteine.

The defintion of prouidence.

The prouidence of God is his ordeined, vnmoueable, and perpetuall gouernement of all things; and by the same especiallie he directeth all things that he hath made, vnto their proper ends. And therefore it is not a bare vnderstanding, but there is also a will added thereunto, the which doth direct all things according to the pleasure thereof.

This power cannot be separated from God; For he disposeth kingdoms at his owne pleasure. All the heares of our heads are numbered. Two sparowes light not vpon the ground, without the will of the father. He that is slaine by chance, it is said that God deliuered him into the hand of another. Princes are in his hand as a staffe and a sawe. He beareth vp all things by the word of his power. Vnto the Hebrues and Ephesians; He worketh all things, according to the counsell of his will.

Dani.2, 21.

Mat. 10,30.

Ibid.29.

Exod.21,13

Deut.19,5.

Esai.10,5.

Therefore the holie Ghost saith; Cast thy care vpon God, and he will support or nourish thee. Peter; He careth for vs. He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eie. This is a great comfort of the godlie, that they knowe themselues to be in the hand of God.

Psal.37,5.

1.Pet.5,7.

Zach.2,18.

Let the wicked do what they will, they can do

do nothing, but according to the prouidence of
Acts.4,27. God: like as Peter saith in the Acts; Herod and Pilate agreed to doo those things, that thy hand and thy counsell had decreed to doo. And Iob
Iob.1,21. said; The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken awaie.

Those things, which seeme to happen by chance,
Gen.45,8. are gouerned by prouidence. Ioseph said; GOD sent me before into Aegypt. God saith, that he
1.Sam.9,16 sent Saule to Samuel, although it might seeme, that he came thither by chance. And Christ saith;
Mark 14,13 There shall a man meet you bearing a pitcher of water.

The largenesse of this prouidence is decla-
Psal.139,7. red; If I shall ascend into heauen, thou art there; If I shall go downe into hell, thou art there also; if I take the wings of the morning, &c.

The decrees of this prouidence are immuta-
Malac.3,6. ble; I am the Lord, and am not changed. With
Iames.1,17. God there is no variablenesse, nor shadowe of
Esai.46,10. change. The counsell of the Lord abideth stedfast.

The prouidence of God doth not take awaie mans election, neither yet doth it take awaie chance: because things are to be esteemed, according to the nature of the nereest causes. Therefore, seeing it is nothing repugnant to the will, and the order of nature, that they be done as well one waie as another waie, the causes may be called contingent, in respect of mens choises, and the effects of nature. Further, the prouidence of God doth not gouerne things, but according to their owne natures. Wherefore he so gouerneth causes contingent and voluntarie, that they may worke both by chance and by will. But if the things themselues be referred vnto God, there is onelie a necessitie by supposition; as there is a necessitie of prophesieng
Luke.22,37 and 24,36. things to come. It behooued that the scriptures should be fulfilled, and it behooued that Christ should haue suffered. Howbeit, in prouidence there is a greater power than in foretelling of things to come: for prophecies worke not vpon creatures, as the prouidence of GOD doth; although neither doth the same violate the natures and properties of the second causes. As touching the prouidence of God, things are definite or certeine from euerlasting; for to him all things are numbered: but in our will and mind they be not definite. Wherefore yet, as touching vs, they may be called both voluntarie and contingent, although as touching God, nothing is by chance or fortune. God saith in E-
Esaie.55,11 saie; All things that I will, I doo, &c. Paule saith He
Ephe.1,11. worketh all things, according to the purpose of his owne will.

Seeing the prouidence of God is in this wise, there is place left for counsels, and admonitions, and deliberations, and corrections; sith it hath decreed by these meanes to atteine vnto the ends which it prescribed. As, when it hath determined to change some euill will, it decreeth by these meanes to conuert the same. Wherefore, these meanes be the instruments of God.

Predestination is as a certeine part of the prouidence of God: for the same is the strength and power of God, whereby he appointeth men, and directeth them to the obteining of eternall life, through Iesus Christ. Of predestination.

By predestination, the natures of things are not changed, as touching necessitie, contingencie, and deliberations; as it hath beene spoken of prouidence. A definition of predestination.

Albeit that all things are present vnto the foreknowledge and eternitie of God, yet the creatures, which haue had a beginning, are not coeternall with God; so as they may be together with his eternitie. Therefore Paule saith; Ephes.1,4.
that We were chosen before the foundation of the world was laid. And of Iacob and Esau it is
Rom.9,11. said; Before they had doone either good or euill, Iacob haue I loued, but Esau haue I hated.

They which affirme, that with God, things are not appointed, but in respect of his foreknowledge, do erre exceedinglie. For the scriptures
Mat.10,29 do put his will beforehim; A sparowe falleth not without the will of the father, the will (I saie) not new, but eternall. To the captiuitie of Ba-
Iere.25.11. bylon were seuentie yeres prefixed. And vn-
Esai.37.38. to Ezechias [life] were added 15. yeres. Christ
Iohn 7,8. [saith;] Mine houre is not yet come. I will haue
Exo.33,19. mercie on whom I will haue mercie. They be-
Acts 13,48. leeued, so manie as were ordeined. Christ was crucified according to Gods determinate counsell.

Predestination, some saie is a preparation of grace, or a foreknowledge, or a preparation of the gifts of God; whereby they, which are deliuered, are certeinlie deliuered: but others are left in the lumpe of perdition. Some saie, that it is a purpose of taking mercie: others, a preparation of grace in the time present, and of glorie in the time to come. But I saie, that it is the most wise purpose of God, whereby he constantlie decreed before all ages, to call those, whom he loued in Christ, vnto the adoption of children, vnto iustification by faith, and at length vnto glorie by good workes; that they may be conformable vnto the image of the sonne of God, and that in them may be declared the glorie and mercie of the Creator. Diuers iudgements touching predestination.

Predestination is vnchangeable. The foun-
2.Tim.2,19. dation of God remaineth sure. The Lord knoweth who are his. Hereof commeth the certeintie of saluation. Wherefore Paule, when he had spoken of predestination, said; Who shall ac-
Rom.8,34. cuse vs? Who shall condemne vs? Who shall separate vs from the loue of God? I am the Lord,
Mal.3,6. and

and am not changed.

Reprobation is the most wise purpose of God, whereby GOD constantlie decreeth before all worlds, without anie iniustice, not to take mercie on them whome he loued not; but passed them ouer, to the intent that by their iust condemnation he might declare his wrath towards sinnes, and to shew forth his power and glorie. Reprobation and what it is.

Sinnes are not the cause of reprobation, for somuch as some are excepted from the loue of God, and are forsaken: albeit they are the causes of damnation. Wherefore, if the fathers do sometime saie, that sinnes are the cause of reprobation; that they vnderstand as touching the last condemnation, the which is altogether laid vpon men for sinnes.

God predestinateth vs to this end, that while we line, we should worke well: for it is said
Ephe.2,10. vnto the Ephesians, that He hath ordeined good works, that we should walke in them. But yet good works, or else faith cannot be the causes of predestination: because they be the effects thereof. For whome he hath decreed to bleese, vnto them he hath predestinated to giue faith and good works. In the epistle to the Romans, as touching the two twins, when they had as yet
Rom.9,11. doone neither good nor euill, it is said; The elder shall serue the yonger, Iacob haue I loued, Esau haue I hated. Not of works, but by him that cal-
Ibid.ver.16. leth. It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that
Exo.33,19. runneth, but in God that sheweth mercie. I will shew mercie on whome I will shew mercie. He hath mercie on whome hee will, and whome he will he hardeneth. The arguments of Paule should be of none effect, if the predestination of God depended of faith, and of works that were
1.Cor.7,25 foreseene. I obteined mercie of the Lord to bee faithfull. I did not therefore obteine mercie because I was faithfull. They beleeued, so ma-
Acts 13,48. nie as were ordeined to eternall life. They beleeued, because they were ordeined; not that they were ordeined or predestinated of God, because they beleeued. Our iustification dependeth of the election or predestination of God. Whome
Rom.8,29. he predestinated, them he called; whome he called, them he iustified. But if predestination should depend of free will, then should we be iustified by free will.

The election of God and men are diuers. Men do loue and chose them, in whome they find vertues or anie good thing, that he himselfe hath not put in them. Wherefore, if he chose whome he will in Christ, they haue it not of themselues that they be in Christ, they are to haue that of God himselfe: wherefore to be in Christ, is not the meanes or cause of predestination, but the effect.

Christ is the chefe and principall effect of predestination. GOD gaue him, that by him he might saue them that were predestinate. By him, as by a conduit, other effects of predestination are deriued vnto vs by the mercie of God. That Christ is the chefe effect of predestination.

If election should depend of works foreseene, it had not beene so harp with Paule that he should crie; O the deepenesse of the riches, &c. Rom.11,33

By the doctrine of predestination there is not opened a window vnto idlenesse, but rather vnto carefulnesse, and indeuour of right liuing. For when we beleeue that we are predestinate, we know that we are predestinate to liue well; and therefore let vs studie to make our calling certeine, and to liue according to the disposition of men predestinate.

At the first veiw it seemeth an abhord thing, that some should be created of God to perish. Yet doth the scripture saie this; that The potter
Rom 9,21. doth make some vessels vnto honour, and some vnto dishonour: and that God ordeined Pha-
Ibid.ver.17, & ver.22. raon, that he might shew his power in him. It is also said; that He, to shew his wrath, suffered with much patience the vessels of wrath prepared vnto destruction. Also; He maketh the vn-
Pro.16,4. godlie for the euill daie.

Not all men, which be called, are predestinated. For Christ said; Manie be called, but
Mat.20,16. few are chosen. But they affirme, that the calling is vniuersall; And that God would haue
1.Tim.2,4. all men to be saued. If it be vnderstood an vniuersall calling, because it is propounded to all; and no man by name excluded: it is true. If also it be called vniuersall; because the death of Christ and his redemption is sufficient for the whole world: that also is most true. But if this vniuersalitie be ment, that it is in all mens power to receiue the promises, I denie it: because vnto some it is giuen, to others it is not giuen. As though also we see not, that the verie preaching of the Gospell for a long time was not giuen to manie places, ages, and nations. God would all men to bee saued; * yet beleeuers. But faith be giuen to whome it seemeth good to him; for he may inclise two with his owne hand be it will, * We meaneth onelie all those that doo beleeue.

Hereof dependeth the certeintie of our saluation. For while we see our selues both to be called, and to beleeue; we haue an earnest pennie or certeine pledge of our saluation; The spi-
Mat.20,15. Rom.8,16. rit of God bearing witnesse with our spirit, that we be the sonnes of God. But yet the feeling of our calling, and of our faith, is a token of predestination, not a cause thereof.

As prouidence, so also doth predestination bring in no constraint or violence to mans will: for whatsoeuer we doo, we doo it willinglie, and of our owne accord.

Whether

Whether the Masse be a sacrifice.

That the Masse is a sacrifice, there is no lesse variance at this daie, than was in old time betwixt the Troians and Græcians for Helen. And they which defend the Masse, would haue the Eucharist to haue a double respect: first, that it is an oblation and sacrifice that is offered vp by the priest; secondlie, that it is distributed vnto the faithfull for a communion. And in the sacrifice of their Masse, they indeuour to comprehend these two things. For there the Masse-priest (as they themselues with full mouth testifie) not onlie sacrificeth and offereth vp the Lord Iesus Christ, but also eateth and drinketh, and that alone, whatsoeuer he had offered vnto God before, as well for himselfe as for others. But that thou maist know what error & superstition is conteined in this opinion, we must héedelie sée what is the nature of a sacrifice. Which that we leaue not the iust method of a treatise, we will diuide it, calling the one propitiatorie, the other thankf-giuing, or (as the Græcians speak) εὐχαριστικον.

Two kinds of sacrifice, propitiatorie and gratulatorie.

These parts of the distinction are concluded vnder a certeine common and generall definition, wherein we saie, that A sacrifice is nothing else, but a worke, in which we offer some thing vnto God, according to his will, that we may honour him. And marueil not, that I haue added that particle [According to his will:] séeing by the godlie, nothing should be offered vp vnto God, but that he himselfe hath required and declared to be acceptable vnto him. This do we obserue; when we would present anie man with a gift for honour sake, we specialie learne to knowe with what things he is most delighted. But betweene a propitiatorie sacrifice, and a gratulatorie, this difference we note: that we saie, A propitiatorie hath power to pacifie God being angrie, and to deserue forgiuenesse of sinnes for all men for whom it is offered. But the sacrifice gratulatorie, or of thankf-giuing, hath not this power to reconcile vs vnto God; but of those, which are alreadie receiued into fauour. It is offered, to the intent they may giue thanks, as well for the reconciliation which they haue obteined; as also for innumerable other benefits, which they perceiue themselues dailie to obteine. And this diuision is sufficientlie taught vs in the old lawe. For (as it appeareth in Leuiticus) the men of old time had sacrifices for sinnes, and burnt offerings, which are said to haue made God mercifull and fauourable to them. Whereof they rightlie gather this first member of our diuision. Leuit. 1.

Moreouer, they had peace offerings: for they offered first fruits, tenths, and manie other such kind of things, which must be referred to the other kind; to wit, the sacrifice of thankf-giuing. Wherefore we will proue, that the Masse is no propitiatorie sacrifice; that is to wit, that the priest can offer our Lord Iesus Christ the sonne of God vnto the father, and by such a sacrifice can make him well pleased and mercifull; also, that he can of him obteine remission of sinnes vnto them, for whom he saith he doth offer; or (as they rather would haue it) doth sacrifice. And this being shewed, we shall sée, whether the Masse may be called a sacrifice of thankf-giuing. And that we may performe that, which at the first we determined to shew; we will begin with that, wherein we knowe our aduersaries do agrée with vs; which is this: that the supper of the Lord, or the Eucharist is a sacrament. Which if it be (as they stréite grant) it followeth, that the same can be no propitiatorie sacrifice: for the nature of a sacrament altogither differeth from the nature of a sacrifice. Which that it may be perceiued, I will define a sacrament.

The definition of a sacrifice.

A sacrament is a worke, whereby God exhibiteth that which is there signified by the worde of promise, with an outward signe added thereto, as a seale of the promise made. For two things doth a sacrament conteine; first, the word whereby the promise is expressed and offered of God; secondlie, it hath the outward element, whereby is sealed the promise, that we may the more firmelie take hold of the same. Wherefore so great a difference there is betweene a sacrament and a sacrifice, as is betweene giuing and receiuing: because in a sacrament we receiue of God, that which he promised; in a sacrifice we giue and bring that which he requireth of vs. Wherefore, if we will speake properlie: the supper of the Lord, séeing it is (as they will haue it) a sacrament, it cannot be a sacrifice; except we would, that to giue, and to receiue, should be all one. Neither shall this thrift vantage them to saie, that the Masse hath his name of a propitiatorie sacrifice; because it is a remembrance of the oblation, which Christ offered vnto his father vpon the altar of the crosse. And no man will denie, but that that was the true propitiatorie sacrifice: and it séemeth agréable, that signes should be called by the same names that be the things which they expresse. Wherefore Augustine, in the 23. epistle vnto Boniface: Was not Christ once offered vp in himselfe, and yet not onelie in all the solemne feasts of Easter, but

The definition of a sacrament.

but also euerie daie, is offered vp in a sacrament vnto the people; and yet vndoubtedlie he lieth not, which being demanded, answereth that he is offered vp: For if sacraments should not haue a certeine similitude of those things, whereof they be sacraments, they should in no wise be sacraments: and of this similitude the signes oftentimes take euen the names of the things signified.

These things haue they béene accustomed to obiect for their opinion: therefore did I saie, that our aduersaries haue gained nothing vnder this pretense; bicause we do not here dispute, what the supper of the Lord, by a certeine similitude, may be called; but what properlie it is, and ought to be estéemed indéed. For Augustine, which is cited, doth not grant this name but by translation, or the figure *Metonymia*. There is another reason, which proueth the same thing: Christ offered himselfe, therefore it is not our part to offer him againe; otherwise we must néeds confesse, that that sacrifice of Christ was not perfect and sufficient. Which is contrarie to the epistle vnto the Hebrues, in sundrie places of the ninth and tenth chapters. Howbeit, here also are they wont to alledge, that Christes sacrifice vpon the crosse was indeed full and perfect; but bicause we do dailie fall, and do continuallie sinne, it is néedfull that we should be verie often restored, by a new and dailie offering of sacrifices. It is a feigned deuise, which may deceiue some, but not them, which haue read the epistle to the Hebrues; that The Lord Iesus, by his death and sacrifice, hath sanctified vs for euer, and by one oblation hath made perfect for euer them that be sanctified.

Wherefore the merit of Christes death was not for a time, that it cannot helpe our dailie offenses. And that maketh (which is confessed) that thing which is offered vnto GOD to be acceptable vnto him, for the grace and dignitie of him which offereth it. For séeing God made all things, and is the Lord of all things; he hath no need that anie thing should be giuen him of vs. But of the good will, which he beareth vnto his, he hath bene accustomed to receiue gifts, and thankfullie to accept as a sweet smelling sauour, those things which his faithfull friends, and those that be coadopted by him to be his children, haue (according to his owne commandement) brought vnto him. Wherefore, if they that offer, be euill, without faith, without charitie, and destitute of hope, their gifts are accursed of God; as in manie places of the holie scripture it most plainlie appeareth, especiallie in the first chapter of Esaie. Which opinion Irenæus is of, who affirmeth; that the gifts and oblations, do by the holinesse of them that offer, deserue to become gratefull and acceptable vnto God. Which being so, how great a blasphemie and absurditie is brought in of them, which will haue Christ to be offered vp by the minister; that by them (forsooth) he may be made acceptable to the father; euen he, who aboue all is beloued, by whose grace & desarts it behoued vs wretches, being the sonnes of Adam, to be reconciled vnto God the father?

Whole gifts are acceptable vnto God.

Esai. 1, 5.

Wherefore had God a respect vnto the gifts of Abel, and not vnto the gifts of Caine? While did GOD receiue the sacrifice of Aaron, but not of Core, Dathan, & Abiram? We cannot yéeld anie other reason, but that this was done, in respect of the condition and holinesse of the persons: I meane of Abel and Aaron. For, as touching God, to whom the sacrifice was done; it was all one thing, and the gift of both parts were alike. But shall we, by the same reason saie, that in this their propitiatorie sacrifice of the Masse, God doth receiue vnto him his sacrificed sonne for the sacrificers sake, his desarts and worthinesse? God keepe the minds of the faithfull, from so great an impietie! I will admonish by the way, that the state of sacraments is farre otherwise, being such as do in no respect challenge to themselues efficacie, holinesse, or honour from the minister. For whatsoeuer worthinesse those haue, they haue it vndoubtedlie by institution from God, and from Iesus Christ our Lord; whereby it commeth to passe, that they cannot be polluted by euill ministers. Wherefore, no doubt but this may be granted, that the offerer can offer vnto God nothing more worthie than himselfe. And therefore we sée, that Christ, when he was to make a most noble sacrifice, offered his owne selfe; and that of vs, be required this, as the chiefe and most excellent gift; to wit, that for his sake we should lose our liues, and should denie our owne selues. And this doth Paule, in the twelue chapter to the Romans most vehementlie erhort to be done, when as he saith; I beseech you by the mercie of God, that ye giue vp your bodies a liuelie sacrifice, holie, and acceptable vnto God. Where thou seest, that we haue nothing to offer vnto God more excellent than our selues, so that we be his thankfull and acceptable children thrugh faith. Gen. 4, 4. Leuit 9, 24. Num. 16, 19 Rom. 12, 1.

Wherefore, if we will in the supper of the Lord do the same things that Christ did, we shall not slea him, but our owne selues, and shall mortifie our selues as sacrifices of a sweet smelling sauour. Contrariwise, in ministering of the sacraments, there is no minister of the church, except he be cleerelie void of wit, but will confesse that he ministreth to the thrope of Christ, committed vnto him, things which farre exceed his owne worthinesse. For he, by the sacraments, distributeth vnto the faithfull, Christ himselfe, grace, the holie Ghost, and remission of sinnes: Ephe. 5, 2.

which things do not onlie excell all his owne vertues, but with him that is but dust and ashes, they are in no wise to be compared. There is a verie great diuerſitie betweene offering vp of Chriſt vnto the father, and giuing of Chriſt by ſacraments vnto beléeuers: this may be done by the miniſter of the church being a méere man, but they could onlie be done by Chriſt himſelfe man and God. Wherefore, for the vtter reiecting of this blaſphemie, whereby we ſhould be conſtreined to confeſſe, that Chriſt the ſonne of God is regarded and accepted of the father for the grace and worthineſſe of him that offereth, let vs condemne this opinion, that the Maſſe is ſuch a thing, wherein Chriſt (as they ſaie) is offered vnto the father by the prieſt. There is no prieſt that is able to offer ſuch a ſacrifice, except our Lord his owne ſelfe, who once did it; and that ſo perfectlie, as he truelie ſaid vpon the croſſe; It is finiſhed.

This one thing more we will adde, that in all ſacrifices this thing is neceſſarie; to wit, that they be grounded vpon the commandement of GOD, otherwiſe they be vnprofitable. So far off are they from pacifieng of God, as they rather prouoke and offend him. And this we knowe happened vnto Saule, to whome Samuel ſaid; that Obedience is better than ſacrifices. And Ieremie in the ſeuenth chapter ſaith; that God ſpake not a word of burnt offerings and ſacrifices to the fore-fathers of the Iewes, when he brought them from the bondage of Aegypt; but that he onelie required of them, that they would hearken vnto his voice. Neither for anie other cauſe (as we haue alreadie ſpoken before in the definition of a ſacrifice) did we thinke good to adde, that it ſhould be offered according to the will of God. But if obedience ſhall not be the rote of the ſacrifice, it becommeth deadlie vnto them that offer it. But where will theſe men ſhew me a commandement to offer vp the ſonne of God? Onelie thus did Chriſt command his apoſtles, when he inſtituted the ſupper; Take, eate; take, drinke yee all of this, and when ye ſhall doo theſe things, doo them in remembrance of me. I haue heard manie, which haue béene bold to ſaie; that *Facere*, To doo, in this place is all one with *Sacrificare*; To ſacrifice: as though Chriſt commanded by thoſe words, that they ſhould ſacrifice him in euerie holie ſupper, or (as they had rather ſaie) in euerie Maſſe. Truelie I am aſhamed to confute ſuch a feined ſophiſticall deuiſe: but this one thing I ſaie, that doctrine muſt not be grounded vpon doubtfull ſpéeches; and ſpeciallie commandements, touching ſo great matters, were not wont in the holie ſcriptures to be giuen with ſpéeches of double vnderſtanding. Paule and the Euangeliſts, who haue made ſuch plaine mention of theſe myſteries; in that place I beſeech you haue they hewed one word, either of a ſacrifice, or of an oblation to be offered of vs?

1.Sam.15, 22.

verſe.22.

Mat.26,26. Luk.22,19. 1.Cor.11, 24.

How the papiſts will that To doo and To ſacrifice, is all one.

And here would not that impudent boldneſſe of theirs ſtaie it ſelfe: for to this falſe ſacrifice, it feined a certeine application thereof; to wit, that it ſhould be in the choiſe of the Maſſing prieſt, to communicate the oblation of Chriſt to whome he would, either liuing or dead. As if we were ignorant, that the death of Chriſt is applyed to euerie chriſtian, by the preaching of the Goſpell, if it be receiued of them by faith. But to receiue a ſacrament for an other man, is nothing elſe, than if I ſhuld eate or drinke for thée: which, how it can be a helpe vnto thée, be thou thine owne ſelfe the iudge. Who at anie time hath baptiſed himſelfe for an other man? And yet neuertheleſſe this rout of Maſſing prieſts dare affirme, that in this their feined ſacrifice, they eate and drinke the ſacraments for whome they will, liuing and dead. Howbeit, in theſe their ſacrifices falſelie feined, ſo far are they off from communicating the death of Chriſt, either to themſelues, or to others deceiued by them; as rather themſelues, and they which obeie them, are by ſuch Maſſes depriued of the benefit of the true ſacrifice of Chriſt once offered vpon the croſſe. Wherefore aptlie doo they ſéeme to haue called theſe Maſſes, wherein onelie the prieſt doth eate and drinke, priuate Maſſes; a name in verie déed not heard of among the fathers, becauſe they be void and deſtitute of all the fruit of Chriſts ſacrifice.

An application of the oblation.

Awaie therefore out of the church at length with theſe priuate Maſſes, and let thoſe that are perfect come in their places; wherein is obſerued the iuſt and true inſtitution of Chriſt, which he left vnto his diſciples for the true keeping of the Lords ſupper. Wherein there may be a communion of the brethren, which together may be made partakers of the perfect & iuſt ſacraments of the Lord. For in theſe priuate Maſſes, there is rather an excommunication, than a communion; ſith therein one onelie is receiued: thoſe things that are offered, as others doo receiue nothing at all. I knowe that they go about to ſhift off theſe things, with this feined deuiſe; to ſaie, that one prieſt doth communicate in the name of the whole church. But by what commandement doth he this? By what word of GOD is this ceremonie mainteined? Which if it be profitable, it ought to be doone by faith: but ſaith hath no place where the word of God ſoundeth not. By what reaſon a man may go and baptiſe himſelfe euerie daie, and may make pretenſe, that he doth this in the name of the whole church; and may applie this baptiſme of his to whome he will, either liuing or dead. And no leſſe is this to be conſidered, that we in this time of the new teſtament

teſtament haue no outward ſacrifice: and therefore we find, that ours is called by Paule; A reaſonable ſeruice of God. And Chriſt warned, that it would come to paſſe, that The true worſhippers ſhall worſhip in ſpirit and in truth.

Rom.12,1.

Ioh.4,23.

Wherefore we ſaie, that that argument is ſtill concluded; Where were before the lawe, and vnder the lawe outward ſacrifices? Therefore they ought to be ſo now. For as the prieſthood is nowe tranſlated to Chriſt, and that there be no prieſts at all beſides him; ſo is there no ſacrifice likewiſe, that (which he himſelfe offered vpon the croſſe. Wherefore we ſaie, that the ſacrifices of the fore-fathers were ſhadowes and figures of the death of Chriſt, and as it were pictures. The altar and ſtaring of beaſts for ſacrifice, in ſuch their turnes, but Chriſt offered the true ſacrifice: his bodie was the offering, and the croſſe was the altar, whereupon he was offered: but for ſo that haue now at the fruit and benefit of Chriſts pretious death and paſſion, it is not ſtil néedfull nor conuenient in ſuch ſort to repreſent and ſhadowe it, becauſe it is paſt. For it is meet of this ſacrifice to haue a ſtaff prepared, wherevpon the miniſter of the church is as it were ſpeaker and not the officer: neither hath he a little altar, except thou wilt figuratiuelie call a table an altar. Whoſoeuer therefore will labor to renew the prieſthood, the altar, and outward ſacrifice; thoſe without doubt indeuour to tranſlome the new teſtament into the old. Hereof it commeth, that the elder fathers ſaid, that our ſacrifices are vnbloudie; that is, ſpirituall and reaſonable. It is moreouer to be conſidered, which the Lord commanded, while he celebrated his ſupper, that his death ſhould be ſhewed. Which aſſuredlie is no other thing than to make mention of his death, as it was a ſacrifice, whereby God is reconciled vnto vs, and to giue thanks for it.

1.Co.11,26

Doubtleſſe I thinke there is no man, but vnderſtandeth, that the remembrance or token of anie thing differeth in nature from the thing it ſelfe, which it betokeneth and ſheweth to the memorie. For if it were all one with it, it ſhould not be called a token; but ſhould haue the name of the thing, to the end that the name might agree with the nature. Wherefore, ſeeing we grant that this action is a memorie of the oblation of Chriſt, it ſhould be absurd to ſaie, that the ſame is the oblation of Chriſt it ſelfe. But they ſaie, that the argument doth conclude, that the Maſſe is not that bloudie ſacrifice once made on the croſſe by the ſonne of God himſelfe. But, they contend that they neither affirme this, as they that ſaie; This is a certeine other oblation of the bodie and bloud of Chriſt vnbloudie, which they muſt oftentimes renew. Howbeit, to anſwer thus, is to ſaie nothing: becauſe herein are two things to be knowne of vs; neither doth

A feigned difference betweene a bloudie and an vnbloudie ſacrifice.

there appeare a thirdy, whileſt thou wilt imagine ſame thing. For if it is neceſſarie, that thoſe things, which be ſpoken of the oblation of Chriſt, be either referred vnto his death, which of his owne accord he offered vpon the croſſe for our ſaluation; or elſe they muſt be vnderſtood of the remembrance thereof, and thankſ-giuing for the ſame. Betweene theſe two we can perceiue no meane, either by the nature of things, or by the holie ſcriptures, that can be called a ſacrifice, wherein Chriſt ſhould be offered vnto the father.

Hence the name of Maſſe is deriued.

And this is declared by the properetie of the names: for among the Latins, that which they will haue to be a ſacrifice, is called *Miſſa*; and of the Grecians, *Leitourgia*. The firſt they take to be an Hebrue word, ſpoken of in Deuteronomie. But I agree not to this opinion; becauſe, if it were an Hebrue word, it ſhould be found among the Greeke writers, which haue handled the Eccleſiaſticall matters. For the Latine Church receiued not chriſtian profeſſion, immediatlie from the Hebrue tong, but by the Greeke tong: as it appeareth by the epiſtle to the Romans being written in Greeke, and by the whole new teſtament: ſauing that it is ſomewhat doubted of touching the Goſpell of Matthew; becauſe ſome haue thought the ſame to haue béene firſt written in the Hebrue. Which although it were ſo, yet is it ſtill likelie, that the Latins did firſt receiue it written in Greeke, not in Hebrue. And that which I affirme, may be perceiued in thoſe words, *Alleluia, Hoſianna, Paſcha, Meſſias*, and other ſuch kind of words; which thou maieſt ſée were not onelie taken whole from the Hebrues by the Latins, but alſo from the Greeks before them; for the Greeke Church is more ancient than the Latine Church. Wherefore it is certeine, that there is not an Hebrue word in the Latine Church, which was not kept in like maner in the Greeke Church. Seeing then the word *Miſſa*, that is, Maſſe, as touching eccleſiaſticall writers, is neuer found among the Greeks, but in the place thereof they vſe *Leitourgia*: it followeth, that it is no Hebrue word, but a Latine.

Wherein I am confirmed by a ſentence of Auguſtine, who ſaith in a certeine ſermon; that The preaching being finiſhed, *Miſſa fit Catechumenis*: the Catechumeni were ſent awaie, and the reſt of the faithfull tarried ſtill. So was the communion of the faithfull, and the handling of the myſteries called; becauſe they then began the ſame, when the Catechumeni were ſent awaie. Wherefore *Miſſa* is nothing elſe, but *Miſſio*, a ſending awaie; that is to wit, when there is leaue giuen to depart. And that *Miſſa* doth thus ſignifie, we haue yet an aſſured teſtimonie; becauſe the myſteries being finiſhed,

the deacon speaketh out aloud, *Ite missa est.* He sendeth them awaie; he haue leaue (saith he) to depart. This so I thinke as touching that worde albeit I haue heard of some, and thole of good credit, that it was so called, bicause by the faithfull were sent into the altar, gifts, bread, wine, and manie other things: whereof afterwarde was taken a certeine part of the bread and wine, to be appointed to the mysteries, and the rest was distributed to the poore. Which may be seene not onelie out of Irenæus and Cyprian, but also by manie praiers, which at this daie are read in the Masse booke. Yea it is verie likelie, that for this cause, thole praiers were called by the name of Collects: though that some saie they were so called, bicause the minister paieth there, not in his owne name onelie; but rather in the name of the multitude gathered togither. Wherebie it forceth not much, whether it be called Masse, in respect of the sending awaie: or else, for that the faithfull did then send gifts; namelie, when the offertorie is sung: for then the mysteries begin to be handled. It is both waies a Latine worde, of the verbe *Mitto*.

But admit it be (as they will haue it) an Hebrue worde, which is read in Deuteronomie; yet doth it nothing make for them, bicause it signifieth the first fruites and gifts which the people brought into the tabernacle of the Lord, as a tribute, leastthey should appeare emptie before God. What is this to the offering up of Christ? For the priest did not offer those things vnto the people. But now the Sacrificing priests will offer Christ himselfe, and they perswade the laie men from that offering. The Grecians call it λειτουργία, which word doth not signifie a sacrifice, but a publike ministerie: wherevnto he is called λειτουργός, which exerciseth a publike office; that is to wit, tributes and customes for the making of highwaies, for the building of a navie, or maintenance of an armie, and such other kind of things. Wherefore by translation it agreeth with the minister of the church: for he, when he teacheth, bringeth forth the sacraments, and distributeth them; he declareth himselfe to deale with publike and common good things. But how this hath place in private Masses, let others see. Paule elsewhere vsed it for a distribution: yea, and to the Philippians, he called Epaphroditus, λειτουργὸν; that is, A minister of his necessities: for he serued his turne on the behalfe of the Philippians. Wherefore it commeth to passe, that λειτουργία, doth not properlie signifie a sacrifice, neither is the word deriued of λεὼς, that is, peaces; but of λειτὸς, that is, publike good things. And of this word hath Demosthenes and his interpretour sundrie times made mention. Wherefore, out of the names as well of *Missa*, as *Liturgia*, they gather nothing for their purposes; to shew that the Masse is a sacrifice. Paternalbet it is shewed, that their names do signifie farre otherwise. Neither were there priuate Masses in ancient time; namelie, vntill the time of Gregorie. And that doth Chrysostome manifestlie declare (who saith) that the priest stood at the altar, and exhorted them that stood by to praie neare. Neither shall you find, vnlesse the ancient Fathers, a verie mention of priuate Masses, vntill Gregorie came.

Deut. 16.

Rom. 15, 26
2. Cor. 9, 13.

Phil. 2, 25.

When priuate Masses began.

Therefore, that shall we saie to the Fathers, which seeme exerte where to obtaine vnto the honourable title of a sacrifice? Shall we not speake of a propitiatorie sacrifice, but of the sacrifice of the Eucharistie, and of which kinde belonged praiers, thanksgiuing, confessions, names, oblations, and especiallie that we gaue our selues, our whole vnto God to be ruled and gouerned. All which things, seeing they haue place in the holie communion, it is no marueil if they do name there the name of sacrifice: for therein is thanks giuen vnto God, wherebie he is blessed his name vnto the worthie receiuers. We offer vnto our selues to be ouerwhelmed with vnspeakable sinnes, and to be slaine ouerlie by the mercie of God. Names we grant, as well to the praie at the altar, as there is mone of the Lambe, but in that time, which he receiueth the mysteries, offereth himselfe to his iudge vnto God, to be mortified, ruled and gouerned. Are not all these sacrifices Eucharisticall, or gratulatorie? Yet shall you will late, that they speake not the tonne of God, that he is there immolated, offered, and sacrificed; therefore, it seemeth not that we should ale to these sacrifices Eucharisticall, or of thanksgiuing. Nale rather, it hindereth nothing at all: bicause thou shalt find in the felfe same fathers, if thou read them attentiuelie, that the same, which is done in the mysteries, is an imitation of that true sacrifice, which Christ himselfe offered vpon the altar of the crolle: and they late, that it is a mysterie thereof.

The Fathers meane not of anie other sacrifice in the communion but Eucharistian or of thanksgiuing.

And no man doubteth, but that mysteries, or sacraments, and imitations, haue the names of those things which they expresse. Wherefore, among them, To sacrifice, signifieth nothing else, but To represent the sacrifice; to call it to remembrance, to late it before the eies, and to giue thanks to the same. And in their sentences, which be cited of our aduerlaries, if thou well and diligentlie examine all that goeth before, and that followeth, thou shalt euermore find some such thing. Which if in some place perhaps it doth not plainelie appeare; then that sentence must be interpreted by other sayings of the same fathers in other places. But beleeue me, thou shalt find one find, but that those sentences themselues, which be cited, haue with them their owne remedie: and it shall be so done

done anie need to expound them by other places. Albeit this I cannot denie, but that the fathers vsed too inuish excessiue speach; & that they inclined to the shadowes of the old lawe, more than was necessarie. Two things more I thought good to be added; to wit, that these sacrifices of thankf-giuing in the supper of the Lord are not peculiar and spectaillie belonging to the sacrificers; naie rather, to manie of the faithfull as be present, and do communicate, do offer the same.

Neither haue I knowne anie other difference betweene the minister and the communicants, as touching this action; sauing that by him the word of God, and doctrine is expounded vnto the people, by him the sacraments are proffered, and distributed: and that the people with their mind beleeue the saiengs, and with their bodie receiue the sacraments: the minister in the action is the obteiner, and the people (as their part is to do) giue their consent. Further, in the papisticall Masse, this Eucharisticall or gratulatorie sacrifice hath no place: for those that stand by vnderstand not that is said by the priest, neither doth they bannot answer Amen to the praies a thankf-giuing of God. Vnlle he doth communicate, others receiue nothing. Offerings of almes there be in a manner none, the death of the Lord is not preached: wherefore (as it appeareth) they haue ouerthrowne altogether their priuate Masse. And whereas there be two kinds of sacrifices, a propitiatorie I late, and a sacrifice of thankf-giuing; and that they haue not the propitiatorie sacrifice, no more than we haue, for that the Christ whole and perfectlie offer) and further; that they haue not the sacrifice of thankf-giuing which we haue, that remaineth to their Masse, but that it is a mere hypocrisie, and a feigned and dammable counterfetting of the supper of the Lord. Wherefore (I beleech you) let it go awaie at length with shame enough; as it hath deserued. And to this let vs diligentlie applie our selues; that a right and lawfull vse of the Lords institution may be restored.

That the Masse is no eucharistia or sacrifice.

Matt. 22, Luk. 14, 16.

friendlie called and inuited by God, will not refuse to come. He kindlie how gracious and discontented a thing it is, to haue already prepared a costlie banket, to haue furnished the table with honourable prouision, and that while there is nothing else wanting but men to sit downe, the ghests vpon no iust & lawfull excuse refuse to come thereto: lullie of you in this case would not be moued, I wolde not thinke that a verie great iniurie is done to him. Wherefore be ware ye also (most derlie beloued in Christ) least in delaying ofk this holie supper, you prouoke against you the indignation of God, and incurre his most bitter wrath. It is an euill thing for men to saie; I wo not communicate, bicause I skunot. But it is verie hard, yea an impossible thing, that such an excuse should be allowed before God.

Admit God do like of it: Why canst thou not? What if I lie seech thee will thou answer: I am diuelled with cares. While dost thou not repent thee? Vnto repentance is required no long space of time. Thou maist straitwaie with new hope of game so commodlie change thy purpole, alter thy determination, do contrarie vnto that which thou hast minded. But when thou shouldest depart from sinne, thou saiest, I cannot: when thou shouldest returne vnto GOD, thou allegest, I am not able. Consider ye againe and againe, that such excuses shall not preuaile. They which refused to come vnto the feast of the good man of the house, bicause they had bought oxe farme, bicause they were to proue yokes of oxen, or bicause they had married wiues, were not excused; but were all counted vnworthie of the heauenlie calling. For my part, I am here present, and for the discharge of mine office; I inuite you in the name of GOD. By Christ I do call you; for your saluation sake I exhort you, that you will communicate: adde that as the louing wife doth beseech for your saluation, to giue his life vpon the crosse; so you will vouchsafe here, together with the rest of the brethren, celebrate a memorie of his death, according as he himselfe hath commanded. Which if ye will in no wise do, and that ye will not suffer your selues to be led from your obstinate and stubborne purpose; I beseech you by the great mercies of God, by the bowels of his compassion, that ye will not harden your hearts vnto the voice of him that inuiteth you, and beseecheth you for Jesus Christ his sake: but that ye will at length awake out of your sleepe, and consider the time of your visitation, and the acceptable time of your saluation, and the day of your health, lest that the Lord in his wrath sweare vnto you, that you shall not enter into his rest. Which God grant for his mercies sake.

An exhortation to the mysticall supper of the Lord.

Almightie God our heauenlie father, which of thine infinite goodnesse hast ordeined the supper of the Lord to be ministred, wherein thou doest call vs in the name of God Jesus Christ thine onelie sonne, to be partakers of his most precious bodie and bloud, as we be sure and certeine, that we be present, and do receiue at your hands this holie feast, so we beseech you for Jesus Christ his sake our Lord, by the glorious power of his comming, and the euerlasting kingdome which we looke for: that ye being thus mouinglie and

but a farre greater is it for a man to stand by, and in the meane time sitteth not downe with others, neither eateth nor drinketh. This all preacher is to haue the mysteries of Christ in derision.

Matt. 26, 26. It shall be said vnto all: Take ye, and eate ye; Take ye, and drinke ye all of this: This doo in the remembrance of me. With what face, with what forehead, with what heart will ye heare these things? What is it else to neglect, contemne, and make a mocking stocke of, the testament of Christ, if this be not? Wherefore get you hence rather, and giue place to the saints. But in the parting away, I beseech you weigh with your selues beepelie and in due time, from whence ye depart; namelie, from God, from Christ, from the brethren, and from the sweet kind of excellent charitie. These things if ye will faithfullie consider, perhaps ye will come againe to your selues and into the right waie. Which that ye may obteine, through the mercie of God, we will here praie, while we shall communicate together.

To the excellent and worthie men, the gouernors of the schoole of Strasbrough, my most reuerend maisters, grace and peace from God through Iesus Christ our Lord.

BEcause there is some doubt risen as touching the matter of the sacrament; and that the ministers of this church be afraid, lest by me should arise some contention about that matter: therefore haue I thought good, that those things, which a few daies past I maintained in your presence, now to repeate the same by writing. First, that I will in like maner confesse the confession made at Augusta, and other confessions whatsoeuer, not differing from the same; so they be rightlie and profitablie vnderstood. Secondlie, that there shall be no contentions vsed by me: make rather, if there be anie place to be handled in the scriptures, or that anie other necessitie shall require; that I should declare my opinion about such a question. I promise that I will doo it with all modestie, and without vnseemlie bitter inuective. But that my opinion touching the same, by the bookes, which I haue already published, I recant not, which I will haue nothing vnto them taken nor qualified; by this my writing I do protest, vntill being taught by the scriptures and the spirit of God, I be perswaded to the contrarie. And whereas I haue not subscribed to the agreement made betweene Dr. Martin Bucer, and the Zuinglians, his fellowe ministers of the same: this is, that I cannot, in respect of the words of the writing: for my conscience soke graunt, that they which are without faith, doo in receiuing of the sacrament, receiue the bodie of Christ. And it is no meruell, that I should not agree to this article; since Bucer himselfe in his owne booke (I saie, present) doth openlie teach, & manifestlie, when he expounded the Acts of the apostles. And euen so, when he was in England, wrote for otherwise; as I can shew by diuerse of his articles. And without doubt his opinion was true, since faith is the onelie instrument, whereby Christ his bodie and bloud is receiued of vs: which faith being removed, the mouth of the bodie receiueth nothing, but the sacraments of the bodie and bloud of Christ; the bread I meane and the wine, consecrated by the officer of the church the minister.

Christ receiued by faith.

Euen as if a man, which is of full age, should come without faith into baptisme; he would saie, he receiueth no thing besides the sacrament, that is, he takes water: for not beleeuing, he could not receiue the grace of regeneration: so without faith, no man is admitted vnto the communion of the bodie and bloud of Christ. And lastlie I am afraid, least by subscribing vnto this agreement before rehearsed, I might seeme to condemne the churches of Zuricke, Basil, Berne, Geneua, and England, & all the brethren professed through Italie and France: which otherwise I do not think be by the word of God to be reprooued. Therefore, as I both honour and reuerence the churches of Saxonie; euen so, do I imbrace and loue heartilie, in the Lord, those other churches, which I haue rehearsed. God, as he is the author of peace, grant vs, that we may once iudge and speake all one thing! And to you my maisters, whom I write so much honour, for the courtesie and godwill ye shew vnto me, I render most heartie thanks; since I haue no other thing to requite you withall. And I beseech our good God, for Iesus Christ his sake, that he will abundantlie be mercifull to you. From my lodging in Strasbrough, this 27 of March.

The confession or opinion of D. Peter Martyr Vermillius, as touching the Supper of the Lord, exhibited vnto the most noble Senat of Strasbrough, of whom he was called to Zuricke, in the yeere of the Lord 1555.

One person consisting of diuers natures.

nes and conditions of both being safe and entire. Wherefore, vnto the Godhead of Christ, which is infinite, and is limited by no measures or bounds, it is granted without controuersie to be euerie-where; but vnto the humanitie, by reason of the nature and truth thereof, circumscription, limits, and bounds do belong, as neither it can be euerie-where, neither can it be without time certeine place: vnlesse it be not by the weakenesse of the diuine power, but for the perpetuall and vnchangeable condition of mans nature. For as it cannot be, that either the number of three can be the number of six, or that the thing perfect made some can be vndone: so is it not possible, that that, which is an humane bodie, shulonot be a bodie humane, whose definition of necessitie compriseth both quantitie, parts distinguished, and members. Therefore, that diuerse they be that spred the same, and will haue it to extend so largelie as the word of God, and therefore to be either euerie-where, or else in manie places at once; they affirme, that that which is a humane bodie, is not a humane bodie; and that that which is created, is not a creature. For it is not conuenient for anie creature, being limited, to be in manie places at one and the selfe-same time. But that Christ, as touching his humane nature, is a creature, the church neuer doubted [to affirme] out of the word of God. Wherefore Christ, in respect that he is a man, left the world: we haue him not present in bodie: for with it he ascended into heauen, which must conteine or receiue him, till the times of the restitution of all things: as Peter in the Acts of the apostles hath taught.

That the humanitie of Christ is not euerie-where.

Acts 3, 21.

The sacrament of the Eucharist I conceiue is so instituted by Christ our Sauiour, as his words being rifled, which promise a true communion of the faithfull with him, and therewithall ioyning the signes of bread and wine, which be effectuall instruments of the holie Ghost as touching the faithfull; while the holy supper is celebrated, faith is wrought, whereby we trulie and liuelie apprehend in our mind both his bodie and bloud, euen as they were deliuered vnto death, and to the crosse for vs: vnto the remission of sinnes. Which receiuing in verie deed, although it be of things absent, and done in times past; yet doth it not ouerthrow the mind it selfe vnciuil, but it rebounceth and vniteth the bodie of them that receiue: & an vnto certeine power of sanctification, and spirituall constitution, it is made capable of the bodilie resurrection, and of eternall life. Wherefore I am not, neither can I in knowledge & truth, as in fleshlie carnall, or as vnspeaketl partes of the bodie of Christ; neither as the signes; nor yet in the communicants themselues: when as notwithstanding I doubt not; but do affirme, that there is a spiritual communion and participation of his bodie and bloud giuen vnto the communicants, whensoeuer the holie is has euen before the eating of the sacrament, but is increased by an exercise of faith in eating of the mysterie. For vnlesse that before the receiuing of the Eucharist, we be made partakers of the flesh and bloud of Christ; we should be strangers from him, we should want faith, and approch both vnfaithfullie vnto the table of his spirituall feast.

What presence there is of Christ in the sacraments.

That the vnfaithfull are onelie partakers of the signes.

They which be destitute of a true faith in Christ, although they come to receiue the signes, the bread I meane and the wine; yet are they not made partakers of his bodie and bloud, except by faith; as those signes are inured with the name of the Lords bodie and bloud. For such a knitting together there is betweene the holie signes, and the things which are signified, as the holie scriptures do awhile change one name of them to another. For both the flesh of Christ is called bread, as it appeareth in the first chapter of Iohn; and bread in the holie supper is called Christs bodie. So likewise the Lord and the Iewes said, that they did eate the passouer, when as they did eate the lambe it selfe; whereby the passouer, that is, the passing ouer was signified. I might therefore affirme, that the wicked do receiue the Lords bodie, because they receiue the signes thereof. And euen as in the wilderneſſe, the murmurers did eate Manna, and did drinke water of the rocke; who for all that had not anie communion with Christ that was looked for: so on the other side, the holie and godlie Iewes, while they did eate and drinke together with them, were partakers of the spirituall meate and drinke with him. And least we should doubt, what meate and drinke that was, which they had common with vs; Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the tenth chapter, expounded it, saieng; They dranke of the spirituall rocke, which followed them; and the rocke was Christ. Wherefore the wicked, which are destitute of that instrument, whereby the bodie and bloud of the Lord are receiued; namelie, faith, do for that cause not receiue the things themselues, which are signified; but do onelie receiue the signes of those things. Howbeit, they which are prepared with faith, as with the mouth of the bodie they eate and drinke the signes; to by faith, and the mouth of the mind, they trulie receiue the bodie and bloud of Christ.

John. 6, 51.

Mat. 26, 26.

Mat. 26, 17.

John. 18, 28.

verse 4.

Whose words. This is my bodie, are spoken by the LORD altogether figuratiuelie. For when he had taken bread in his hands, and had blessed the same with his apostles sitting at the table; he could not affirme of it, that it was his bodie; if it were not to be bread. For this will in proper speech call bread a thing bodie. Certeinlie no man that is wise, will vse

Mat. 26, 26. The words of the institution.

forme

An agreement betweene Bucer and Luther.

tynes and natures, are altogither distinct and seuerall, so that one of them cannot be another. Wherefore, since that a figure must be vsed, that ought to be chosen, which may most agree with sacraments. And the receiued definition of sacraments is, that they be signes of holie things.

Matt.26,17. Wherefore, euen as the sacrifice of the Paschall was called the passouer, because it signified the

Gen.17,10. passing ouer; and circumcision, the couenant of God, because it was a signe thereof (neither was the worke; thereof the forefathers drunke, nor anie other cause called Christ:) so the bread of the Eucharist is called the bodie of the Lord, because it signifieth the same; not vndoubtedlie by a common signification, and such as is vsed vpon a stage or theatre, but effectuall. For so much as the holie Ghost vseth that instrument, for the stirring vp of faith in vs; whereby we may apprehend the promised participation of the Lords bodie. I might also grant, that the bread, in a certeine maner thereof, is, and is called the verie bodie of Christ; namelie, that it is a sacrament thereof. For both the scriptures and the fathers do manie times so speake of the sacraments. But they, which defend the contrarie opinion, both they themselues perhaps will grant, that there is a figure in the words alledged, yea and being constreined of necessitie do thus expound that saieng; This is my bodie, that is; With this bread vndoubtedlie is giuen my bodie. Which interpretation I would not sticke to receiue, if they ment, that the bodie of Christ is giuen without a substantiall or corporall presence; Which because they will not admit, therefore, for auoiding of ambiguitie, I abstaine from that kind of figure, and staie my selfe vpon the common and receiued kind of signification, and which the fathers in times past vsed.

That we be partakers of the bodie of Christ although it be absent.

In this point is the state of our controuersie, that of manie it is not thought, that the bodie of Christ can be trulie communicated, except it be (as I may saie) reallie and corporallie present. Howbeit, these men (in my iudgement) haue not sufficientlie perceiued the force of faith. For they do not consider, that things, which otherwise be most far distant, are by it present vnto vs. Also the forefathers, so manie as were

1.Cor.10,3. godlie, receiued (as Paule testifieth) the selfe same spirituall meate and drinke, that we do; that is to wit, the bodie and bloud of the Lord, as vnto the Corinthians it is said. Neither was the great distance of times anie let, wherein Christ being now borne, these things began to haue their being to the spirituall and true communion hereof: for by faith they were made present vnto them. Wherefore, what impediment shall now the spaces of places be, which are betweene heauen, where Christ abideth, and vs [here in earth,] but that we may haue the fruition of his bodie and bloud, and be quickened thereby. Sure lie nothing at all, if we haue faith, whereby our minds being assisted by the word of God, and by the sacraments, may be carried vp vnto heauen, and there be refreshed with the spirituall meate and drinke of the bodie and bloud of Christ, and be reduced vnto eternall life. And whilest I now and then name heauen, I vse no metaphor; but I verelie vnderstand those celestiall places, wherevnto Christ was receiued, when he departed from vs, Luke.24,51 as the holie scripture testifieth.

Euerie faithfull man, since he is the member of Christ, wheresoeuer he be, hath him for his head, and is trulie and most neerelie ioined vnto him; so as from thence he deriueth life and spirit, which doo as flowe from the diuinitie, as by the flesh and bloud of Christ giuen vnto death, they are deriued vnto vs. For GOD hath not giue anie celestiall gifts vnto mortall men, but

1.Tim.2, 5. by one mediator of God & men, the man Christ Iesus; as Paule saith vnto Timothie. Whereof it commeth, that our bones and our flesh, forsomuch as they be partakers of the heauenlie re-

Regeneration of the bodie. generation, and of eternall life, be of his flesh and of his bones, as the apostle lastly taught vs

Ephes.5,30. to the Ephesians. For vnlesse they did depend of them, and spirituallie cleaue thereunto, they could not deriue vnto themselues from GOD, by them, either regeneration, the spirit, or eternall life. Wherefore, although betweene vs and the bodie of Christ there be great distances of places; yet do we depend of him, and vnto him are marueilouslie ioined. And seeing this coniunction is spirituall, secret, and diuine; there is not required a substantiall and corporall presence of his bodie and bloud: and therefore we do not admit the same, because it is against the truth of the Lords humane nature; and doth euidentlie disagree with the testimonies of the scripture.

In things pertaining to man, a husband hap-

1.Cor.7. peneth vpon some occasions to iourney into a far countrie, the leauing his wife for a time at home, ceaseth not therfore with her (as the scripture speaketh) to be one flesh. Wherefore their true, proper, and (as I call it) coniunction remaineth perfect, although the one be neuer so far absent from the other. How much more doth Christ, who (as the apostle saith) is the husband of the

Ephes.5,23. church, remaine with all his members ioined together, although they be gone aboue into heauen and departed bodilie?

Wherefore, into this vnion, which we haue with the Lord, that is, with his bodie, bloud, and bones, there is required a naturall touching; neither of places conioined continuall or close together. For elsse there must be spirit and faith, whereby we may be most neerlie coupled to Christ

Christ our spouse and sauiour. But they, which denie that there be commeth such a coniunction with the flesh of Christ, without his substantiall and corporall presence, seeme to attribute but little to the mightie power of GOD; whereas they in the meane time do perpetuallie warne vs to haue regard vnto it, when we iudge that the bodie of Christ can neither be euerie where; no; in manie places at once. Let they themselues vse that remedie, which they offer vnto others; and let them grant that power of God, which the truth and our godlie iudgement requireth: and the same being granted, there shall be nothing taken awaie from the humanitie of the Lord; the nature of the sacrament shall remaine sounde, and we shall agree together in the wisedome of the holie scriptures.

In the confession made at Augusta, there is nothing (to farre as I can perceiue) but may agree with the opinion which I haue now set forth. But because both in word and mind (as it manifestlie appeareth) we agree not among our selues; therfore, that I beleeue and vnderstand out of the word of God, I ment to declare; that none may afterward iustlie complaine that they be deceiued. And these things haue I comprehended in verie few words; touching which I can no longer with a perfect and safe conscience hold my peace, from teaching, disputing, and writing.

Wherefore I beseech you, that when opportunitie shall serue, it may be free for me to intreat plainlie and manifestlie in word and writting, what I iudge as concerning that substantiall and bodilie presence of the bodie and bloud of Christ in the supper; and of the other things, which I haue rehearsed. Which if it may not seeme good to be granted, I desire to be dismissed by your authorities, with good licence and fauour.

The opinion of D. Peter Martyr Vermillius, as touching the presence of the bodie of Christ in the Eucharist, propounded by him in the communication that was had at Poissy.

YEe reuerend Prelats and most learned men, seeing there seemed to be in a maner a consent as touching the presence of the bodie of Christ in the vse of the supper; yesterdate I professed to you, what my opinion, faith and iudgement should be thereof. Which as I then expressed in words, so am I now minded to rehearse it by writting; whereby I may make the same more certeine, and more exident vnto you. Wherefore I iudge, that the reall and substantiall bodie of Christ is onelie in the heauens; but yet, that the faithfull, in communicating of spirituallie and by faith truelie receiue his verie bodie, and verie bloud, which were giuen for vs vpon the crosse. Wherefore I allow no transubstantiation, and consubstantiation in the bread and wine of the supper. Further I affirme, that the distance of places is no let to our coniunction with the bodie and bloud of Christ: because the supper of the Lord is a heauenlie thing; and although that with the mouth of the bodie we receiue vpon the earth bread and wine, being sacraments of the bodie and bloud of the Lord; yet, By faith and by the helps of the holie spirit, our minds, whereunto speciallie belongeth this spirituall and heauenlie food, being carried vnto heauen, do inioye the present bodie and bloud of Christ. And therefore I affirme, that it is not needfull to determine the bodie of Christ to be truelie, substantiallie, and corporallie present, either to vs, or, in the signes, by a presence not locall.

I saie moreouer, that the things signified, are no otherwise ioined vnto the outward signes, than sacramentallie; forsomuch as by them they are not prophanelie and lightlie, but effectuallie signified, by the institution of the Lord. This is the summe of my faith, which I hold in this opinion. And therefore the conients brought in writting, I do admit in this respect, as they are referred, or may be applied vnto the sense now declared; against which, if anie man do either write them, or interpret them, I professe that I dissent from him. And whereas in these speeches, there is mention made of the substance of Christs bodie; I vnderstand no other thing by that name or word, but the true bodie of Christ. For our faith is not directed vnto a feined thing or phantasie, but vnto the true, humane, and naturall bodie, which the word of God tooke of the blessed virgine, and gaue for vs vpon the crosse. Wherefore there is no cause why by that word we should be thought to beleeue, that his reall presence is elsse-where than in heauen.

I Peter Martyr Vermillius, a Florentine borne, haue written these things with mine owne hand, and haue professed them with mine owne mouth, before the reuerend and honourable personages of this Conference.

Questions.

Questions.

I Whether the lawe in the. 22. of Exodus, of maids deflowred to bee married of such as had deflowred them, should be reteined in a christian common weale?

II If the magistrate shall thinke the lawe to be too rigorous, bicaulle of the lasciuiousnes of yoong women, and therefore meete to bee abrogated; whether the minister ought to perswade the magistrate to the abrogating of the same, or to let it be at libertie? or what answer hee must make them?

III Whether the magistrate doo rightlie if he decline from the lawe of God. Whether this part belong vnto christian libertie?

Whether it be agreeable to the lawe of nature? or else whether it be wholie politicall?

IIII Seeing we read, that the most holie men did not onelie sweare; As trulie as the Lord liueth: but otherwhile added: As thy soule liueth: not onelie in their affirmations; but also in their protestations; what answer must be made to the papists, which saie, that we must not sweare by the name of God onelie?

Vnto the first question.

By the lawe of GOD, in the 22. of Exodus, it is not altogither necessary that a man should marrie the virgine, whome he had lien with. For it is there added; But and if the father shall refuse to giue hir vnto him, that hath deflowred hir, let him pay the dowrie of virgins. This addition is of great importance: for God would, that his fathers power should remaine entire; and suffereth not, that children should contract marriages without their parents consent. And if that this lawe should decree the marriage betweene hir that is defiled, and him that defileth, to bee in anie wise necessarie, the dishonest yong maid would easilie suffer hir selfe to be defiled by him, whome against hir fathers will she would wish to be hir husband; to the intent that, without his consent, she might obteine hir desired marriage. Wherefore God would haue it to be in the fathers power, to allow or disallow of such marriages. Seeing then the magistrate is the father of the countrie, he may, by his lawes, either commaund or release such lawes; so that the fault escaped not vnpunished: bicause herevnto he is bound by the lawe of God, that euill thinges be taken awaie from among the people.

Exo. 22, 16.

Vnto the second question.

In my iudgement, it is not possible for the common weale, that bicause of the want of nurselie or lasciuiousnesse of yong maids, the lawe of marrieng hir, whome a man hath defiled, should be abrogated. For vnlesse that men should be restreined from fornications, euen the feare of this punishment; they would be bold enerie where to violate those which are inuenta and dishonestie: wherevpon filthinesse and dishonestie would more & more abound in the citie. I would neuer therefore be an author of the diminishing of the punishment of euill disposed persons, least a greater window be opened to sinne. Wherefore in my opinion, it should be the ministers part to warne magistrates faithfullie, that (as much as is possible) they should by the lawe rather bridle sin, than set it at libertie.

Vnto the third question.

This lawe is partlie ciuill, and partlie morall. That is morall and perpetuall, for the magistrate to represse fornications and inordinate lusts. And it belongeth to the nature of politike gouernment, to decree the kind of punishment, which in verie deed is left free vnto the prince: but yet so free, as he may change the ciuill iudgement of the Iewish lawe, in such wise, as may seeme most agreeable for his people; doubtlesse, not vnto the libertie of the flesh, but vnto the amendement of offenses. The Romane lawes, as it is in the institutions of publike iudgments, in Parach. the first, for committing such a crime, punished a man, which was of the greater calling, with the losse of halfe his goods: but the baler sort they banished and restreined with bodilie punishment. And Augustine, in his booke *De mendacio* to Consentius, chapter. 8. saith; that theefs are lightlier punished than whoredomes. Wherefore it is free to the magistrate to change the punishment: but yet, when he hath anie need to restreine vices, he must not for the performing thereof decree an easie, but a more greeuous punishment: otherwise, that kind of vice, euen as others doo, will dailie more & more increase. And by these things, which I haue alreadie said, I thinke there hath beene answer enough made vnto the fourth question.

Vnto the last question.

As touching oths, I answer, that there be three formes of sweareng vsed in the scriptures. One, when we saie; By God, By Christ, and such like. The other two haue the forme of praier, or execration. The formes of execration be these; I praie God I die! Ill come to me! Which kind of oth is in the seuenth psalme. If I haue doone anie such thing, if there bee anie wickednesse in my hands, if I haue rewarded euill vnto him that dealt friendlie with mee, yea if I haue left him destitute that did hurt mee; [then] let the enimie persecute mee without a cause, and take mee, let him tread downe my life, and laie mine honour in the dust! But the forme of sweareng by praier, is; So let me liue! So God helpe me! Among which kind those oths are reckoned, whereof the question now standeth; Thy soule liueth, or my soule liueth, &c. As touching the first forme of oth, I thinke it is euident enough, that we must sweare onlie by God: but in the other two formes nothing letteth, but that the things created may after some sort be named: which in verie deed, if the thing be more narrowlie considered, is done after an indirect manner, bicause it is a true, though a secret calling vpon God. For what other thing is; Thy soule liueth, than, Let God so saue thee, as this thing is true, which I now witnesse, as I will doo this thing that I promise thee? In like maner as touching execrations, the speech is directed vnto God, when we saie; Let the enimie persecute my soule! It is euen as [if I should saie] GOD suffer me continuallie to be vexed! They are therefore abrupt and abridged maners of sweareng, whereunto to make them perfect, must be added the name of God. Euen as on the other side, whensoeuer the name of God is expressed, and the execrations also are not expressed: as; Let God doo so and so vnto me! Where it is not mentioned, what things those be, Which he will suffer, if he shall faile of that which he hath sworn to doo.

The Propositions of D. Peter Martyr, disputed openlie in *the common Schooles at Strasbrough, in the yeare* of the Lord, 1543.

The Propositions necessarie be, 592. and the propositions probable be, 63. neuer imprinted before this last yeare, 1582.

Out of the first chapter of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 Seeing the holie scripture is a declaration of the wisedome of God, we haue from thence the fountaine of our felicitie.

2 Albeit that those things which be set downe in the holie scriptures, doo serue both vnto knowledge and practise, yet is there nothing therein conteined, but is a furtherance to our actions.

3 The excellencie of the holie scriptures is herein perceiued, that it sendeth vs to the high cause of the will of God, which is reuealed in them.

4 The summe of those things which are conteined in the holie scriptures, is the lawe and the Gospell, which parts are indifferentlie conteined, as well in the new as in the old testament.

The first booke of Genesis hath a preface agreeable to the lawe and the Gospell, as being that which should be capable both of the one part and the other. 5

They which perceiue the knowledge of God, taught here by the creation, doo obteine the same by faith. 6

We beleeue that the world was so made by God, that notwithstanding there is annouched no alteration of the will of God. 7

Probable.

Heauen and earth, which are written to haue beene first made, do expresse the matter of all things that were to be brought forth, both of the bodies aboue and beneath. 1

The spirit of the Lord which was carried vpon 2

on the waters, may verie probablie be taken for the holie Ghost, and for the wind.

3 The word of GOD in the bringing forth of things is a manifestation of his will.

4 Whereas GOD might manie waies haue made the world, he onelie approued this waie, and therefore it is oftentimes added; And God sawe that it was good.

5 The euening and morning were made the first daies of the gathering togither & spreading forth of the light, before the bringing forth of the sunne.

6 The waters aboue the firmament be in the middle region of the aire.

A disputation of the article of creation.

1 WHen we speak of the creation of things, we bring not forth one thing out of another after Aristotles maner, but we affirme all natures, as well bodilie as without bodie, to be created of nothing by the word of God.

2 For God, to the intent he would make manifest both his power and his mercie, created of nothing an infinit sort of men in the whole nature of things.

3 And thus must this creation be vnderstood; not that things be here created in such wise as they should haue their being without the counsell of God: but God continuallie gouerneth and directeth them, as Paule in the Acts saith; In him we be, we liue, and haue our mouing.

4 Further the maner of the creation was this. First God made the heauen, and the earth, and those things which be conteined in them.

5 Besides this, that there might be a certeine mind, which should vnderstand this infinit power and wisedome of this creation, he made man, and gaue him rule ouer his creatures.

6 And bicause he had made him after his owne image, he commanded also that he should be acknowledged and magnified of him aboue his works.

7 And this was no hard matter for man to do, when he had the whole power in his owne hand.

8 For the image of God, according wherevnto God had made man, was the mind it selfe in man, in the which mind shined the true knowledge of God, and in the will, true obedience.

Propositions out of the first chapter of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 ALbeit that names are manie times giuen by men, yet this also must be referred vnto God, seeing the ends & conditions from whence things be named be of God, and by his procurement, he that nameth, is rather moued in respect of one of those things, than in respect of another.

2 The keeping backe of waters from drowning the earth, we attribute not to the stars, but to the word of GOD, as also the power whereby plants and hearbs are brought out of the earth.

The great lights are set for signes, to gather thereby the faire and stormie weather to come, and the other dispositions of the aire: and they be also signes, whereby the wrath and mercie of God is perceiued before hand.

3 Vnto the signes of heauen must not be attributed a power ouer the reasonable part of our mind, neither yet a free power of things to come.

Albeit it is said; Let the waters or earth bring forth this or that, yet the creation of all things must be attributed to God alone.

4 So must we occupie our selues in the bookes of philosophie, and in the contemplation of natural things, as we referre all the properties, instruments, actions, and substances of them vnto God the authour.

Whatsoeuer things are spoken in the creation of man, as touching the image and similitude of God, do most fullie agree vnto Christ, and by him are restored vnto vs.

5 In that that man, being created according to the image of God, is set ouer creatures, we gather a rule what maner of elections we ought to make, either of ministers of the church, or of magistrates.

6 The perfection of life must not be weighed by abstinence from eating of flesh.

7 The true sabboth is the ceasing from works which be proper to our nature corrupted; but not from those wherevnto God leadeth vs by his spirit and admonition.

8 All the life of a christian man ought to be a sabboth after the maner before said.

Probable.

1 A Man is said to be created vnto the image and similitude of God, bicause since he is made of a reasonable nature, and indued with all vertues, whereby he should represent GOD, he had by God his dominion ouer creatures.

2 God hath oftentimes restored by faith vnto the godlie that power ouer creatures, which was giuen at the beginning.

3 Our bodie is partaker of the image of God, bicause it is the instrument wherewith we, through our actions, do expresse the properties of God.

4 By this reason that a man is indued with the image and similitude of God, is declared the nature of true felicitie, of vertues, and of all lawes, and whome the church ought to haue for hir citizens.

5 When God said: Be ye fruitfull, and multiplie, he commanded matrimonie, by which precept all men are bound, which can do that duelie, or by a speciall instinct of God are not moued, that in single life they should be made seruicable to the Gospell.

6 The eating of flesh was not dispensed with before the flood, either bicause men were then stronger, or bicause the earth brought forth better fruits than now it doth; or els that men might more encrease themselues to immortalitie.

7 Whereas in the holie scriptures are taken manie arguments and similitudes, whereby we are persuaded to liue well; there is a some geuen vs from plants, lights, & liuing creatures, which some we may vse in other things when they happen.

Propositions taken out of the second chapter of the booke of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 MAns soule is not of the substance of God, neither hath it the same nature that the soules of other brute beasts haue.

2 The soules of men were not all created at the beginning, but are dailie created of God, to be put into the bodies.

3 Those things, which are spoken of paradise must not be vnderstood so allegoricallie, as the truth of the historie should not be retained: but the allegories may profitablie be ioined vnto the thing that was done.

4 Whether that garden of pleasure be yet extant, cannot be defined by the holie scriptures.

5 The dignitie of the lawe of GOD is not to be esteemed by deserts of actions commanded or forbidden therein, but for that in it is conteined the iudgement of GOD for doing of things, which alwaies must be preferred before the counsell of man.

6 Both kinds of death, as well of the bodie as of the soule, was set before Adam, if he transgressed the commandement of God.

7 The first man was created mortall, albeit it was in him not to die.

8 It is not good for a man to be alone: bicause it is not pleasant, nor honest, nor profitable.

9 Three exercises were set before man at his creation: namelie, to obeie God, to behold the natures of things created, and to exercise husbandrie.

10 The scope of Adam, in the bringing forth of

the woman, signifieth vnto vs, that Christ by his death purchased his church.

Probable.

1 THe breathing of God, whereby the first man was made a liuing soule, is a token shewing vs, that the reasonable soule is giuen vnto man, not by the strength of nature, but sup-
2 naturallie by the helpe of God.

The garden of pleasures was planted in the region of Eden, as the name declareth, not as from Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia.

3 The tree of life, hauing fruit, which prolonged life to them that should eate of it; allegorically signifieth Christ.

4 The tree of good and euill, is not onelie vnderstood of that which followed; but in euill of the same there was a lawe giuen, whose propertie is to driue in the difference of good and euill.

5 By forbidding the fruits of the tree of good and euill, we are taught, not to be so hardie as to iudge our selues by the wisedome of the flesh; or els to determine by mans iudgement what is good, and what is euill: which neuertheless is requisite, that we be led by the spirit of God, and by the word.

6 Giuing the lawe to as it was giuen to Adam, the woman being not yet created, it thereof that women should be instructed by men, as touching the lawe and word of the Lord.

7 The woman was made of the rib of man, to declare, that the church was founded in the strength of Christ.

Propositions out of the second and third chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 CHildren must not for their vices sake so leaue their parents, as not to succour or reuerence them, albeit they are bound to liue neerer to their wiues, than to their parents.

2 Whereas the husband and wife are said to be one flesh, matrimonie is declared to be inseparable, so long as they can be one flesh; which is taken awaie by aduoutrie, and for want of power to performe the dutie of marriage one towards another.

3 Matrimonie is therefore said to be a mysterie, bicause it representeth vnto vs the most streict coniunction of Christ with his church.

4 The church immediatelie from hir beginning had Adam for hir gouernour, not without the word of God: for he, being indued with the spirit of GOD, spake with the selfe-same words, both as touching Christ, and as touching matrimonie.

Temptations are therfore permitted by God, bicause they be profitable for the church.

The diuell promised vnto the woman those things, which the had alreadie, to wit, the opening of the eies, and likenesse to God.

Probable.

WHereas God brought Eue framed of to Adam, we are thereby taught, that thole matriages are not well knit, where God ioineth not the parties together.

Since that mans soule is a spirituall substance, and is immortall, we muste not graunt that it is derined vnto the children by the seed of the parents.

The serpent was the fittest instrument in temptation, to expresse the illpassions of the diuell, and his craftinesse against men.

The wicked will of the tempter, declareth the most skilfull wisedome of GOD, whereby he knewe how to vse vnto euen most wicked things.

This did the diuell by his first temptation chiefly indeuour, that Gods word should not be beleeued as it was requisite.

The originall of Eues fall was, that setting aside the earnest cogitation of the word of God, she began to wetgh in her mind the commoditie of the forbidden fruit, which the diuell set before her, together with the beautie and sweetnesse thereof.

The shame and the neede of the couerings are not to be ascribed to the diuell, but to the goodnesse of God, as a bride, whereby the euill now brought in might the lesse spread it selfe abroad.

Propositions out of the third chapter of Genesis.

Necessarie.

SHame and the shunning of Gods sight are properties which followe sinne.

The enimitie, which GOD put betweene the diuell and the woman, belongeth vnto all godlie men.

Albeit the power of treading downe the diuell be proper vnto Christ, yet doth he communicate the same with the faithfull.

The curses, which GOD layd vpon the first men, were not onlie punishments, but also they shewed men their duties, and brought remedies against temptations and sinnes.

If the creatures through mans transgression fell into a worse condition than they were, it is meet that vpon the restitution of him, those also should be restored.

Since God removeth tolerable from man, they which altogither shun labour, agree not with his will.

Christ take not alwaie by his first comming, the punishments of these curses, but mitigated them: howbeit, at his second coiuming he will altogither take them away.

Seeing garments are inuented for the profit and honestie of this present life, those garments are iustifie and fault withall, which haue anie thing against these two properties.

Sacrifices be signes, whereby we confesse the excellencie of God.

Anie man is accepted of GOD, before his works be accepteable vnto him.

Those things, which God either by exhorting or commanding the doth should be done, those are not in our power to be done of vs, vnlesse we be holpen by his grace.

Probable.

THe scripture therefore saith, that the eies of the first men were opened after sinne, bicause there brake out a new sicke of new punishments.

By the example of God, who so precisely inquired after sinne, iudges are admonished, that they condemne not men before they be heard, and their cause examined.

In the curssing of the serpent, those punishments of the diuell are rehearsed, whereby we may be easilie brought to be ware of him.

By the names, which were giuen to the wife of the first man, to his first begotten sonne, and to manie other in the old testament, we are taught to giue those names vnto them that be of our families, whereby we may be often admonished of the benefits of God towards vs.

In the calling forth of Adam out of paradise, we may perceiue a shadowe of the accursed and excommunicates out of the church.

Propositions out of the fourth, fift, and sixt chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

HE that refuseth himselfe to be a keeper of his neighbour, as Caine did, he sheweth himselfe to be vncharitable.

So long as GOD suffereth the wicked to remaine aliue, a priuate mans sword must not arise against them.

Since that GOD can defend those, whom he loueth, and yet suffereth them to be oppressed, it is euident that the same oppression is profitable for them.

Insomuch as we beleeue that God is iust, and that now his friends are oftentimes ill intreated, it followeth that his iudgement must be looked for afterward, whereby these things may be recompensed.

Albeit that the finding out of munition came of an ill occasion, yet is the vse thereof lawfull.

The vtilitie is not small that commeth by the description of genealogies, which be in the holie scriptures.

Euen as the maner of godlie men is, to inuent titles and names for things which may set forth the praises of God; so contrariwise the vngodlie seeke by them to establish their owne memorie, not a memorie of the Lord.

How manie soeuer as are now borne amongst men, are marked not onelie with the image of God, but also with the intage of the first Adam.

Probable.

IT is verie likelie, that the old fathers, which were before the flod, came more latelie to the time of generation than men of our age do.

They which be reckoned in this genealogie, it may well be that they were not all the first borne.

The huge host of the children of Israel, which of a few men were multiplied within a short time in Aegypt, proueth that mankind was tone increased in number.

Whether the angels, or the spirits, or the godlie men, or the sonnes of princes, are said to be those sonnes of God, which went into the daughters of men, it cannot by the holie scriptures be defined.

The hundreth and twentie yeares, which are said to be giuen vnto men before the flod, were the space granted them to repentance.

Propositions out of the sixt, seuenth, and eight chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

GOD did not onelie by spetiall words prouide that his prophets should warne men concerning their commoditie, but he would that the same should also be done of them by certeine outward actions.

Albeit that God knew that some would not returne to him, yet doth he not in vaine call them manie times.

Sometimes it may be, that holie men praie not for certeine persons, not led thereunto by their owne fault, but by the commandement of God.

When God maketh a couenant with men, all things there depend of his mercie.

God sometimes giueth manie things to certeine men, for their forefathers and posterities sake.

In a church well ordered, euen this among other things must be taken heed of, that there be no want of bodilie sustenance to the members of Christ.

God works are not causes of saluation: but we verie well graunt it to be requisit, that to whom GOD hath giuen them, to those he also giue saluation.

Manie things which are commanded in Moses lawe touching ceremonies, are found also to haue beene kept before the lawe.

God is said to remember, not that he at anie time forgetteth, but bicause he hath the effects of man, who remembreth some thing.

We read that God hath sometime repented him, not that he is troubled with this perturbation, but bicause he doth that which repentants are accustomed to do.

When we affirme that he repenteth himselfe of some thing, the change must not be placed in himselfe, but in man.

It must not be attributed vnto punishment it selfe, that it hath the power to purge sinne.

Outward sacrifices are acceptable to God, if they be ioined with inward sacrifice.

Outward sacrifices do exceedinglie displease God, if the mind be void of inward sacrifice.

Probable.

THat some liuing creatures be cleane and vncleane, it commeth rather to passe by our estimation, than by the nature of them.

The flod is a figure of the last iudgement.

The arke was a figure of the church.

Propositions out of the eight and ninth chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

THe Lords supper may be called a sacrifice, howbeit, not that it purgeth the soules of the dead; and that it sufficieth (as they saie) for the whole sinne that is wrought.

Whosoeuer are borne altogither of Adam, are guiltie of originall sinne.

The saints are abolished from this vice by repentance and faith, wherewith they haue beene indued, the corruption of nature is not taken awaie.

They which are punished for originall sinne, suffer punishment, not for another mans sinne, but for their owne.

No moral vertues or mans industrie can

take awaie this disease of nature.

6 We affirme that in this originall corruption, is folden up togither both sinne and guiltinesse.

7 Guiltinesse and originall sinne be not the selfe-same one with an other.

8 Originall sinne is a corruption of the whole man, from the image of GOD, brought in after the fall of the first man.

9 This bringing in is not admitted, this thing is not in our power, therefore it is no sinne.

10 Originall sinne is forgiuen through faith by Christ.

11 It is not forgiuen in baptisme, for the worke wrought (as they speake) but by the power of faith.

12 God did not so greatlie advise the remission of sinnes to the sacrament of baptisme, as without it he doth not otherwhile giue the same.

13 Unto them which belong not vnto Christ, originall sinne bredeth damnation vnto hell fier.

14 The promises of God do come to an indeuor of praieng.

Probable.

1 Through the exceeding great conjunction of the soule with the flesh, the same flesh after the fall of Adam being defiled, the soule also it selfe is contaminated with originall sinne.

2 The ceremonie whereby it was commanded, that men should abstaine from bloud, doth in part shadowe out the sacrifice of Christ, and partlie doth admonish vs of inconstancie.

3 When the soule as well of brute beasts as of men, is called bloud, that must be understood by a figuratiue kind of speech.

Propositions out of the tenth, eleuenth and twelfe chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 It is not lawfull for anie man to kill himselfe, vnlesse he be stirred thereunto by the speciall motion of God.

2 We must temper our selues from the flatering of man, because he is made to the image of GOD.

3 It is lawfull vnto christians for defence of their life, to vse the armed helpe of the magistrate.

4 Euen as drunkennesse is sinfull to be condemned in drunkards; so in Noah it deserueth excuse.

5 That which is bondage in deed, had the originall thereof from sinne.

6 Bondage is contrarie vnto mans nature as the same was instituted of God.

7 It is not lawfull for seruants vnder the title of christianitie to shake off the yoke of bondage, naie they ought to serue their masters so much the rather bicause they be christians.

8 As touching redemption, felicitie of soules, and iustification by Christ, there is no difference betweene seruants and free men.

9 In outward and politike matters, it is lawfull for christian men to vse manie differences betweene seruants and free men.

Probable.

1 The couenant which was made by GOD with Noah, whale signe the rainebowe is, shadowed the couenant of deliuerance by Christ.

2 By Gods promises which had respect to the conseruation of bodilie life, we may inferre, that euen he will giue vs the saluation of our soules.

3 The matter and efficient cause of the rainebowe, the colowres thereof and figure, be fit tokens to shew, that a generall flod is no more to be feared.

4 The christian fathers by a verie likelie argument interpret the rainebowe to be Christ.

5 When Noah being dronken and laid naked in his pauilion was mocked by his sonne, he bare a figure of Christ crucified.

6 There is a certeine voluntarie bondage proceeding of charitie, which although sinne had not happened, might haue had place in our nature.

Propositions out of the xiij. and xiiij. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 The diuine calling hath respect to the saluation of them that be called by faith: sometime it hath this respect, that they should enter into some certeine function.

2 And there is a certeine calling that is notefestuall, by the which they that are called come not thither whither they be called.

3 Faith dependeth of calling.

4 Calling is not offered vnto vs by God, for our works or deserts sake.

5 In the leapings out of dangers, when man is put in mind what he may do by worldlie means, vnlesse he do this, he tempteth God.

6 The vse and possession of riches is not forbidden by God vnto christian men.

7 A christian man is bound after this manner to leaue his gods, namelie, that he will call his mind from them, least he being so much hindered by them, should the lesse serue his vocation.

Otherwhile

8 Otherwhile a christian man is bound, so to leaue his gods, that he should in verie deed cast them awaie for Christ his sake.

9 Albeit that Christ forbad not the possession of riches, yet doth he condemne the putting of trust in them.

10 It is lawfull for a christian man by iust meanes to inrich himselfe.

11 To the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, God promised the land of Chanaan, but to the spirituall seed, the inheritance of the world.

12 The continuall repeating of Gods promises doth not a little stir by faith.

Probable.

1 Verie manie of the things, which are read to be done of Abraham, were not onelie shadowes of those things, which belong vnto the new testament, but also of those things, which should happen afterward vnto his posteritie before Christ was borne.

2 In the time of the lawe, death was more greatlie feared of the fathers, than now of true christians vnder the Gospell.

3 When GOD permitteth the speciall saints sometime to fall, he vseth their infirmitie for their spirituall commoditie.

4 When Abraham in defending of Saraes chastitie knew not what to do, he did well in committing the same vnto the Lord to be kept.

5 They, which allowe of the fact of Abraham, wherein he would haue Sara to be accounted his sister, not his wife: and they also, which faie that he then fell, haue probable reasons on both sides for their opinion.

Propositions out of the xiiij. and xv. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 To go to war, is not repugnant to christian religion.

2 When war is to be made, it must be taken in hand, not by priuate men, but by publike power.

3 A magistrate that will make war iustlie, must of necessitie haue a iust cause: and therewithall must be stirred vnto it, not through priuate affections.

4 It is not for ministers of the church to war with outward armour, vnlesse they be stirred hereunto by speciall instinct from God.

5 It is lawfull for ministers of the church to be present in war with them that fight iustlie, and sometimes to perswade magistrates vnto iust wars.

6 In war it is not forbidden to vse lieing in wait.

7 A magistrate must trie and vse all meanes possible both to keepe peace, and obteine it, before he take war in hand.

8 It is not forbidden vnto christians to ioine themselues with confederates, either for the defense or obteining of those things, which are giuen vnto vs by the goodnesse of God.

9 It is perceiued in the figure of Melchisedech, that the priesthod of Christ, is both of longer continuance, and more excellent than the priesthood of Leui.

10 In the promises made vnto Abraham, we must confesse that he vnderstood Christ the saujour to be offered vnto him.

Probable.

1 GOD adorned the fathers in the old testament, both with riches and victories, whereby he might win them authoritie in the lawfull setting forth of Gods religion.

2 When Abraham made war against the foure kings, he was not altogither a priuate man.

Propositions out of the xv. chapter of the booke of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 To haue receiued the lawe of GOD, or to haue heard it, doth not iustifie.

2 By the workes of the lawe, which some call morall, we are not iustified.

3 We are iustified by a liuelie, not by a dead faith.

4 Ceremonies iustifie not by the power of the action, or (as they speake) for the worke it selfe sake.

5 To be iustified, although it be manie waies spoken, yet in our propositions it must be vnderstood, that it signifieth the remission of sins, and to haue a participation of the righteousnes of Christ.

6 Faith is a firme assent of the mind vnto the promises concerning Christ, through the persuasion of the holie Ghost vnto saluation.

7 Besides the righteousnesse of Christ imputed vnto vs through faith, we grant, that there is yet giuen vnto those men that are iustified, another certeine inherent righteousnesse, and that the same is gotten by good workes and holie exercises.

8 We grant that there is an inherent and gotten righteousnesse, and such as is acceptable vnto God, and necessarie vnto saluation.

9 By an inherent and obteined righteousnesse, men though they be holie cannot stand in the iudgement of God.

10 To the obteining of Christs righteousnesse,

and remission of sinnes, which by faith we apprehend: works do not concur as part of the causes of them.

Probable.

1 The ceremonies of the lawe, which conteined Christ apprehended by faith, may be granted to haue iustified.

2 When we saie that we be iustified by faith, we iudge, that faith must be vnderstood for the disposition and power, whereby we be made capable of the remission of sinnes, and righteousnesse of Christ.

3 We grant that a man is iustified by works; notwithstanding, that is touching inherent righteousnesse and reward, by the which righteousnes we first obteine a good and holie life of God.

Propositions out of the xvi. and xvij. chapters of the booke of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 The couenant of the fathers, and that which we now haue after the comming of Christ, is all one, as touching the foundation thereof, which is Christ, although there be some difference in rites and ceremonies.

2 Circumcision and baptisme, as touching the matter of the sacrament, be all one, notwithstanding the difference of the ceremonie.

3 The infants of christians, when they be borne, do no lesse belong vnto GOD, than did in old time the children of the Iewes; therefore must they in like maner be baptised with water, as those were circumcised.

4 A sacrament is an outward signe instituted by God, to signifie and exhibite grace to them that rightlie receiue it.

5 Sacraments in the old testament, not onelie signified, but also did exhibite the grace of God.

6 Sacraments are no cause of grace, but they are instruments, which God vseth while he sanctifieth them that be his.

7 Sacraments are not so necessarie instruments, as God hath altogither tied his power vnto them, as though without them he were not able to giue saluation.

8 As sacraments cannot without a verie grieuous crime be neglected, so are they receiued with exceeding great commoditie.

9 Circumcision is a sacrament deliuered vnto the fathers by God, to signifie and exhibite regeneration to those, which rightlie receiued it.

10 The children of the Iewes, although they died before the eight daie vncircumcised, yet they were saued: and no lesse are the children of the christians, if they die before baptisme.

Probable.

1 The Iewes, which at this daie resist Christ by their infidelitie, belong not to the couenant of God, made to the fathers.

2 The promises of GOD are not yet fulfilled in the Iewes, so far as concerneth their generation according to the flesh: therefore the nation of those men is not altogither strange from the couenant of God.

3 When Abraham laie with his handmaid, therein did neither himselfe nor his wife sinne.

4 Those handmaidens, which certeine of the patriarchs married for wiues, were not throughout that matrimonie exempted from the state of bondage.

Propositions out of the xviij. and xix. chapters of the booke of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 The bowing of the bodie, which for honour sake Abraham shewed vnto the angels, is not to be accused as belonging to idolatrie.

2 It is not necessarilie gathered, by the number of those angels, or speeches had betweene them and Abraham, that there be three persons in one diuine nature.

3 Although the measure of sinnes be certeine, beyond which GOD deferreth not his vengeance; yet doth not our naturall knowledge perceiue the same.

4 God doth otherwhile for his elect sake spare countries and cities; but he doeth it not alwaies.

5 There can be no lawe set vnto the iustice of God, that we should appoint, that because there are found iust men in place, therfore God should spare it.

6 A recompensing of sinnes must not be allowed, that a man may commit a lesse sinne, least another fall into a greater, or by anie meanes be vered.

7 Lies, though they be officious, ought to be auoided.

8 God doth communicate with his ministers the properties of some of his actions.

9 The ouerthowing of the Sodomits doth shew vs an example of the last iudgement.

10 The infants, which perished in the destruction of Sodom, were not iustlie punished.

Probable.

1 They, which were interteined of Abraham in a banket, and went to ouerthowe Sodom, were angels, not the three natures, which we worship in the holie Trinitie.

Hope

2 Hope is so much the more increased in godlie men, as by the diuine grace they are adorned with manie gifts.

3 If there be anie place longer spared by God, where much wickednesse reigneth, we must thinke that God hath there his elect, although they be secret.

Propositions out of the 19. and 20. chapters of the booke of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 Those things which were not rightlie done by the fathers, we cannot rightlie excuse them vnder this title, as to saie that they were no sinnes, because they were shadowes of the new testament.

2 Ignorance doth not altogither excuse the daughters of Lot from sinne, when they laie with their father.

3 It becommeth not a godlie man to seeke for comfort in drunkennesse, when he is pressed with aduersities.

4 Drunkards must be excommunicated.

5 In the vice of drunkennesse, the alienation of the mind is not sinne, but the punishment following immoderate drinking; which in verie deed is sinne.

6 The obseruation of dreames is not generallie forbidden by God, but onelie a vaine and superstitious obseruation.

7 It is lawfull to obserue dreames, either because men by them are otherwhile warned of God, or because by a naturall consent they shew some things vnto vs.

8 The prophesie which in the holie scriptures is allowed, is the power to discerne secrets, through the light of God granted vnto men by the holie Ghost, without the addition of the doctrine of men.

9 There is no necessarie affinitie betweene prophesie, and faith that iustifieth.

10 It is proper vnto godlinesse to refer all things vnto a diuine cause.

Probable.

1 The euils which are committed by drunkards must be ascribed or not ascribed to them, according as they haue willinglie or vnadiuisedlie bene drunken with excesse.

2 Because lust doth lesse appetite the reason than wine doth, therefore drunkards if they commit anie thing amisse, are more to be excused than they which sinne by the inuitation of lust.

3 The primitiue church had more prophets than the church now hath, because signes were requi-

red to the gathering of men vnto Christ, and because that christian doctrine could not yet be had of godlie men by humane studie.

4 We haue not, as the old Synagog had, perpetuall prophets, because onelie Christ and his spirit, which is present with his church, succeeded all the old fathers.

Propositions out of the xxi. chapter of the booke of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 An oth is a confirmation of the will of God for a testimonie of diuine things.

2 An oth of his owne nature is good.

3 It is lawfull for a christian man to sweare.

4 Although that an oth arise of an ill occasion, yet is it of a good cause.

5 An oth, whereby those things are confirmed which be repugnant with the word of God, is void.

6 To auoid periurie, it is good not to sweare but seldome, and for great causes.

7 We must not sweare by the names of idols.

Probable.

1 To sweare by creatures, is not altogither forbidden by God.

2 They are not excused from periurie, which vse fraudulent and craftie words.

3 It is lawfull for christians to take oths of infidels, although they sweare by the names of their idols.

Propositions out of the xxij. and xxiij. chapters of the booke of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 Temptation is an vnknowne searching out of a thing, to find out the knowledge thereof.

2 It cannot be denied, but that God is the author of temptations.

3 God must not be accounted the author of temptations, as the fault of sinnes should be reiected vpon him.

4 It is lawfull for godlie men to resist temptations by praier.

5 Godlie men are not afraid of temptations, whereby they should be excluded from eternall life.

6 To weepe in funeralles is not forbidden.

7 Although death happen to no man but by the will of God, yet they which sorrow for the death of others, do not against the will of God.

We

8 We muſt beware, leaſt the prolonging or increaſing of ſorrowe be not againſt the faith of the reſurrection.

9 Whether the dead be lie buried or vnburied, it maketh no matter as touching their owne ſaluation.

10 To be adorned with a ſepulchre, or to be deſtitute thereof, is a ſolace or ſadneſſe of them that be aliue.

11 The care of burieng the dead muſt be reteined as a religious duetie.

12 The reuelation, which commandeth that the bones of martyrs ſhould be digged out of ſepulchres, to the intent they ſhould be worſhipped, is not to be beléeued.

Probable.

1 IT is an abſurditie to burie dead bodies in temples.

2 The ſaints which be dead are ignorant of themſelues, what is donne about their dead bodies or ſepulchres.

3 It is agréeable vnto godlineſſe for a man to chooſe himſelfe a place to be buried in.

Propoſitions out of the xxiiij. and xxv. chapters of Geneſis.

Neceſſarie.

1 THe ſeruant of Abraham, which preſcribed himſelfe a ſigne to knowe the wife choſen by the Lord vnto Iſaac, did not tempt God.

2 He that ſéeketh an experiment of the power of God, to the intent his owne faith, or the faith of others may be the better confirmed, or that he himſelfe or others may be inſtructed, ſuch a one doth not tempt God.

3 They do tempt GOD, which without a true faith, but rather of a contempt do ſéeke ſignes to ſatiſfie their owne curioſitie or deſire.

4 To tempt GOD, is without a cauſe to make triall of his power, godneſſe, and faith.

5 Curioſitie is an immoderate deſire of knowing, whereby either we ſéeke thoſe things that ſhould not be ſought; or if they ſhould be ſought, we ſéeke them not the right waie.

6 The women, which ſometimes in the holie ſcriptures are laid to be the patriarchs concubines, were their wiues.

7 Thoſe things, which are due vnto vs by predeſtination, we ought to praie for and labour to atteine vnto.

8 Since predeſtination ſignifieth an eternall action of God, we cannot aſſigne anie efficient cauſe thereof out of God.

9 We grant that God doth predeſtinate them whom he foreknew would vſe well his gifts: but we denie that the ſame good vſe of Gods gifts is a cauſe of Gods predeſtination.

10 Our calling, the good vſe of Gods gifts, faith, and other vertues and holie actions of godlie men, may be cauſes and beginnings of predeſtination; but as from the latter, and to knowe them by.

11 The declaration of the goodneſſe and righteouſneſſe of GOD is the finall cauſe; but there may be aſſigned a generall cauſe of Gods predeſtination.

Probable.

1 THe fathers ſought wiues out of their owne kindred, that a greater conformitie of maners might be had in matrimonie, and that the worſhip of GOD might the more ſtrmelie flouriſh among them, and that they might haue the leſſe familiaritie with infidels.

2 The barren, which are deſcribed in the old teſtament to haue brought forth no fruit, declare fruitfulneſſe to be the gift of God, and do confirme the childbirth of the virgine; laſtlie, they ſignifie the regeneration of the children of God, whervnto mans ſtrength is not able to atteine.

3 Now are there no oracles ſhewed vnto vs, as there were vnto the old ſynagog, bicauſe Chriſt was appointed the end of oracles, and by him came a more plentifull ſpirit: and finallie, there be now extant more and more cléere ſcriptures than the fathers had.

Propoſitions out of the xxv. xxvi. and xxvij. chapters of Geneſis.

Neceſſarie.

1 ALbeit God reueleth vnto men ſome thing that ſhall come to paſſe; it is not therefore lawfull for them to do againſt the lawes of God, or againſt the rule of reaſon, to bring it to paſſe.

2 Although they that do vs good be but wicked men; yet ought we with a thankfull mind both do them good, and wiſh them well.

3 When in the holie ſcriptures are ſhewed anie of the fathers ſinnes, we muſt not ſéeke from thence an example of life, but rather wonder there at the faithfulneſſe of God.

4 When the world is preſſed with famine, it is not to be doubted, but that ſinnes are puniſhed thereby.

5 God otherwhile doth good vnto the poſteritie for the deſerts of their forefathers, which be now dead.

6 Albeit that enuie is a grieuous ſinne, yet to be moued with indignation and zeale doth ſometimes happen without blame.

7 Vehement perturbations of the mind muſt be

be auoided, that we may be apt inſtruments of the holie Ghoſt.

8 The actions of the fathers which we ſée haue a ſhew of ſinne; if we will grant that they were moued thervnto by the ſpirit of GOD, ſinne hath there no place.

9 By proſperitie and aduerſitie, as touching outward things, cannot certeinelie be iudged what men are moſt beloued of God.

10 Albeit that the miniſter of the word and ſacraments is the inſtrument of God; yet doth he not at his owne pleaſure cauſe that thoſe things may profit vnto whom he would, ſith that dependeth of the will of God.

Probable.

1 WHereas the holy ſcriptures do diligentlie ſet forth vnto vs certeine actions of the fathers while they were children, they declare vnto vs that God hath béene often accuſtomed by ſuch maner of ſignes, to ſhew to men thoſe things which ſhould afterwards happen to them of ripe yeares.

2 The ſinnes of the fathers, by an allegoricall ſignification, do oftentimes ſhew vnto vs figures of things belonging to edification.

3 It is read of the fathers in the old teſtament, that ſometimes about the end of their life, they ſolemnelie bleſſed their children; to the intent that thoſe excellent prophecies and ſentences which they then vttered in their bleſſings, might the more attentiuelie be perceiued & preſerued.

Propoſitions out of the xxvij. and xxviij. chapters of Geneſis.

Neceſſarie.

1 WHereas euerlaſting felicitie to be obteined by Chriſt, is not perceiued by mans ſenſe or reaſon, it is fitlie deſcribed vnto vs in the holie ſcriptures by the names of earthlie good things.

2 Vnto the faithfull, although they liue now vnder the croſſe and in perſecutions, is attributed by the holie ſcripture great abundance of temporall good, wherein is expreſſed the true felicitie, which they preſentlie poſſeſſe alreadie begone, though not perfect and abſolute.

3 Weeping and ſorrowe after ſinne committed is profitable, if it proceed not from true repentance.

4 God diuerſlie mens wordes, though vnwares to them, vnto the ends which he hath appointed; and ſometime he weth them his counſell and purpoſe.

5 He that, according to his vocation, prouideth that an vnthriftie man be not promoted or preferred before others, muſt be ſuppoſed to deale toward him not of hatred, but of loue; foraſmuch as among other things he indeuoureth, leaſt he bring to preferred ſhould, while he behaueth himſelfe amiſſe, incur a more grieuous damnation.

6 It is more expedient for them, which be vncircumſpect and no good men, rather to ſerue than to beare rule; therfore we ought ſo long as they ſo behaue themſelues to wiſh that condition.

7 Albeit it be forbidden women to ſpeake in the church; yet for that they be ſometime wiſe and lightened with the grace of God, their counſels muſt priuatelie be heard, and muſt not by and by be contemned bicauſe they proceed from women.

8 To auoid and flie from perſecutions, if it be donne in place and time, is commendable.

9 Albeit for giuing ſentence of anie mans honeſtie & euill life, we haue no token more certeine than by his workes; yet herby is not gathered a neceſſarie argument to induce the ſame.

10 It is firſt of all attributed vnto Chriſt, to be the houſe of God: and thereby to the church, and to euerie of the faithfull.

11 To ſet vp anie ſhewes publikelie, in remembrance of God benefits, is neither ſuperſtitious, nor againſt the lawe of God.

12 Thoſe praiers be moſt effectuall, whereby we deſire thoſe things, which we knowe to be promiſed vs of God.

Probable.

1 BOth might well be, as well that Iſaac knew the will of God concerning his children before he bleſſed them, as alſo that he was ignorant of the ſame.

2 Since there is but one Chriſt, the ſame bleſſing could not be giuen to Eſau that was giuen to Iacob.

3 Rebecca may be excuſed, in preferring of the yonger ſon before the elder, as well bicauſe of the oracle which ſhe had heard of them, as for that ſhe had a care that the better man might be ſet ouer the people of God, and the leſſe worthie be remoued.

4 The cuſtome, as in the time of the apoſtles to praie and prophecie at the making of miniſters of the church, ſeemeth to be taken from the old fathers; who in bleſſing of their children, both deſired of God good things for them, and foreſhewed of things that were to come.

Propoſitions out of the xxviij. and xxix. chapters of Geneſis.

Neceſſarie.

1 THe prouidence of GOD, which the holie ſcriptures call the wiſedome of God, doth

not

not onlie foresee things to come, but also appointeth proper ends vnto things created, and directeth them thereunto.

2 There is nothing so base among the creatures that escapeth the providence of God.

3 If there be anie thing in the world, that is said to be done by chance or fortune, this must be referred, not to the knowledge of God, but to our vnderstanding.

4 A vow standeth in those kind of things, which belong to the worshipping of God.

5 It is ingraffed in men by nature to make vowes vnto GOD, if at anie time they labour earnestlie to obteine anie thing of him.

6 A vow is a holie promise, whereby we do bind our selues to offer something vnto the liuing God.

7 For to vow well, is necessarie the knowledge of those things which ought to be offered vnto God, or to be desired of him, that in vowing, we offer not, except that which we knowe is acceptable vnto God, neither to desire that which may be repugnant to his will.

8 What those things be that please God, we must verie diligentlie examine by the rule of holie scripture: but before the lawe was giuen, the fathers might examine those things by the rule of natures light.

9 Vowes of sole life, and those whereby men bind themselues to go on pilgrimage, as it is in Poperie, are to be accounted vngodlie.

10 When Iacob vowed the tenth, and that he would appoint a certeine place for the worshipping of God, he offered those things vnto God, which of himselfe he knewe to be acceptable vnto him.

11 Albeit, that euen without a vow we are bound to do all those things which we know are acceptable vnto God, yet to vow something is not superfluous.

12 The bond of a vow is not against true liberttie.

13 Where we be vncerteine of anie thing, whether it please God, or that we see thereby that danger hangeth ouer vs, we must forbeare from vowing, whereby we should bind our selues to offer it vnto God.

14 They that decree to vow some thing, must aboue all other things take heed, that themselues may please God.

15 As in matrimonie God forbad manie degrees of kindred, so would he haue it betweene them which were not verie far off in kindred; to the intent their loue might be the more, and their agreement the greater.

16 Since in matrimonie the consents of the persons is required, if one be put in an others place, and so there follow carnall copulation, yet there the matrimonie is not ratified.

Propositions out of the xxix.xxx. and xxxi. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 Iacob is not to be accused for hauing of manie wiues, both because of the time, and also because he himselfe desired but one, and the rest be married by the prouocation of others.

2 Albeit that children, riches, and honours, be the blessings of GOD, yet are not they which want these to be pronounced simplie accursed.

3 As the carefulnesse of getting riches for our children must be auoided, so must the labour and industrie of getting them necessaries be followed, that they be not driuen to beg.

4 The industrie and obseruation, whereby we make our commodities of naturall things, are not the cause whie but that they should be ascribed to the goodnesse of God.

5 The industrie of Iacob, whereby he caused the sheep & goats to conceiue through laieng of rods in the gutters, had a miracle ioined therewith.

6 Seeing health to be restored vnto the sicke, is in the hand of God, and medicines be instruments which he vseth to restore the same, therefore they must not be neglected; nor yet ought there be too much attributed vnto them.

7 We must not by flesh take that from anie man which he otherwise vnto vs, least we violate the publike power of the magistrate.

8 True faith suffereth not, that we should mingle a strange and superstitious religion with the sincere worshipping of God.

9 It is not for priuate men to striue to purge religion from toies and superstitions; but holie sermons, and godlie conference had are lawfull instruments for this purpose.

10 It is the magistrates part to prouide, that within his dominion sound doctrine may be had; further, he ought to prouide by force and armes, that nothing be done therein which may be repugnant to the lawfull seruice of God.

11 The precept of the Lord touching the slaughter in perfection, is not reuoked: neither was it, as some affirme, temporall.

12 We are not to flie awaie in time of persecution, to the intent to maintaine our feare & infirmitie, but rather to serue the glorie of God.

Probable.

1 Polygamie is to be auoided: for both it bringeth manie discommodities; and the ciuill lawes which be receiued, and honestie it selfe doth forbid the same.

2 He that hath not the gift of God to containe, must not vnder the pretense of pouertie delaie marriage.

3 By the forceable power of the imagination which changeth the bodie, and the fruit ioined thereunto, we may conclude of the great power of faith, which changeth the whole bodie, while it doth effectuallie take hold of Christ.

Propositions out of the xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. and xxxiiij. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 The church, before the comming of Christ, had δωρεας, that is to saie, powers of the spirit to punish the vngodlie.

2 We must beware of prouoking holie men vnto anger, for oftentimes they be heard, when they curse men.

3 It is meet for them that haue the gouernment of Gods people, that they purge themselues of the crimes obiected against them, if they will giue testimonie to their innocencie.

4 Albeit that the scripture doth rehearse manie names of angels; yet hath it taught vs but little of their natures, properties, and differences.

5 In this respect that Christ exceedeth all the angels in glorie, and that he hath made vs sit at the right hand of God with him; is not necessarilie inferred, that the saints shall be better than the angels.

6 Feare therefore profiteth godlie men, because it prouoketh them to call vpon God, and to liue circumspectlie.

7 When God or the angels offer themselues to men vnder anie shape of bodilie things, they feigne not, seeing they vse those meanes to instruct them.

8 The wrestling of Iacob with the angell, put him in mind of the strength giuen him by God, so as he might not be vanquished, nor put from obteining the promises.

9 The varietie of names, wherewith God and the angels are named in the scriptures, is deriued of the diuersitie of actions, which is attributed vnto them.

10 It is a punishment of sinne, that the sight of man is not able to endure the presence of God.

11 He that matcheth in matrimonie with infidels, is holden giltie of the contempt of religion.

12 There is no people one indeed, which dissenteth in it selfe as touching religion.

Probable.

1 Whether Iacob waking or sleeping, wrestled with the angell, we are not able to proue by the scripture.

2 To see God face to face, doth not alwaies signifie in the holie scriptures, to behold euidentlie the nature and essence of God.

3 The sinew smitten by the angell in the wrestling with Iacob signified, that he without the trouble of the flesh should not ouercome the aduersities which were comming vpon him.

4 We also do wrestle with GOD, and do ouercome, when we ouercome the temptations which come vnto vs.

Propositions out of the xxxiij. xxxv. and xxxvi. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 It is not lawfull for priuate men to raise vp seditions against tyrants, and by priuate authoritie to slaie them.

2 When a tyrant is subiect to a higher power, it is lawfull for priuate men to deale against him by laive before that power: but if he haue the chiefe iourrisdictie, the reuenge must be committed vnto God.

3 The iudges, which rose vp in Israel, and deliuered the people of God from tyrants, did it not of anie priuate authoritie, but by the instinct of God.

4 When anie be oppressed with tyrannie, they must thinke with themselues, that the same is the hand of God; as famine, pestilence, haile, lightening, and such other like.

5 When we come together to the church, our minds must be purged with greater diligence, than if we should make our praiers to God in anie other place.

6 The necessitie of dieng is no cause, that we should not sorowe for death.

7 We must not in this respect take comfort in death, that it is simplie good; seeing rather on the contrarie part it must be accounted among euils.

8 Nor yet againe by this argument, that the bodie is euill, or the coniunction thereof with the soule, euill; seeing they are absolutelie good.

9 The hope of resurrection bringeth true consolation of death: for by it, the bodie is restored to the soule, all corruption being taken awaie from the same, and the euils, wherby it troubleth the soule.

10 And for this cause are we comforted, that death is vanquished by Christ, and that now it hath no more the nature of death, for thereby is granted a returne vnto life.

11 There is a comfort had of death, because the godlie may vse the same well.

12 We sorowe the lesse for death, when we consider, that vnto the godlie the same is an absolute mortification of the flesh, and an end of sinning; and finallie, that by it there is a passage opened to euerlasting life.

13 Albeit that the faithfull may for manie causes take

take comfort of death, yet should they not take it so, as by no meanes they to reuolue, sith GOD would haue death to be a punishment.

14 The genealogies, which are set forth in the scriptures, serue to the knowledge of histories, and that we may perceiue that the promises of God were true.

15 To contend much about genealogies, as curiously to handle them, maketh not to edification.

Propositions out of the xxxvij. and xxxviij. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 IT is not for the children of God, to purpose with themselues to leade this life without troubles.

2 Since the holie scripture expresseth not that crime Ioseph accused his brethren of, we muste not rashlie affirme it.

3 In a common weale well ordered the accusations of euill men must be repressed.

4 Since brotherlie correction and accusation is odious to the world and to the flesh, therefore it must with the greater diligence be reteined in the church.

5 They which be indued with the spirit of prophesie, vnderstand not mysteries at their owne pleasure, but according as it shall please God to reueale vnto them, and therefore it is seene that otherwhile in their owne affaires they haue been ignorant of manie things.

6 When the holie scripture maketh mention of the lower places, it signifieth the state of them that be dead as touching both the parts of man.

7 They which speake of Lymbus, and other dwelling places beloweward, while they describe manie, they bring much vncertaintie.

8 While there is mention made in the holie scripture of manie shamfull falles of the fathers, this doth not hurt the godlie, but doth manie waies profit them.

1 First thereby we wonder at the faithfulnesse of God, which for those sinnes did not take from them his promise.

The falles of the fathers.

2 Secondlie we see, that although they were saints, yet that they were subiect to sinne.

3 Moreouer we are admonished, that we our selues beware of those things which we condemne in others.

4 Againe, there is authoritie gotten to the scripture of God, which so faithfullie bewaileth their faults, whom it affirmeth praise-worthie.

5 Lastlie, we haue God in admiration, who out of euill hath brought good things.

9 Before the lawe certeine ceremonies were in vse, which afterward were confirmed by the lawe.

Iudas gaue an ill commandement to Thimar, namelie that she should tarrie till Selah were growne vp, whereas delaie of matrimonie should be ineuitable to none. 10

Albeit that the falles of the fathers which are set forth vnto vs in the scriptures, do allegorically conteine certeine mysteries, yet must they not for this cause be either commended or followed. 11

An honest woman must not to change her habit, that she seeme to be an harlot. 12

Albeit perhaps Thamar thought (as some of the Hebrue interpretors affirme) that she might haue hir father in lawe to do hir husband, yet is not hir dissimulation therefore to be excused, wherein she made hir selfe an harlot. 13

It is not lawfull for a christian magistrate to suffer anie brothell-houses within his dominion. 14

Probable.

THe inducement, which by nature is graffed in men to hide the crimes which they haue committed, should be vnto them a bridle to abstaine from them. 1

By the lawe wherein one was bound to raise vp seed to him that was dead, neither was the father bound, nor yet they which in the 18. chapter of Leuiticus are permitted to marrie together, vnlesse it were betweene them. 2

Christ would haue in his flocke certeine of the forefathers, which were guiltie of grieuous crimes, to signifie that he would not despise sinners, so they would come vnto him in faith. 3

Propositions out of the xxix, and xl. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

BEautie of the bodie, since it is a gift of God, stirreth vp vnto godlinesse and vertues, but through mens fault it is a dangerous thing. 1

Since the honestie of manners is put in hazard by occasion of excellent beautie, therefore must we be ware that it be not sought by ouermuch trimming of the bodie. 2

Dreames sent by God are granted to some vnbelieuers, to the intent that godlie men may thereby be lightened. 3

Onelie God is to be made the author of prophesie, and of the interpretations of dreames sent by him. 4

To attribute more than is meete to naturall causes, is against christian hope. 5

It

6 It is lawfull for them that trust in God to vse temporall helpes, so they haue them as instruments of the power of God.

7 When men be pressed with aduersities, this they must bring to, to be done for their sinnes; but yet must they not rashlie forge of late, that those things do happen vnto them particularlie for this or that sinne.

8 To celebrate a mans birth daie in making of a feast, to the intent that the child may be giuen vnto God for the benefit of his creation, is not against godlinesse, so it be done with modestie.

9 The life of honest plesaures is to be saued, albeit godlinesse be hazarded thereby.

10 In those yeares wherein there is plentie, the magistrates part is, of the present abundance to prouide for dearth, which in processe of time may happen.

11 In making of magistrates, how godlinesse and ciuill equitie must be regarded.

12 Albeit that tenderie in gouernment be priuate men, yet is it commanded vnto magistrates.

13 It is lawfull for a man to repell violence by violence.

14 As it is commanded the magistrate to punish crimes, so are the guiltie commanded to beare patientlie the punishment that is laid vpon them for sinnes committed.

15 When two worshipp princes or notable creatures with the worthie that is, doo vnto them, we must take heed that we desire nothing of them, which we be not sure by the word of God is lawfull to aske of a creature.

16 We allow a confession of sinnes, made not onelie vnto God, but also vnto men.

17 It is a wicked thing to saie that the numbering vp of euerie particular sinne is of necessitie to saluation.

Propositions out of the xlv. xlvij. xlix. and xlvi. chapters of Genesis.

Necessarie.

1 COntrition without repentance is not effectuall to the forgiuenesse of sinnes, vnlesse it rest vpon faith.

2 If for the worthinesse and desert of contrition, we might obteine the forgiuenesse of sinnes, we should be alwaies doubtfull therof.

3 As touching the rest of good workes, we are of the same mind, that they obteine the promises, so far as the holie scripture hath attributed vnto them, not of their owne worthinesse or merit; but according as they are stirred vp by faith.

4 If they be punished by death; he that is guiltie cannot iustlie complaine, that he suffereth beyond his desert.

5 They, by the iudgment of some of the fathers, before the lawe was giuen, were iudged worthie of death.

6 If a godlie Rhetorician, pleading for the defense of innocents, no more affirmeth, he sinneth not.

7 The vse of affections is good, in men directed to the stirring vp of vertues.

8 The church is not tied to conteine feasts or succeſſions of bishops, as the papists affirme it is.

9 In those things, which belong not to the substance of faith, the apostles in the new testament obserued diuersitie in the interpretation of the scripture, although it varie from the truth of the Hebrue.

10 Magistrates in their common weales ought to prouide, that idle persons be not suffered.

11 Although in the holie scriptures there be an expresse commandement for labouring and working with the hands; yet the ministers of the word are not bound thereunto, sith they haue enough to do in their owne office: the which also we take, as touching them that prepare themselues to the holie ministerie.

12 The ministers of the word, if they take to plentifullie the spirit of God, that they be not onelie able to discharge their function, but haue leisure that by their owne labour, they may maintaine themselues, & helpe others, are bound to labor.

13 When ministers do take vpon them to labor with their handes, for them than all the gaine; and let them be ware of handie crafts, which may withdraw them altogether from the holie ministerie.

14 They which labor, must be ware of this, namelie, that they respect not gaine for it selfe, but the obedience of Gods commandement.

15 We must not in such sort put confidence in the labor of our hands, as to thinke that God, if we be hindered from it, will forsake vs.

16 They, which get their liuing by labour, do also vnderstand it to be the gift of God, that they may enioie their owne labors.

Propositions out of the first chapter of the booke of Exodus.

In the yeere of the Lord 1545.

Necessarie.

ALbeit GOD doth giue vs manie benefits by men, yet must we put our trust in him, not in men. 1

We must not leaue off to do well vnto men, because we see them vngratefull to their benefactors. 2

He that behaueth himselfe vnthankfullie towards a man, which is beneficiall to him, is in the verie same action vngratefull vnto God. 3

Albeit that the Aegyptians sinned in pressing the Israelites with most grieuous bondage; yet did the sinnes of the Israelits deserue the same.

The cruell bondage wherewith the Aegyptians were the children of Israel, was the instrument of God, whereby he called them home to repentance.

It is a thing knowne of it selfe by the light of nature, that we are rather to obeie God, than the vniust hestes of quittes.

The feare of GOD in the holie scriptures is such a religion, that vnder things vniust we thought to be against the will of God, ought not to of his to be attained.

The lawe of nature, or anie other ciuill ordinance, if it be iust, is a declaration of the will of GOD.

It is not lawfull vnder pretence of the safegard of Common-weales to slate innocents.

Probable.

The midwiues here mentioned, might both be Aegyptians and Hebrues.

The midwiues were not onelie by the lawe of nature forbidden the horrible act which they were inioined to doo by the lawe, but also by a lawe made by God vnto Noah and his children against murther.

The lie which the midwiues made, although it be defended of manie to be an officious lie; yet because thereby the confession of the feare of the Lord is suppressed, it cannot be altogither excused.

Whereas it is said that God builded a house for the midwiues, it should seeme thus to be vnderstood; namelie, that he gaue them a liue, and ample posteritie and familie.

Propositions out of the second chapter of Exodus.

Necessarie.

The beautie which Moses parents saw in him, was not the onelie cause whie they kept him, yet neuertheless it was an occasion whereby they were admonished of beleefe to the promise of God.

If occasion be offered to a christian man to learne good arts, he ought not to despise them vnder pretense of religion.

The verie enimies themselues, although they haue an other meaning, do serue the elect of God vnto saluation, who therefore should not be angrie with them after the maner of the Ethnikes.

We should rather loith to ioine our seines to the people of God, though it be in affliction, than to be held in estimation with princes, in the pleasures of sinne for a season.

We are not to determine of the people of God according to the abundance of outward good things, but onelie according to the promise and word of God.

To fulfill the count, and to liue therein, are in their owne nature accounted things indifferent; and in the holie scriptures there are examples of both: both of the one part and the other.

Whosoeuer by a particular commandement is stirred vp from God against a common rule, it behoueth that he be well assured that God vndoubtedlie is he.

The people of God was not without prophesie in the bondage of Aegypt.

With a true inuocation of God there is vnited a repentance.

In whomsoeuer the spirit of Christ is, it doth spectakle vnto him vp vnto praier.

When the sinners turned vnto God, through the couenant made with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, they called vpon him through Iesus Christ: and on the other side, when God saith, that he by his couenant like would heare them, he meaneth that he heareth them by Christ his sake.

Probable.

The faith whereby Moses parents were moued to preserue him, might as well be in respect of the promise made of old vnto the fathers, as also particularlie to themselues.

Moses by killing of the Aegyptian sinned not, but spake against to the instinct of the holie Ghost.

Although the father in lawe of Moses were commonlie counted a priest, yet might it well be, that he was a prince in Madian.

The people of God, which was to be deliuered from the calamitie of Aegypt, cried vnto God, being not onelie moued with a naturall griefe, but stirred vp by repentance.

Propositions out of the third chapter of Exodus.

Necessarie.

TO depart for a time, to the intent a man may the better his calling, is not to be disalowed; and so likewise, if it be done for auoiding of persecution.

That departure is condemned, which proceedeth of the hatred of men, or the desire of commoditie, and which is done for the hindring in of the worship of God.

God not onelie requireth that we should giue him reuerence, but that we should also serue the same by outward tokens.

Since God, in his owne nature, is not perceiued by the sense, yet doth he aplie himselfe to mans capacitie, and by his sensible word sheweth himselfe to be knowne of men, in corporall formes and sacraments.

Although it should be certeine vnto vnerie man, that God is a spirit, yet is it not vnpossible to consider of him, vnder figures and formes deliuered in the holie scriptures.

Since in the holie scripture he is said to be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, which be dead, thereof is inferred the resurrection of the dead.

Whereas the Iewes will not once name that name of God [Iehouah,] which is written with foure letters, it is superstitious.

The power of the name of God is not to be esteemed onelie, by the pronouncing or rehearsing thereof.

God in commanding the Israelits that they should require of the Aegyptians, gold, siluer, garments, and vessels, commanded them not to steale: albeit that God otherwhile seeme to command anie thing against the second table, yet in verie deed he commandeth not against the same.

There may be a good vse of gold, siluer, pretious stones, silke, and such like.

Probable.

When in the old testament (as often times it happeneth) the name of angell is ioined with the name of God, there is ment the second person of the trinitie, that is to wit, the sonne.

The name of God, I am that I am, sheweth that we ought to consider him to be such a God, as will not suffer his promises to be in vaine.

In this name of God, I am that I am, is betokened the eternitie of his nature.

This name of God, I am that I am, sheweth that God is diuerselie to be named according to the diuersitie of his actions.

This name of God, I am that I am, is all one with the name Iehouah.

The Hebrues required not the Aegyptians, to lend them gold, siluer, garments, &c, but required to haue them giuen freelie.

Propositions out of the fourth chapter of the booke of Exodus.

Necessarie.

Miracles be testimonies of the doctrine and promises of God, yet are they not such as without regard they should be beleeued.

God giueth not to euerie one of his ministers

all the gifts of the spirit, to the intent that the members of the church may be the more vnited one to an other.

Domesticall and ciuill duties are allowed by God, and must not be left off vnder pretense of the calling of God so they be not repugnant therevnto.

It is not necessarie for him that entereth the holie ministerie, to put awaie his wife.

The calling of GOD is a declaration of his will, as touching the kind of life, or peculiar function wherevnto we be appointed.

Sometimes the calling is by God himselfe, without anie meanes, and sometime by those which be indued with an ordinarie power.

Some are called otherwhile by an extraordinarie power.

Sometime nature is the meane or instrument of the calling of God.

In euerie vocation is required, that he which is called be well instructed in the knowledge of God which calleth him.

To execute well the calling of God, it behoueth, that he which is called, be certeine thereof.

The callings of God haue promises and gifts ioined with them.

It is against the calling of God, as well if a man arrogantlie obtrude himselfe, as if he obstinatelie resist it.

Vanie things of themselues seeme to haue but small decencie, which neuertheless must be done, if respect be had vnto the calling.

They which neglect to receiue the sacraments, do lale open themselues vnto most grieuous dangers euen of the bodie.

When it is written in the holie scriptures, that God is pleased with sacrifices; that must not be vnderstood, for the merit of the worke, but the power of faith ioined therewithall.

Propositions out of the v. vi. vij. and viij. chapters of Exodus.

Necessarie.

TWo kinds there be of the knowledge of God; one is common, and is called naturall, which also is attributed to the vngodlie: an other is full and effectuall, whereupon followeth an obedience of Gods lawe, and finallie eternall life, and that is onelie of the elect.

In aduersities we must consider, that men and the diuell, may be the ministers and instruments, but that they are sent of God, as the chiefest cause, for the which we must flie vnto him by praier.

It were sinne no doubt, to be moued against God for the felicitie of the wicked and oppression of the saints; but yet to expresse such an affection before God, as the saints did in the scriptures, is both

both profitable and iuſt.

4 Although both the godlie and vngodlie are moued for the ſaid cauſe, againſt the iudgments of God, yet is there a difference betweene them, as well ſuch as is betweene the incontinent and intemperate, as alſo becauſe the one ſort repent, and the other obſtinatlie perſiſt in their ſinne.

5 A couenant is an agreement of certeine among themſelues, whereby euerie of them promiſeth that he will giue ſomthing; & in like maner he himſelfe requireth ſomething of others.

6 Miracles by themſelues make no firme argument of doctrine, vnleſſe they do agree with the word of God.

7 God will otherwhile haue miracles done by the aduerſaries of religion, that the godlie by ſuch kind of temptation may be tried; and that the vngodlie, being the more blinded thereby, may be punished for their vngodlineſſe.

8 The miracles, which the ſorcerers of Pharao ſhewed, were not the full and perfect cauſe of his incredulitie.

9 Repentance is of three ſorts; the firſt is perfect and whole, which doth pleaſe God: another is temporall, vpon which God beſtoweth ſome thing: the third is hypocriticall, the which God doth deteſt.

Probable.

1 THe name Shadai, if it ſignifie omnipotent, it ought therfore to be reſpected in the promiſes of God; for it is required, that we ſhould thinke he can perfourme thoſe things, which he hath promiſed: but the name Iehouah, when God perfourmeth his promiſes (for it is deriued from his eſſence:) and God, both in act, & in the thing it ſelfe, bringeth to paſſe thoſe things, which he hath promiſed.

2 If the name Shadai ſignifie ſufficient of himſelfe, it was verie much vſed of the old fathers, when they obteined their wealth and riches of God: but the name Iehouah was then firſt vttered, when God began to ſhew forth miracles: for thereby is ſhewed, that it is in God to inuert both the nature and being of things at his pleaſure.

3 When the ſorcerers of Pharao ſaid; It is the finger of God, they yelded not a true confeſſion vnto God.

4 Why Pharaos ſorcerers rather failed in the third ſigne than in the reſt, we are not able to giue a certeine and ſure reaſon.

Propoſitions out of the viij. ix. x. and xi. chapters of Exodus.

Neceſſarie.

1 THey, which giue diuine worſhip vnto creatures, are not therfore excuſed, becauſe they ſaie, that in them they worſhip God, & the properties of God.

Albeit that idolaters do feigne that they worſhip the true God in his creatures; they do not giue the honour to him, but to diuels. 2

We muſt well diſtinguiſh betweene the precepts of God, ſo that we may ſee which be generall, or which be for a time, or commanded to ſome certeine perſons. 3

The ſcripture, when it affirmeth that GOD hardened the hart of Pharao, & that Pharao hardened his owne hart, ſpeaketh not contrarie. 4

That God hardeneth the harts of ſome, and yet neuertheleſſe ſendeth his word vnto them; is not contrarie to it ſelfe. 5

Haile, tempeſts, diſeaſes, and other like calamities, although they be done ſomtimes by naturall cauſes, yet are they punishments for ſins, and be ordeined to warne and prouoke men to repentance. 6

The corruption and deſtruction of good things cannot be aſſigned the laſt end of thoſe calamities; ſith an end reſpecteth that which is good. 7

Albeit that faith be weake, yet it ought not to be deſpiſed, ſith GOD doth attribute much therevnto. 8

By faith not onelie are we our ſelues ſaued; but euen the things, which belong vnto vs, which like wiſe through our vnbeleefe do periſh. 9

The excellent ſpeeches and figures vſed in the holie ſcripture maketh not therein lieng diſcourſes. 10

Albeit that in the old ceremonies manie things are offentimes commended, as ſeruing vnto thoſe times, and that ciuill gouernement; yet therein was firſt ſet forth Chriſt, and the redemption, which ſhould be made by him. 11

To the end that ſacraments may be honorablie celebrated, is required a meeting together, not of one or two brethren, but of mo at once. 12

The holie and prophane hiſtories, although they haue manie caſes that be alike; yet herein they differ, that in the holie hiſtories, things are done by the word of GOD, whereof in the prophane hiſtories there is no expreſſe mention made, and yet neuertheleſſe we acknowledge thoſe things, which be there ſet forth to be the great works of God. 13

Propoſitions out of the xiiij. and xv. chapters of Exodus.

Neceſſarie.

1 TO celebrate the praiſes of God in ſongs is not onelie lawfull, but ought to be vſed in the church.

Muſike hath the power to ſtir vp the affections 2

of faithfull men vnto godlineſſe.

3 We ought not onelie to giue thanks vnto God, and ſing his praiſe with mans voice, but alſo to adde thereunto inſtruments of muſike.

4 We muſt take heed, that the words of the churches ſongs be the holie ſcriptures, or elſe taken out of them, and that they may be vnderſtood of the people.

5 We muſt alſo beware, that the maner of ſinging thoſe ſongs be not laſciuious.

6 The ſtipends which be giuen to ſingers in the church, ought not to be taken awaie from the miniſters of the word, and from the deacons.

7 Whereas an apt voice is required in the ſingers of the church, we muſt take heed, that the cenſure of their life be not neglected.

8 Such muſike muſt be had in the church, as doth not hinder the praiers and attention of the mind, but further the ſame ſo much as is poſſible.

9 Danſing in it ſelfe, is not a thing vnlawfull.

10 To vſe danſes as they now be, where men lead women, and that ſuch as be not their owne, is far from chriſtian godlineſſe.

11 The danſes, which are ſpoken of in the holie ſcriptures, were of men by themſelues, and women by themſelues.

12 Actions are iudged to be iuſt and vniuſt, not onelie according to their owne nature, but by the accidents which manie times followe them.

Probable.

1 THe children of Iſraell, when they paſſed the red ſea, came not to the other ſhore, which was right ouer againſt them.

2 They held their iourie by ſea, in the forme of a ſemicircle.

3 The ſea ſhore of the deſert Elim, from whence they departed, was the ſelfe-ſame with that whereunto they arriued, albeit that the place of the ſhore were not all one.

Propoſitions out of the xvi. chapter of the booke of Exodus.

Neceſſarie.

1 GOd forſaketh not thoſe which obeie his calling, but rather ſuccoureth them according to their neceſſitie.

2 Other good things alwaies are to be deſired of God, not as a principall reward, but as neceſſarie helps for the perfourmance of our calling.

3 When in the Lords praier our dailie bread is required, temporall good things are deſired, temporall good things are aſked.

4 Albeit that God commanded, that Manna ſhould be dailie gathered, yet is it not therefore forbidden, to laie vp in barnes, or ſtorehouſes, the fruits which come yearelie for the neceſſarie vſes of this life, ſo that we auoid couetous carefulneſſe, the hinderance of our neighbours, and inſolicitie.

They fall into the carefulneſſe forbidden vs of God, which leaue their vocation, or do not diligentlie exercute the ſame, to the intent they may get themſelues ſubſtance, or elſe to obteine a more delicate eſtate. 5

Whereas Manna being preſerued till the morrow, became corrupt, and was full of wormes, it was done by miracle. 6

It is a weake argument of ſome of the Papiſts, that therefore the ſacrament muſt be kept in churches, becauſe it was commanded the children of Iſraell, that Manna ſhould be kept for a perpetuall monument. 7

The miracle of giuing Manna, by reaſon that it comprehended manie other miracles, it alſo indured longer than all the reſt. 8

It is a wicked opinion to affirme, that by the merit and force of certaine words, though they be taken out of the holie ſcriptures, men do obteine ſome certeine benefits of God. 9

The ſelfe-ſame thing was the ſacrament, as touching the ſubſtance of Manna with the old fathers, that the Euchariſt is in the new teſtament. 10

Whereas Chriſt ſaith in Iohn, that They which eate his fleſh, ſhall not die, but ſhall haue life, he vnderſtandeth the ſame of true and ſpirituall eating, which ſhall neuer be deſtitute of fruit. 11

And on the other ſide, when he ſaith, that the fathers which did eate Manna in the wildernes, are dead, this he meaneth touching them which did vnworthilie eate the ſame. 12

Among the fathers which did eate Manna in the deſert, ſome of them which did ſpirituallie and worthilie eate, are not dead euerlaſtinglie. 13

Manna, which was an outward meat, could not giue eternall life; but in reſpect that it had Chriſt ioined therewith. 14

We muſt beware that we attribute not vnto elements or ſignes, being conſidered apart from Chriſt, thoſe things which agree to Chriſt himſelfe: but when as well Chriſt as the ſigne be receiued iointlie together, then be the properties communicated. 15

Probable.

1 WHen the people are commanded by Moſes & Aaron to come vnto the Lord, it ſignifieth not to be vnto the cloud, but vnto the holie aſſemblie.

2 Quailes are therefore giuen in the euening, becauſe in the date time they flie ouer the ſea,

and are accustomed at the euening tide to light on the thore: and Manna was commanded to be eaten in the morning, when it came downe with the dew.

3 When the children of Israel had heards and flocks of cattell, they desired flesh, either bicause their beasts would not haue sufficed so great a multitude, or else bicause they desired delicate and deintie flesh.

4 Manna mentioned in the holie scripture, is like vnto that which the Arabian Phylitians vse, but not to that which Galen and the Greeke Phylitians call Manna.

5 Since God described to euerie particular man, a certeine measure of gathering Manna, he theweth that in policie there should be no great inequalitie of liuing.

Propositions out of the xvij. and xviij. chapters of Exodus.

Necessarie.

1 WArs are not forbidden vnto christians, so they be taken in hand for a iust cause, and by them which haue the right of the sword.

2 A magistrate is a publike power instituted by God, to helpe the good, and punish the euill, by distributing punishments and rewards, as the lawes do appoint.

3 Warrs must not for this cause be made, that when victorie is gotten, the subiects should liue in rolcyelie, or giue themselues to pleasures, but to aduance and restore religion and ciuill discipline.

4 In the making of warrs, albeit that we are principallie to put our trust in God, yet are not the meanes and waies agreeable to the art of warr to be contemned.

5 They which do war in the campe for the safetie of the people, although of the whole people they must be assisted by prayer, yet doth this specialie belong vnto the ministers of the church, whose duties of calling are not to fight with weapons but with prayers.

6 Although there be a conuenient secret place for prayers, yet must not the holie assemblie of the church vnder that pretence be omitted: for the prayers be most effectuall which proceed from manie ioined togither.

7 When God commandeth that victorie obteined should be written, euen so in like sort he commandeth that it should be read: euen as when he commandeth that the Gospell should be preached, he willeth that the same should be heard.

8 It is lawfull not onelie to giue vnto GOD tignes of reuerence, as to procure the head, to bow the bodie, and such like; but also to those men which excell in publike authoritie, holinesse, doctrine, or excellent gifts of God; reserving nenertheless a difference of the honours due to God and to men.

It is no sound argument [to saie] it is lawfull to giue these tignes of reuerence vnto noble men, therefore also vnto images & dead saints. 9]

10 They which contend in iudgement, ought to to settle their mind, as to inquire of iudges the will of God taken out of the lawes, and to rest therein when they heare the same.

11 Iudges likewise, since they be ministers of lawes, should so behaue themselues, as though they were to giue answer concerning the will of God, and not according to their owne affections.

12 The higher sort in the Church and Commonweale do not alwaies se the better things, whereof it commeth, that in more difficult causes men should also aske counsell of the meaner sort.

13 Christian men ought not to neglect those profitable and sound things, which are taught of the Ethnike authors, since they proceed of the holie Ghost.

14 It is not profitable for the Common-weale or the Church, that one by himselfe should take all offices vpon him.

Probable.

1 A Maleck was the first enimie that came out against Israel, bicause he was of the posteritie of Esau, and feared least the Israelites would chalenge to themselues the dieelling of the first birth-right.

2 Moses would praie vpon the mountaine, his hands being lifted vp with the rod, that he might be in the sight of the people, while they fought, and to be in the stead of an ensigne, at whose sight they might call to mind, how manie and great benefits they had before time obteined by him and the ministerie of his rod, and so their faith to be made the stronger.

3 Hands lifted vp were a signe of earnest praiers.

4 The lifting vp of hands doth well agree with praiers, as who should saie the bodie is drawne thither, that is to wit, into heauen, whither the mind is carried: and by an outward signe is shewed, that the do desire helpe of our father out of heauen.

Propositions out of the xviij. and xix. chapters of Exodus.

Necessarie.

1 IT is not profitable in a Common-weale, that one should beare rule altogither, but it is expedient

dient that more should gouerne the same.

2 Kingdoms and magistrates, as they be ordeined by God, so ars they in such wise preserued of him, as they cannot be so greatlie confounded and corrupted by the wicked which inuade them and rule them, as there should remaine no good thing in them.

3 This is a strong argument: GOD made lawes, therefore he would also haue magistrats.

4 We ought to abstaine as much as we can from contentions, yet is it not forbidden vs but that we may sometime trie our cause by lawe.

5 No godlie man ought as touching himselfe to refuse the Ecclesiasticall iudgement, if he can obteine the same.

6 It is a good prouocation for a man to receiue the lawe, and to obeie the same, to be persuaded that GOD doth so by his prouidence rule humane things, as he doth good to them that obeie him, and punisheth them that be disobedient.

7 The promises which be in the holie scriptures, haue first of all place in Christ, and afterward they be derined through him vnto the saints.

8 God being infinit doth occupie all things, yet neuertheselie he is said to come or descend to anie place, when he declareth himselfe there after a new maner.

9 Holinesse first belongeth vnto God, then vnto all those which be appointed to his seruice.

10 In this standeth the holinesse of creatures, that they be removed from a prophane vse, and are appointed to a holie vse.

11 Baptismes were before the lawe, in the lawe, and vnder the Gospell, and all, as touching their substance, had one efficacie.

12 It is not true that the ceremonies of the old fathers were onelie outward exercises, wherein there was no remission of sinnes.

13 Curiositie doth therefore much hinder faith, bicause faith is of things which are not seene.

14 When God requireth of the Israelites, that they should abstaine from their wiues vntill the third daie, he doth not therefore condemne the fellowship of marriage, that it should be sinne if a man vse the same lawfullie.

Probable.

1 IT were good in a Common-weale that all citizens should haue their rulers of tens, of hundreds, and such like officers, which might take speciall care of them.

2 To beleeue God, and to beleeue in God, is all one.

3 The washing of garments was a signe of obteining of right cousnes and newnes of life.

Propositions out of the xix chapter of Exodus.

Necessarie.

1 GOd is said to haue bene sene of the Hyrwe people vpon mount Sina, by a participation of his properties; whereas they perceiued nothing but the outward tokens wherewithall he was compassed.

2 God workes in the holie scriptures are trulie and properlie otherwhile attributed to vs, and otherwhile to God.

3 Free will, which in Greeke is called αὐτεξούσιον, is power of the will, whereby we desire or refuse anie thing according to the iudgement of reason.

4 Those things which are manifestlie and euidentlie good, when they be offered vnto the will, they are necessarilie chosen.

5 The good things which be after a sort vncertaine and euident, are shunned, and desired according as it hath knowne that thing.

6 Necessitie is not properlie set against the freedome of will, but violence and compulsion.

7 A man not regenerate cannot chose true and sound good things, which are pleasing vnto God.

8 As touching morall and ciuill actions, those which be not regenerate may chose manie good things; albeit they neuer in a maner chose or execute them without error.

9 They which be borne anew in Christ haue free will restored vnto them, as touching both kinds of good things.

10 In the regenerate the execution of deliberated actions is not perfecte and fullie restored.

11 Those which be not regenerate as touching true good things, albeit they cannot desire them, yet can they not be laid not to do frelie about them.

12 The freedome of the will is not hindered, although the children of God are said to be led by his spirit; or else in this respect, that the diuell worketh effectuallie in the children of disobedience.

Probable.

1 WHen the lawe should be published, there went before the same verie terrible figures, that by the report thereof mens minds might be shewed to be beaten downe, and that the Maiestie of God which published the same might be declared.

2 The lightenings, thunder, earthquakes, and sound of trumpet vpon mount Sina, were done by the worke of angels.

3 The signes, which went before the Gospell, were

were mild and gentle, that the comfort might be signified, which thereby should come vnto mortall men.

4 Those things, which were done in the publishing of the lawe, ought to be compared with the solemne sending of the holie Ghost vpon the apostles: for in both places God was openlie declared the king of his people.

5 God gaue the lawe, without the land of promise in the desert, that the Israelites entering into the kingdome of Chanaan, might detest the lawes of the Gentils, being now a good while inured with the lawes of God.

Propositions out of the xx. chapter of Exodus.

Necessarie.

1 GOd cannot be defined, but in the place of the definition of him, we vse certeine notions to know him by, gathered as well out of the holie scriptures, as from the creatures.

2 When God offereth himselfe to be knowne of vs, vnder certein tokens; none is more excellent than this, wherein we apprehend him to be the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whome he hath redeemed and saued vs.

3 The substance of the first commandement is, that we account the true GOD for our Lord, whereof it straitwaie followeth, that vnto him is due our faith, hope, loue, feare, and obedience.

4 We must beholde in the first precept, not onelie the commandement it selfe, but the promise of the Gospell ioined therewith.

5 Although that all vse of images be not forbidden the godlie, yet those which are lieng, offensiue, and vsed to represent God, must not be suffered: no more also must those which be filthie.

6 These two saienges are not disagreeing in themselues; namelie, that the child beareth not the iniquitie of the father, and that God visiteth sinnes vnto the third and fourth generation.

7 For the holinesse of the forefathers God doth blesse the posteritie.

8 What soeuer is ordined for a seruice of God against his word, belongeth to idolatrie, which Tertullian pronounced not amisse, to be all manner of worship or seruice giuen to anie idoll.

9 Outward images are not alwaies required to the committing of idolatrie.

10 All heretikes are worthilie reckoned among idolaters.

11 In euerie idolatrie the diuell is worshipped.

12 Artificers, which labour to make images, which they know shall be appointed to the vse of idolatrie, do most greeuouslie sinne.

13 In the third commandement, not onelie periurie and vaine oths are forbidden, but also euerie kind of contempt of the name of God.

14 In a well ordered Common-weale, the crime of blasphemie against GOD ought to be punished with death.

15 In the third commandement, not onelie it is commanded that we should not prophane the name of God, but contrariwise, that we should sanctifie the same.

16 Euen as it is lawfull for the faithfull to vse oths in time and place; so are not curses alwaies forbidden them.

17 The Magistrate must take care, that oths be kept inuiolate, as well for the honor of the name of God, as for that they be the bonds of humane societie.

Probable.

1 IMages should not be placed in temples.

2 In that men take pleasure of imitation, it commeth hereof, that they are made according to the image of God.

3 In the primitiue church, before the Gospell was publikelie receiued, the professours of prophane authours taught with great danger of the hearers: but at this daie it is not so.

Propositions out of the xx. chapter of Exodus.

Necessarie.

1 WHat soeuer iustice is found in the lawes of men, is conteined either in the Ethnike writers, or else in the table of the ten commandements.

2 All iust and vniust actions maie be reduced vnto the table of the ten commandements: euen as all things, which be, are to the ten predicaments.

3 In the table of the ten commandements are taught in few words those things which be most plaine: for principles should both be briefe and euident.

4 All things which be commanded in the table of the ten commandements, do verie well agree with the light of nature.

5 The table of the ten commandements is vnderstood of all those which be indued with reason, concerning those things which are laid before vs in it at the first view: but those things which it hath in secret are not perceiued, except of them which are lightened with the spirit of God.

6 In both the tables there are handled three kinds of actions; namelie, of the heart, of the tong, and of the worke.

Certeine

7 Certeine precepts of the ten commandements were not then first commanded by God, when he gaue the lawe vpon mount Sina, but long before: but in the lawe they are repeated and plainlie set downe for the better expressing of them.

8 There are two causes alledged why the sabboth was commanded, whereof the one is of the whole commandement, and the other is of a part.

9 Although that these words; Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy hart, &c. And thy neighbour as thy selfe, be not expressedlie had in anie of the ten precepts, yet are they the same and measure of them all.

10 Albeit that he, which loueth his neighbour, hath fulfilled the lawe, yet are not so manie commandements of the table superfluous.

Probable.

1 IN the first table we place foure precepts; first, that he which is the true God, should be alone accounted for God. The second precept, that no other gods, or anie images should be placed together with him. The third, that his name should be accounted holie. The fourth, that the sabboth daie be kept. But in the second table there are taught fiue precepts; namelie, Thou shalt honour thy parents, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adulterie, Thou shalt not steale, Thou shalt not beare false witnesse, Thou shalt not lust.

2 The last precept, wherein is spoken of concupiscence, is to be comprehended in one, not to be diuided into two.

3 Onelie two kinds of coueting are recited therein, because those be the grosser kind, and do more commonlie happen.

4 The first commandement and the last do after an excellent maner answer one to another; for both of them giue precept as touching the spirituall motions of the mind: for the first requireth good motions, and in the last we are forbidden euill motions.

5 He that offendeth in one is made guiltie of all; for no lesse are the commandements of God ioined one with another, than are the vertues of the philosophers.

Propositions out of the xx. chapter of the booke of Exodus.

Necessarie.

1 IN the holie scriptures there seemeth contrarietie attributed to the lawe of God, according as it is taken either by it selfe, or by the accident; or else, as it is considered perfect & whole, or otherwise maimed and vnperfect. When it is taken by it selfe and perfect, that is, not without Christ and faith, then it is said to be spirituall, quickening, and comfortable: but contrariwise, if it be vnderstood as it doth happen, and not whole; that is, without faith and Christ, it is said to bring damnation, death, the wrath of God, and such like euils.

2 The works of the lawe must not be vtterlie denied to be the causes of our righteousnes and saluation; but it must be denied, that they be the principall and whole causes of these good things: the mercie of God in verie deed is the chefe and verie true cause of our iustification.

3 The works of the lawe, yea and faith it selfe, when it is vnderstood by it selfe, that is, seuerallie from Christ, and the mercie of God, as they proceed from vs, they haue alwaies sinne ioined with them, yea and they be sinnes.

4 If we take the lawe without Christ, there shall we see commanded vs things impossible, and such as stir vp ill affections.

5 Seeing God ioined the Gospell with the lawe, it behoueth vs that we receiue the same in such wise as it is giuen vs by him, so that we separate not the one from the other.

6 Albeit that the lawe cannot be fullie kept of anie mortall man in this life, yet must not the promises of the lawe be accounted vaine.

7 The works of the lawe declare rightcousnesse by that which followeth, that is by an argument which bringeth in the cause by the effect: and by the continuall vse of those works we obteine righteousnesse, whereby nature is restored and made perfect; but yet are we not iustified before God with it by it selfe.

8 Albeit that the works of the lawe are said to iustifie by another thing, that is, by faith annexed thereunto, yet is it not accidentallie, because the knitting together of faith with works is of it selfe.

9 The ciuill and morall lawes of the old people be abrogated, not as touching the substance, but as touching the manor, obseruations, or circumstances; but the morall part remaineth simplie in his owne strength, yet may it in some respect be said to be abrogated, because it condemneth not the faithfull; secondlie, because it is not greeuous vnto them, seeing willinglie and of their owne accord they bend themselues thereunto.

10 Euerie faithfull man according to the proportion of his faith is partaker of this deliuerance from the lawe.

11 Such is the vse of the lawe among the faithfull, as they preach the same vnto the vnbeleuers: further, that by it they stir vp themselues to repentance, and renew themselues to good works, and to a better life.

The

12 The law of God requireth three maner of perfections in our workes. Firſt, that what we do outwardlie, it be honeſt: ſecondlie, that we do this willinglie, and of our owne accord: laſtlie, that by a god and ſpirituall motion we refer all this vnto God.

13 We muſt by the diſcretion of the law of God, not by our owne iudgement, determine of that which is honeſt, and that which is diſhoneſt, or of the godneſſe and naughtineſſe of our owne actions.

Probable.

1 THoſe, before God, are counted the doers of the lawe, which having faith in Chriſt, do earneſtlie exerciſe themſelues in the obedience of his commandements.

2 In that ſentence of Daniel: Thou ſhalt redeeme thy ſinnes with almes, he meaneth, the punillment and paine which is due for ſinnes.

3 They which by their owne iudgement, not by the word and lawe of God, will determine of the godneſſe and naughtineſſe of humane actions, thoſe eate the fruit of the tree of god and euill, forbidden to our firſt parents.

Propoſitions out of the xx. chapter of the booke of Exodus.

Neceſſarie.

1 Thou ſhalt keepe holie the ſabboth daie. THe commandement of the ſabboth, is partlie morall, and partlie ceremoniall: wherevpon ſome thing conteined therein, is eternall, and ſome thing but for a time.

2 The chriſtian church erred not, when in the place of the Iewes ſabboth it appointed the Lords day to be kept, whereof there is mention made in the holie ſcriptures, although there is no commandement there extant, as touching the obſeruation thereof.

3 The magiſtrate ought to compell ſtrangers, although they be of an other maner of religion, that they do nothing openlie, againſt the religion of the citie.

4 Thoſe works were not forbidden to be done on the ſabboth daie, which might neither be deferred nor preuented without the loſſe of life.

5 The works of charitie, which we are bound neceſſarilie to do vnto our neighbour, muſt be preferred before holie ceremonies.

6 The commandements of God haue an order among themſelues, therefore when two of them met togither at one time, which cannot be performed both at once, we muſt aplie our ſelues to the former, not indeed neglecting the latter, but deferring it till an other time.

7 Thoſe works muſt be done vpon holie daies, which by the word of God, it is manifeſt, do belong to the worſhip of God.

8 It is lawfull for the church to adde vnto the ceremonies deliuered to vs by the word of God, both time, maner, place, yea and ſome ceremonie, as well for ornament, as for edifieng of the faithfull: who neuertheleſſe are not permitted to change the ſubſtance of them, as the Papiſts haue done in their maſſe, which now cannot be done with a ſafe conſcience.

9 Honor thy parents. The Monkes, which braue wiſe children from their parents, and make them Monkes, ſinne more grieuouſlie, than did the Scribes and Phariſes, whom Chriſt reproued, becauſe they tranſgreſſed the commandement of honouring parents.

10 In the promiſes of temporall things, God includeth ſpirituall promiſes.

11 Temporall things, although they ſometime ſeeme vile, yet are they conteined in the promiſes of God, to the intent we may be taught, that the prouidence of God extendeth it ſelfe vnto all things, and to let vs knowe that good things, although they be neuer ſo ſmall, muſt be aſked from God.

Probable.

1 IN the word Parents, are comprehended ſchole-maiſters, maiſters, & miniſters of the church, becauſe in old time, when there were but few men, the good man of the houſe performed all theſe duties.

2 In the table of the ten commandements, parents are not expreſſlie commanded concerning dutie towards their children, becauſe they haue by nature more vehement affections ingraffed therevnto, than children haue towards their parents.

3 The precept of honouring parents is cheefelie in the promiſe (as Paule ſaith) namelie in the particular promiſe: for that promiſe which is in the ſecond precept is generall.

Propoſitions out of the xx. chapter of the booke of Exodus.

Neceſſarie.

1 Thou ſhalt not kill. WHen God commandeth that we ſhould not kill, he, by the teſtimonie of Chriſt, forbiddeth anger, which muſt not be vnderſtood of euerie anger, but of that onelie which is againſt charitie.

2 Reuenge belongeth not to priuate men, ſeeing it is a worke of the magiſtrate.

3 They which ſaie that the commandement of not reuenging is a counſell, and not of neceſſitie

to ſaluation, do greatlie erre.

4 It is lawfull for euerie man againſt them that be priuate to repell violence by violence, ſo it be not done of hatred or deſire to reuenge, and onelie when an extreame neceſſitie forceth, wherein we cannot vſe the helpe of lawfull defenders.

5 The miſhap of thoſe that are puniſhed with death is to be lamented, but yet the execution of a iuſt iudgement againſt them muſt not be hindered by our teares, or by the interceſſions of others.

6 It is not lawfull for a man to kill himſelfe. Wherefore Peillanus is iuſtlie condemned for iudging them to be martyrs, who, when they were fallen into grieuous miſchiefes, killed themſelues vnder pretenſe of repentance.

7 Neither are thoſe to be heard which grant the ſame when chaſtitie is put in hanger.

8 The death of Samſon preſaith not them, which of their owne will do kill themſelues.

9 Thou ſhalt not commit adulterie. In the precept wherein adultrie is forbidden, matrimonie, which is the contrarie, is commended, for that it is a iuſtfull ioining togither of man and wife into one bodie by the inſtitution of God, for the procreating of children, and godlie education of them, and that fornication may be auoided.

10 The lawfull vſe of matrimonie is not, as manie thinke, a deadlie ſinne.

11 They which ſaie that matrimonie is not good, but in compariſon of the vncleane and adulterie, are of an ill iudgement.

12 Matrimonie is violated, when man and wife being lawfullie ioined togither into one flеſh, there is mingled a ſtrange flеſh, not onlie in the groſe and outward fact, but with the hart, with words, beckes, and other diſpare actions.

13 Alſo matrimonie is violated by a diuorce admitted without lawfull cauſes.

14 It is not in the power of man and wife, that the one ſhould grant to the other the vſe of their bodies vnto others out of matrimonie.

15 In a well ordered Common-weale, the crime of adulterie ought to be puniſhed with death.

16 Chriſt releaſed not the ſeueritie of the lawe of God in that reſpect, that he condemned not that woman which was taken in adulterie.

Propoſitions out of the xx. chapter of Exodus.

Neceſſarie.

1 Thou ſhalt not ſteale. BY that precept; Thou ſhalt not ſteale, the Iſraelites could not be reproued of theft when they robbed Aegypt: ſince to vſurpe other mens goods againſt the will of the Lord, belongeth vnto the nature of theft. But they carried not out other mens goods, but their own, to wit, being giuen them by God.

2 By this precept are eſtabliſhed priuate poſſeſſions of things, for as there muſt be no communitie brought in as touching the poſſeſſion of all our goods, but onlie as touching a participation of the vſe and fruits.

3 The entercourſe of merchants, if it be iuſtlie vſed, is not to be condemned, but it ought rather to be eſteemed as a deed of humane nature.

4 They which decline the magiſtrate of tributes, are guiltie of theft; no leſſe guiltie are princes, when they exact greater tributes than reaſon wil aſk, or elſe when they graunt not vnto the ſubiects thoſe things for the which they pate tributes.

5 They which be rulers, maiſters, parents, and the reſt, of the gods graunt vnto God, that is to the church, are within the compaſſe of theft; and ſo likewiſe are they, when they vſe thoſe things, and in ſuch ſort, as not that wherevnto they were ordained.

6 All maiſters of houſe ſo rule againſt this commandement, that nothing be done with the oppreſſion and hurt of our neighbour bringeth gaine againſt the lawes, and alſo againſt equitie.

7 By this commandement are almes-deds commanded, which muſt be ſo moderated, as among the people of God there may be a certeine equalitie of things, I meane not geometricall, but arithmeticall.

8 Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witnes The falſe-witneſſe bearing which is forbidden muſt not onelie be reſtreined to the actions of the lawe, but alſo all maner of ſignifications wherby our neighbour is hurt are forbidden, ſo that hereby is bridled the mind, the tung, and the actions ſeruing therevnto.

9 Of this precept is inferred, that ſo much as may be, we ſhould both commend our neighbour and ſet him forth to the glorie of God.

10 In the lie which they call an officious lie, although we ſpeake otherwiſe than we thinke the thing is, yet no otherwiſe than charitie and right reaſon longeth that we ſhould ſpeake.

11 Thou ſhalt not luſt. In the laſt commandement wherin it is ſaid, Thou ſhalt not luſt, is declared how much the lawe of God is better than the chiefeſt lawes and moſt all philoſophie.

12 By the firſt & laſt precept is ſhewed, that the lawe is ſpirituall. For there is a commandement giuen, concerning all the motions of the mind; and from thence is gathered a full meaning of all the other commandements.

13 Seeing the firſt and laſt commandement are obſerued of none, men may by them eaſilie perceiue themſelues to be theeues.

Propositions as touching Sanctuarie, out of the xxvi. and therest of the chapters which follow of the booke of Exodus.

Necessarie.

1 Albeit that the holie people might assemble in euerie where, yet was it profitable to haue but one onelie sanctuarie, where the sacrifices might be solemnelie offered, and the peoples received.

2 As it is now alla conuenient to make a difference betweene holie places, for the execution of certeine ceremonies, yet is that difference betweene our temples & godlie, that men thinke they shall soner obteine helpe of God in some places, than they shall in other.

3 Neither is it godlie done, of anie people to denie principall ceremonies for the place take: or else to account anie temple the more holie for the secondarie ceremonies, as certeine things in times past were peculiarlie augmitted vnto bishops, for procuring them greater authoritie.

4 The ornaments and images in the holie place, although they were not seene, yet did they serue the people to the resraying of godlinesse.

5 Things were ordeined for the new people to heare and perceiue in holie places, and not onelie to looke vpon.

6 Merie well in old time were the priests kept from the innermost holie place, and that which was done therein: and the people from the outer place, and those things which were done there.

7 Now maie none of the people of God, except with offense to GOD, be excluded from anie place where the holie ceremonies be exercised, or from anie of the holie actions which be done in the church of God.

8 The holier sort of signes of the good will of God; as the Arke of the couenant, the propitiatorie, the shew-bread, the lights, and the holie incense were profitable hidden from the sight of the old people of Israel: but it is conuenient, that all the holie signes should be most cleerlie exhibited and shewed to the new people.

Probable.

1 By the holie sanctuarie was represented the maiestie of Christs godhead, by the holie things were represented the dignities of the holie ministerie.

2 To thinke, that bicause the place of praier appointed to the old people, was richlie and diuerlie adorned, that therefore it is meet that our temples also should be magnificallie builded and adorned, is an vngodlie conjecture.

3 True and comelie images of things, whose remembrance is commendable, may serue for a good vse vnto the godlie, but yet not in temples: for we may haue them as becommeth Christians.

4 As Saint Ambrose did willie the Emperour, depart from out of the place, where the elders of the church were, to appoint a place in the church for the clergie, in such sort that it may not be lawfull for others to enter therein, both rather blame, and allow it than for the.

Propositions out of the first chapter of Leuiticus.

Necessarie.

1 A Sacrifice is a ceremonie, wherein anie thing is offered vnto God by his commandement for obteining remission of sinnes, not onelie of guilt but true, through the faith of Jesus Christ there represented and exhibited.

2 Faith is applied to diuers promises of God: but that faith, which iustifieth, hath respect to Christ himselfe.

3 When in the epistle to the Hebrues, or elsewhere in the holie scriptures it is said, that the old ceremonies gaue no remission of sinne, that must be vnderstood, by the power of the worke, or without faith in Christ.

4 Moses spake in no place more plainlie of the death of Christ, than he did in the lawes of the sacrifices.

5 The mortification of the flesh is a sacrifice, wherein a man offereth himselfe vnto God.

6 God would that the signs of the sacraments should be called things to be prepared.

7 Bicause Christ was receiued in the eating of those things which were offered in sacrifices, therefore the outward signs of the Lords supper are apt for vnsens eating as they were.

8 In the offering of the sacrifice, the offerer confessed his sinne, and acknowledged himselfe to be guiltie of death, in which respect the sacrifice was slaine.

9 Sinnes were forgiuen in sacrifice, not as concerning the iudgement of lawe, but as touching God.

10 Moreouer, in the sacrifices, wherein Christ was represented, and exhibited, the people also was instructed as touching the principall vertues.

11 Indeed the sacrifice of poore men, was smaller than the sacrifice of rich men, as touching the cost, but not as touching the worthinesse.

Albeit

12 Albeit that Christ in one oblation finished our saluation, yet are there still remaining with vs sundrie and manifold sacrifices in the new testament.

Probable.

1 The laieng on of hands, which is giuen to the ministers of the church in the new testament, might seeme to haue come of the laieng on of hands vpon the sacrificed beasts, vnlesse we did find mention thereof in the old testament before the making of lawes for sacrifices.

2 The sweet smell of reek, whereof there is manie times mention made in the sacrifices, signifieth that there the will of God was contented, as in a thing done according to his pleasure; and that the wrath, wherewith he was kindled against them that offered, was there pacified.

3 There were therefore manie kinds of sacrifices, bicause Christ could not be expressed in one kind.

4 The old fathers, when they knew that they were reconciled vnto God by sacrifices, and yet vnderstood that the beasts which were slaine, were not excellenter in nature, than they for whome they were offered, concluded necessarilie, that the worthinesse of the sacrifices depended vpon somewhat else: whereupon they fleeing to the promises of Messias, acknowledged him therein to be preferred before themselues.

5 In the kids and goats, which were offered, Christ might be expressed, bicause of the fasme of perfect man which he take vpon him.

Propositions out of the second, third, and fourth chapters of Leuiticus.

Necessarie.

1 The sacrifices did stir vp the memorie of Gods promises, in them that offered.

2 When God refuseth leuen, that it should not be offered vnto him, he condemneth wicked doctrine and corrupt maners.

3 Honie and leuen are not refused of God from being burned vnto him, bicause they be euill things in their owne nature: naie rather they may be sanctified by the word of GOD, and by praier, as the rest of the creatures, and therefore they might be offered among the tenths and first fruits.

4 To father the signes of frankincense, salt, and salt, vpon the ceremonies of the new testament, as the Papists haue done, was superstitions.

5 In the sacrifice of peace-offerings, the holie communion was exercised among the faithfull: for therein not onelie was Christ set forth to be beleeued, but he was there receiued.

6 Albeit that the Lords supper by it selfe be no sacrifice, yet is it not done without a sacrifice.

7 The worthinesse of the sacrifices was not considered by the excellencie of the things offered, but according to the acceptation of God, and the faith of those that offered.

8 The vse of the fat and blood was not forbidden, as though in their owne nature they polluted the mind, but by reason of certeine significations.

9 In those ceremonies, whereof a reason is not knowne, God oftentimes had this respect, that the Hebrues might be separated from the rites of the Idolaters.

10 Sinne is a defect not onelie in the actions, but also in the nature of man: whereby men are enimies to the lawe of God, and inear his wrath and eternall damnation, vnlesse they be holpen by faith in Christ.

11 Forsomuch as some sinnes be called sinnes of committing, and some of omitting; thereof it riseth, that God made some precepts affirmative, and some negative.

12 Ignorance, which truelie excuseth sinne, is not affectate, and it chiefelie standeth in the circumstances of actions.

13 Albeit in the oblations of sacrifices, sinnes were forgiuen by the faith of Christ, yet were not ciuill punishments or iudgements of lawe taken alwaie therefore.

Probable.

1 That in the sacrifice of incense, no part of the frankincense remained to him that offered, or to the priest, but the whole was burned before the Lord; it sheweth, that inuocation is due vnto God onelie, not vnto men.

2 Honie was forbidden of GOD, that it should not be offered vnto him, bicause the pleasures of the flesh do not make to the seruice of GOD.

3 Salt is perpetuallie required in sacrifices: bicause without faith nothing can please GOD.

4 The apostles in the primitiue church renewed the commandement, that bloud should not be eaten, and they said nothing as touching fat: bicause that precept of bloud was published in the time of Noah, and might be knowne vnto the Gentils, but not to conceiue fat.

Propositions out of the fourth, & fift, chapters of Leuiticus.

Necessarie.

1 The sinne of the priests is more grieuous than the sinnes of the people, because the authoritie of doctrine is diminished, the example vnto sinning is more forceable, and the ministerie made a mocking stocke.

2 Confession was thus maner of wrought in the sacrifices. First it was manifest in the outward signe of the sacrifice which was offered. Secondlie, there was vsed a generall declaratiõ of sinne. Moreouer they sometime shewed their sinnes particularlie.

3 The confession, which they call auricular, must not be taken out of the church, but rather amended.

4 Vnto those things which were the signes of the sacraments, some honour is due after the sacramentall vse of them, but yet without superstition, and offence of the weake.

5 There is no state so honourable among the people of God, but ought to be subiect to brotherlie correction.

6 The sinnes of ecclesiasticall power is in Christ, who hath communicated the same to the whole number of beleeuers, & he hath giuen the execution thereof to those ministers which he hath chosen.

7 The church may erre, and in verie deed hath sometimes erred, euen in those things which belong vnto faith.

8 When there is inquisition made by a magistrate of anie crime, whosoeuer is examined ought to confesse that which they knowe thereof.

9 If the faithfull christians be demanded of their faith, in place of iudgment, they are bound to confesse the same.

10 When a iudge shall perhaps demaund vs to bee his aide in the matter, we must not declare them.

11 They which issue off from lawfull accusations in the Common weale, cannot pretend iust mercie.

12 He which hath sworne to do some euill, sinneth not, in not performing of the same: but he sinneth by sweering rashlie.

13 The offerings of sacrifices had manie commodities. First was confirmed the faith of them that offered. Secondlie therin was a thankes-giuing. Thirdlie ministers were sustained. And finallie those which did sacrifice, did confesse, that the same death, which was done vnto the sacrificed beast, was due vnto them for their sinnes.

14 He which trulie beleeueth God, hath no doubt of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, or of his owne saluation, otherwise of faith, it should become opinion.

15 The certeintie which we haue of our saluation, is not of the sense, neither of experience, or knowledge, but of faith.

Propositions out of the fift, sixt, & seuenth chapters of Leuiticus.

Necessarie.

1 True faith, which iustifieth, is not without constreined repentance.

2 He that refuseth not things taken awaie, if he be able, is not trulie penitent for his sinnes.

The restoring in due time of things taken awaie, is preferred before sacrifice.

3 To haue lamps lighted or wax-candels burning before the reliks of martyrs, or in such wise as it is done in the papisticall Masse, is superstitious.

4 If is no firme argument (to say) It is lawfull now to desire the prayers of holie men, while they liue, therefore the same is also lawfull when they be departed out of this life.

5 He that receiueth the sacraments as touching the substance of them, otherwise than they were instituted by God, it is dangerous vnto him, and an abhomination vnto God.

6 As God called sacrifices abhomination, when they were done without faith: so may we truelie determine of other good works in generall, which be done without faith.

Probable.

1 The originall of lights in the Church proceeded hereof, that the temples in old time were darke, and the christians watched there, in the night.

2 The elevation and motion of the bread, in the Masse, which is done by the mumbling priests, is taken out of Leuiticus, by reason of the lifting vp and moning of those things which were offered vnto God.

Propositions out of the eleuenth chapter of the booke of the Iudges.

And the brethren cast forth Iephta, and said, Thou shalt be no heire in our fathers house, for thou art the sonne of a strange woman.

As touching the punishments of eternall damnation, euerie one shall beare his owne iniquitie, not another mans. 1 Deut. 24. 16 Ezech. 18. 20

Whereas

2 Whereas some are said to suffer temporall punishments for others, they cannot complaine but themselues haue deserued the same.

3 GOD committeth no iniustice, if at anie time he punish the children with temporall punishments, for the safetie of their parents.

4 It must not onelie be attributed to the iustice, but also to the mercie of GOD, that he punisheth the sinnes of the parents vnto the third and fourth generation.

Seeing that good men are betwrapped in the temporall punishments of the wicked, GOD hath appointed a discipline vpon the earth. 5

This is proper vnto GOD, and must not be vsed of men, to punish children for the sinnes of their parents, when they consent not to their parents crimes. 6

Thus end the Propositions of Doctor *Peter Martyr*, out of the bookes of Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, and Iudges.

A disputation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist held within the famous Vniuersitie of Oxford, betweene D. Peter Martyr, and other Diuines of that Vniuersitie.

Peter Martyr to the Christian reader.

Here be two causes that haue moued me to write of the Eucharist: namelie, the slanders of euill men, and the desires of my freends. The one whereof to contemne had beene a point of vncurtesie, and the other to neglect were vngodlie: since I perceiued, that thereof depended no small hinderance to the religion of GOD. For if onelie mine owne cause were heere dealt withall, I might easilie haue contemned these things: sith I make not so great an account of mine owne estimation, that I thinke I ought to be mooued with the slanders of aduersaries, and with the vaine rumors of enimies. I knowe it is a wise mans part to dissemble verie manie things, and especiallie such as be of this sort, and that Christian charitie endureth all things: that it seeketh not his owne, but those things that be Iesus Christs: howbeit, not mine owne cause, but Christs is here in hand: not my name, but the word of God is ill reported of. For the danger of the authoritie of the ministerie is so ioined with the word of God, as it reacheth euen to himselfe: for so we see it come to passe, that albeit good and godlie things be neuer so godlie and learnedlie handled, yet if he that handleth them shall want authoritie, specially if he be defaced or disgraced by anie blemish, they proceed with little or no fruit at all. But what the impudencie of some hath spred abroad, as concerning the disputation had by me at Oxford the summer last past, and how they slandered me to all sorts of men, both princes, noble men, commonaltie, citizens, and countrie men, I will not saie: for they haue doone nothing in secret, but euerie corner, street, house, shop, and tauerne doo still sound of their lieng, triumphs, and victories. And I doubt not, but that these ill reports are come also into other nations. Wherefore, one cause that vrged mee to set foorth these disputations was this: and another, as I said at the beginning, is the requests of freends, which in verie deed I denied vntill this present time: as well for that I knew there were bookes enow extant of this matter, wherein euerie godlie man might be sufficientlie instructed, as also for that no man knoweth mine owne doings better than my selfe: which hitherto I haue so accounted of, as I would not (gentle reader) hinder thee by them from the reading of better bookes. But now these my freends being mooued, and that not a little, with the false reports of euill men, haue so vrged me, that granting to the requests of some, & compelled by the authoritie of others, at the length

I yeelded. For what could I denie vnto the moſt reuerend Archbiſhop of Canturburie, vnto whom I am moſt of all beholding ? Or what could I denie to the kings viſitors, which were not onelie preſent at theſe diſputations, but were alſo preſidents thereof? Wherfore I deliuer vnto thee this diſputation, togither with a treatiſe of the ſame matter, for the plainer declaration thereof. All which things I haue written in ſimple ſort, and as I may ſaie, without anie ſtile; neuertheleſſe faithfullie. For as concerning the diſputation, I compared mine owne with the examples of the aduerſaries. Which, when I had diligentlie read, thoſe things which I ſawe I had omitted, that were of ſome importance, I indeuoured, as much as the truth of the matter would ſuffer, to reſtore againe out of their writings: and whereas I perceiued them otherwhile to haue expounded their reaſons more largelie, and in writing to haue handled them more artificiallie, than they were vttered in the time of diſputing; I alſo, reteining the truth of the matter haue expounded the ſame ſomewhat more largelie, which neuertheleſſe happeneth verie ſeldome. But as concerning the effect, the principall points and ſubſtance of the arguments, and of the confutations or anſwers, I haue not, ſo far as I knowe, changed or inuerted anie thing, wherein I might doo wrong to them, which diſputed with me: yea and I haue cauſed that oftentimes, and in a maner alwaies, the ſelfe-ſame words might be ſet downe, which we vſed on either ſide, when we diſputed togither, ſo far as either my memorie would ſerue me, or their notes which gathered would giue me to vnderſtand. Whoſoeuer therefore was preſent at our diſputation, ſhall perceiue, that in truth there was no argument omitted, nor added; and ſhall vnderſtand, that I haue no where fled from the ſumme and ſenſe of thoſe things that were ſpoken. But and if anie ill diſpoſed perſons ſhall (for ſuch is their nature) complaine that I haue omitted or wreſted anie thing, thoſe things let them put in writing, and let them not deale againſt me by words, which maketh no matter if they be ſpent in vaine, but let them deale by written reaſons: which, ſith men may both read and well conſider, this kind of diſputation ſhall not be without fruit. For words (ſaid Homer) are but wind; but thoſe things which are put in writing, cannot be ſo eaſilie miſreported. This if they will doo, euen as I was then bold to deale with them by liuelie voice, ſo will I now prepare my ſelfe to anſwer thoſe things which they ſhall write. In the meane time fare yee well, and take this in good part.

Looke this treatiſe before part.4. chap.10.

Queſtions ſet downe to be diſputed of.

1 In the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, there is no tranſubſtantiation of the bread and wine, into the bodie and bloud of Chriſt.

2 The bodie and bloud of Chriſt is not carnallie and corporallie in the bread and wine; nor, as others ſpeake, vnder the ſhewes of bread and wine.

3 The bodie and bloud of Chriſt is ſacramentallie conioined to the bread and wine.

The diſputers were theſe.

For the one ſide was Doctor Peter Martyr.

For the other ſide were Doctor VVilliam Tresham, *Doctor* VVilliam Chadſe, *and Maiſter* Morgan, *Maiſter of Art.*

The diſputation of the firſt daie, which was the xxviij. of *Maie, Anno Domini.* 1549. *betweene D. Peter Martyr,* and D. VVilliam Tresham, before the kings viſitors, among *whom the worthie man D. Cox, Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford,* before the diſputation ſhould begin, *ſpake on this wiſe.*

YE that be learned men, although that of verie dutie I ought to moderate diſputations, but eſpeciallie diuinitie; yet do I thinke that this, muſt now chiefelie be done, as moſt apertetning vnto me; becauſe it ſo pleaſeth the kings maieſtie, and for that the authoritie is committed vnto vs by letters patents, as well in other things, as alſo in the ordeining of publike readings & diſputations. So we haue determined not onelie to be preſent thereat, but alſo to ouerſee, gouerne, and moderate them. But I would haue you, which haue taken vpon you this labour of diſputing, to conſider how hard a matter that is which ye ſhall doo. Remember with your ſelues how greatlie all mens eies are bent vpon you. Reſpect ye diligentlie, and regard ye the glorie of God, laieng aſide contentions, and wranglings. I knowe that ye be graue and learned men; yet in reſpect of mine office, I thought it good to admoniſh you. And I aduiſe other beholders and hearers, that factions laid aſide (if anie ſuch be) they will ſo quietlie and peaceablie giue eare, as there may ſeeme to be no partaking. Doo ye accordyng to Pauls precept, that In the name of our Lord Ieſu Christ ye will vnderſtand all one thing, & iudge all one thing, that in you there be no ſchimes, but an entire bodie, hauing one mind and one iudgement. Set aſide ill affections, let there be no noiſe, debates, ſcornefull laughters and outcries. And ye yong men eſpeciallie, I would haue you to be forewarned, which haue a greater feruencie of mind, than ye haue of iudgement. In the greateſt controuerſies there are wont to be diſcords, hatreds, and enuiengs: as it came to paſſe in the diſputations of Steuen and Paule. But I would in no wiſe haue this to happen among you; but I wiſh rather that ye will learne to know the truth, and when ye haue knowne it, to imbrace the ſame: ſo ſhall ye doo your dutie, and alſo that which ſhall be verie acceptable vnto vs, and God will giue good ſucceſſe to that we haue in hand. Phil.2.2.

The

The preface of Peter Martyr.

RIght Honourable, & yee that be the Kings Maiesties Commissioners, if I had thought that displeasures, hatreds, or enimities had been the perpetuall companions of publike disputations, I doubtles had neuer beene brought into this place. But now that I see those things do not alwaies insue, but are ioined vnto them casually, or (as they speake) accidentally, I am come to dispute. And certeinlie, the desire which I haue to search out and open the truth, hath moued me aboue all things. But they, which for the desire of contention, or for the vaine glorie of this world, or for gaine sake do take this matter in hand, must not be accounted Diuines, but light and vaine Sophisters, carnall men, giuen both to their belly, & to ambition. But we ought to be of that mind, that we willinglie, and of our owne accord yeld vnto the knowne truth, manifesting it selfe in disputation. Which truelie is no small or slender part of diuine worship. And therefore let the troublesome motions of minds cease on all sides: and let all factions be far awaie. Which if it happen, there will arise singular profit of this exercise. For iron of it selfe is but cold, and a stone is altogither senselesse: but if they be knockt one against another, they cause fire to come forth. Euen as clouds, otherwise of a darke and grosse nature, if they meet togither, and be one dashed against another, do cause a bright lightening in the aire: so likewise the wits and studies of learned men are slowe of themselues, but in the conflict of disputation they be stirred vp, and made somwhat liuelie.

Neither muste excellent and honest things, as are disputations, be refused, no: yet counted vnprofitable and hurtfull, sith we doubt not but they be the gifts of God. We are beholding vnto disputations for that excellent doctrine of Iesus Christ our sauiour, which he had with the Scribes, Pharisies, Saduces, and Herodians, of the loue of our neighbour, the resurrection, the paieng of tribute vnto Cæsar, the signe of Ionas the prophet, and such other like things. And I thinke it is not vnknowne to you, how greatlie the disputations of Paule, and the rest of the apostles and fathers did profit the church. No doubt but they may be done of vs without bitternesse, hatred, and enuie, so that the spirit of Christ be present. Trulie there is a great difference betweene disagreement and bearing of hatred. For the first belongeth to iudgement, the which is exercised in the vnderstanding part of the mind: but the other, which is hatred, is a flame of the will. Paule dissented from Peter, and reproued him; and yet did he not hate him. Thus much I thought good to speake of open disputations in generall. But comming now neerer vnto these disputations of ours: I confesse, that I was to blame a while before I should come to this conflict, because I saiwe that I was to deale in that matter, for which the church at this daie is exceedinglie disquieted. And they, which challenge to themselues the order of the priesthood, thinke that (transubstantiation, and a carnall and corporall presence of Christ his bodie in the Sacrarift, he being taken awaie) all the honour they haue would come to naught, as though they had no other office, but to change the substance of the bread, or to close vp the verie bodie of Christ in the bread. And so besotted and doting is the common people, as if a man teach anie otherwise concerning this sacrament than hitherto hath beene receiued, they thinke that Christ is taken awaie from them: and when we teach otherwise of the Eucharist than is beleeued in the Papistie, they run togither in heapes, and crie with the siluer-smith; Great is Diana of the Ephesians.

Howbeit, they should haue considered, that they are no lesse to be accused, which attribute ouer-much vnto sacraments, and do make an idoll of them, than those which neglect the same: both which extremities we haue alwaies to our power auoided. But now, when I see that thorough your authoritie all things are at quiet, I am become of better courage, and I gladlie take vpon me this labour of disputation. Neither will I repeate the particular causes, why I would not dispute, when I was challenged vpon the sudden, least I might seeme to vtter my stomach. And therefore I come to the questions, wherein some do slander me, that I haue not obserued an order of Logike: and spoken that, which should first haue beene in question; to wit, Whether the bodie of Christ be in the sacrament; and that afterward, the maner how, should be sought out. But I affirme the contrarie; to wit, euen that the best method is here obserued, yea and that dialecticall. And I am not ignorant of Aristotles doctrine in his Analytiks, wherein he teacheth, that first we must seeke whether a thing be or no, and afterward we must see why, what, and for what it is. But forsomuch as neither of vs doubteth, but that there is a bodie of Christ, and that I am asked whether it be in the Eucharist, I answer them fitlie by my three questions: first, that he is not there by transubstantiation; secondlie, that he is not ioined to the bread and wine, or to the shewes of them corporallie and carnallie, or (as these men will) reallie and substantiallie; but that he is there onelie by a sacramentall coniunction, which is a most effectuall signification. You haue therefore a verie perfect method; which yet, that it may the plainlier appeare shalbe declared after this maner. Some coniunctis there is of the bodie & bloud of Christ with the signes; and this on both sides is agreed vpon, but what maner of coniunction it is, therin standeth the controuersie.

Wherefore this I do open in my three questions; and I begin at the grosser, and that is at transubstantiation, the which I do refell: afterward I proceed to the other kind; to wit, the corporall and carnall presence, or the reall or substantiall (as they speake) which I account all alike, and assent not thereunto, since I praise a third kind of presence, namelie by a sacramentall signification. But as to the words, corporallie & carnallie, which seeme to be ambiguous, I say that I vnderstand them, as if it should be said, reallie and substantiallie: neither in disputing will I trouble them about this difference. But why I deriued aduerbes from the nounes flesh and bodie, rather than from thing and substance, is, to the intent I might accommodate my selfe vnto the holie scriptures, the which, in making mention of a sacrament, haue not the names of thing and substance, but onelie of bodie, flesh, and bloud; and therefore haue I written, corporallie and carnallie. And this also my aduersaries contend, that the latter question is superfluous: for, they say; If you shall remoue transubstantiation and reall presence; it followeth of necessitie, that in the sacrament, there is left nothing but a signification. Whom I answer, that they are Anabaptists, which would haue this sacrament to be nothing else but a badge and profession of our societie, which we haue among vs through charitie: they make no reckoning of the efficacie of the holie Ghost, which we testifie to be in this sacrament. Moreouer, the Marcionites, Valentinians, Manicheis, and such kind of heretiks, since they denied Christ to haue had a true bodie, could not abide this signification, which we here confirme. Wherefore the third question is not vnprofitable against this kind of pestilent men. Lastlie, besides all these things, I haue taken this course, because I would haue these questions to be correspondent with those things which I haue taught in the Schooles, where I haue obserued the verie same method. Now remaineth that we enter into the matter.

But first of all, according to the accustomed maner, let vs call for the help of God by praier.

The Praier.

SInce thou (O almightie God) hast for thy mercie sake, promised to gouerne vs by thy holy spirit, and to lead vs into all truth: first of all, we giue thee infinit thanks for so gratious and bountifull a promise: which I doubt not, but thou wilt effectuallie fulfill. And further, because we are gathered togither in thy name, and that those things, which must be disputed of, are of verie great importance, therefore with all our hart we praie and beseech thee, that thou wilt giue vnto vs thy promised grace: and that thou wilt so vouchsafe to moderate and direct that which we haue taken vpon vs to handle, that thereby may be giuen glorie vnto thy name, the truth to this schole, and edification vnto the holie church. We humblie beseech thee, that thou wilt remoue all euill affections, that thou wilt illuminate both our harts, & the harts of the hearers, with the light of the holie scriptures; and those things which therin shall seeme to be obscure, make thou them to be plaine, and suffer vs not to erre in them: and whatsoeuer matters perhaps of mine haue not hitherto beene rightly vnderstood, grant, that they may now be more sincerelie and faithfullie perceiued, through Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

The Oration of D. VVilliam Tresham.

IAm come (right honourable) to bring the truth vnto light. A hard matter to him that shall consider of it. I laie vpon my selfe a weightie burthen. For I haue taken vpon me to incounter and dispute with one that both is learned, sharpe of wit, and exercised in all kind of learning, both humane and diuine, and that in a most weightie matter, & in an assemblie of most learned men. Wherefore, since I vndertake a hard matter, which

which undoubtedly manie other students of this Vniuersitie are able if they will much better, more exactlie and happilie to performe & bring to passe than I; which am but a weake disputer. It shall be in your courtesie (right honourable Commissioners) who haue vouchsafed by your honorable presence to adorne and set forth these disputations, to take in good part whatsoeuer this daie shall be vttered of me in disputing, and to interpret to the best, all those things which vnfeinedlie shall for no other cause be declared, but for godlie zelle sake. Allthoughe it was not my meaning of anie malice, spight, or hatred, to be an aduersarie to this learned man; but by cause he himselfe after a sort prouoked me, and my conscience moued me, and finallie because your authoritie allowed me, I am come to contend in this field of learning. To contend (I saie) as with a friend and familiar: but yet I prefer a truth before a friend, for the defence whereof I will indeuour to my power to resist this Doctour, being a man most thoroughlie exercised in these matters: but yet aboue all things putting my trust in him, which promiseth to the professours of his name, saieng: Laie vp Luk. 21, 14. in your hearts that ye cast not before hand what ye shall answer: for I will giue you a mouth and wisdome, which all your aduersaries shall not be able to wrest and gainesaie.

Now then (most learned Peter) I write my selfe to examine your conclusions. The first whereof is this: In the sacrament of the Eucharist, there is no transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the bodie and bloud of Christ. The second is, that the bodie and bloud of Christ is not substantiallie and naturallie in the Eucharist, vnder the formes of bread and wine. Vnto which conclusions, as I giue no credit at all; euen so, I certeinlie persuade my selfe, as I will alwaies saie, that they be false & most strange from christian religion.

And that thus it is as I haue said, I will not refuse in due time to declare and shew most euidentlie by the holie scriptures: and by manie testimonies of the fathers. So likewise haue I this day taken vpon me to defend and confirme the truth hitherto receiued by the church, plaine contrarie, and as they speake by a right diameter line, repugnant to your conclusions. This disputation haue I taken in hand, not to the intent I would supplie the rome of D. Smith being absent, of whose purpose without doubt I was not priuie: but I haue done it onelie to extoll the glorie of Christ, & the veritie of the faith. And let not anie man thinke, that I am led to like of this my opinion, of a certeine light credulitie, but though great and most vrgent causes. Whereof the first is, the agreement and vnitie & one consent of the holy Euangelists, and of Saint Paule the apostle; which make for our assertion: from whence a consent of the whole world, and perpetuall vse of the thing hath growen euen to vs. The second cause is, the great authoritie of our holie mother the church: the which euen by publike edicts decreed, as touching the certeine truth of this sacrament against Berengarius, Wickliffe, and such as were of their opinion. Thirdlie, there be most euident testimonies of the right catholike fathers; which (vnlesse they be otherwise expounded, than their fathers meant) they make most clerlie for our assertion. The fourth and last cause is, for that the edicts of our most noble prince king Edward the first, and the acts of his maiesties Councell doth not a little warrant me: the verie which causes seeme vnto me sufficient for to beleeue as I doo. Wherefore mall learned Peter, what soeuer force of arguments you haue to vtter and alledge against me, speake and declare them all at your owne pleasure: it is lawfull for you, I haue said, and you se how I answer your conclusions.

D. Peter Martyr.

THe praises which you attribute to me, I acknowledge not: your good wil towards me I imbrase. And whereas you saie, that you were chalenged of me, that is nothing so: for I rather am drawne foorth by others to dispute: as it is knowne vnto all men. And as for the causes which you saie moued you to dispute against me, I doo not much passe: for of what importance they be, I will then acknowledge, when it shall be your part to oppose. Onelie of the last, namelie, as touching the kings edict, since I vnderstand no English, this I saie; that I know nothing at all thereof, but I hope that in proceeding of the disputation, if it shall make anie thing against mee, I shall vnderstand the same. Wherfore omitting these things, I come vnto the arguments.

Heere beginneth the disputation.

D. Peter Martyr.

FIrst the first question, the Scriptures are on my side, which do very plainlie acknowledge bread and wine in this sacrament. It is said in the Euangelists, that the Lord toke bread, blessed it, Mat. 26. Mark. 14. Luke. 22.

Because the Scriptures acknowledge bread in the Eucharist, therefore it must be remoued.

it, brake it, and gaue it vnto his disciples. And Paule hath the verie same in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the tenth and eleuenth chapters, where if you will diligentlie consider it, he maketh often mention of bread. Wherefore, we also must together with the scripture, reteine the natures of the symbols or signes.

D. Tresham. It is also found in the holie scriptures, that man is called earth or ashes, Eue, a bone; a rod, a serpent; and water, wine: where yet they were not these things, but were so called. Moreouer, the argument is reciprocall, and may be returned vpon your selfe: for euen in the scriptures it is oftentimes called the bodie of the Lord: and that therefore by the verie selfe-same reason, the bodie of Christ is truelie present in this sacrament, which you denie in the second question; and therefore your argument is returned vpon your owne head.

D. Martyr. As for the former part of your answer, you affirme that the saieng of the holie scripture, when it nameth bread, is figurative, because the things reteine the names of their natures from whence they were turned. Wherein I marueil verie much, that you so readilie flie vnto figures, the which ye so greatlie abhor, when we are in hand with this sacrament. But this I let passe; and I answer, that in the places alledged, the holie scripture doth expresselie put vs in mind of the conuersions of those things: for it plainelie sheweth, that mans bodie was fashioned out of the earth, that Eue was made of Adams rib, that the rod was turned into a serpent, & that the water was made wine. Wherefore we are forced to admit these figures. Now then proue ye vnto vs out of the holie scriptures, that the bread is turned, as touching substance, into the bodie of Christ, and so we will grant your figure, that is to wit, to call bread, not that which is now bread, but that which was so before. And moreouer those things, which ye bring in, haue so call away their old substance, as they reteine not the accidents of them. And that which you haue added in the other part of the answer, that it maketh against me, that the bodie of Christ is really present: sith the holie scriptures called it the bodie, as also bread: how much it maketh against me, I will answer when my turne of answering commeth, if you shall obiect the same vnto me.

D. Tresham. I was determined that we should vse short arguments; but you interlace manie things. Wherefore it, as touching conuersion, which you denie to be had in the holie scripture, that do I proue out of Matthew, Mat. 26. where Christ saith; This is my bodie. It is no indicatiue or significatiue saieng of God, but an effectuall, actiue, and working speech. For Augustine saith vpon the 73. psalme: The sacraments of the old law promise a Sauiour, but the new giue saluation: and therefore I proue the bread to be turned into the bodie of the Lord.

D. Martyr. I let both now and hereafter will vse briefe arguments, so far as the matter will permit. But as touching your proofe of transubstantiation, which you now bring, I answer nothing; for it is my part now to oppose. Wherefore, since you admit not the proofe, which I haue brought forth of the holie scriptures, that the bread remaineth, and that you would it by a figure, I will shew you that the fathers did not so iudge of it, but that they according to the holie scripture affirme bread to remaine, and do interpret and vnderstand it in such sort as I haue alledged. Cyprian, a most ancient author, in his sermon *De cœna Domini*, saith; Euen as in the person of Christ his humanitie was seene, and his diuinitie lay hid; so in the visible sacrament, the essence of God doth vnspeakablie infuse it selfe, that in religion there might be a true deuotion about the sacraments. Here you see a comparison to be made betweene the person of Christ and this sacrament: both which as they comprehend two natures, so it behoueth to preserue them both intire, which ye in transubstantiating do not. A comparison betweene this sacrament and the person of Christ.

D. Tresham. Against Cyprian, I will oppose Cyprian, and him I will interpret by himselfe, which saith in the same sermon; This bread, which the Lord deliuered to his disciples, not changed in forme, but in nature, is by the omnipotent word of God made flesh. You beare a changing of the nature of the bread. Wherefore, we must not beleeue that so notable a matter is against his owne selfe, and that he hath forgotten himselfe in those things that do follow.

D. Martyr. This is not to answer to the place proponed, but to shift off the argument; when I shall occupie the turne of an answerer, I will cleere the place, which you alledge against me. Wherefore, it is your part to answer vnto that which is obiected, that is to wit, how this comparison, which Cyprian maketh betweene Christ and this sacrament, taketh place with you.

D. Tresham. Cyprian is the best interpretour of himselfe.

D. Martyr. Since you bring nothing else, I will alleage Gelasius, of whom the selfe-same is affirmed as touching this comparison. He against Eutyches saith; Vndoubtedlie the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ, which we receiue, is a diuine thing; for the which, and thoough the selfe-same things, we are made partakers of the diuine nature, and yet doth not the sub-

substance of bread and wine cease to be, and for a truth, the image and similitude of the bodie and blood of Christ is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. And therefore it is euidentlie enough shewed vs, that we must iudge the selfe same to be in Christ himselfe our Lord, which in his image we professe, celebrate, and receiue, that euen as these things, by the working of the holie Ghost do passe into the diuine substance, and yet remaine in the propertie of their owne nature; so that principall mysterie it selfe, whose efficacie and truth those signes do trulie represent, both shew one Christ euen whole and perfect properlie to consist of God and man, those natures still remaining.

D. Tresham. That booke is not receiued among the allowed works of Gelasius. Moreouer, Gelasius was a bishop of Rome, and I maruell that you will auouch him alone, since there be twentie bishops that do make expresse lie against you.

D. Martyr. This answer standeth of two parts; first, that the booke is not allowed, and secondlie, that it is set forth by a bishop of Rome. As touching the first, there is no cause shewed, why the booke should be suspected, especiallie since he writeth against Eutyches, which was an heretike. And if ye will deale after this maner, and thrift off an argument, by saieng that any booke is suspected, then I may reiect all bookes which I perceiue do make against me. Secondlie, the sea of Rome was not in those daies so defiled & corrupted, nor yet come to such a tyrannie, as afterward it fell out, that thereby the authoritie of Gelasius should be diminished. And besides, I auouch not him, bicause he was a bishop of Rome, but for that he agreeth with the word of God, in which respect, we must make more account of him alone, than of twentie or a hundred others, if they be repugnant to the word of God. But go to, let vs cite Augustine, which to the selfe-same effect speaketh euen of that comparison, according as he is cited in the title *De consecratione*, distinction the second, out of the sentences of Prosper, whose words be these; Euen as the person of Christ consisteth of God & man, sith the same Christ is very God, and very man, bicause euerie thing conteineth in it selfe the nature and truth of those things whereof it is made: but the sacrifice of the church standeth of two things, that is to wit, of the sacrament, and of the matter of the sacrament. Here you see the selfe-same comparison betweene the Eucharist and Christ: wherefore it followeth, that euen as in Christ, the two natures remaine whole, so the substance of the bread must not be taken from the Eucharist.

That the bookes of the fathers must not lightlie be refused.

D. Tresham. Augustine in this place, which you haue cited, maketh most of all for me; for I do vnderstand him, that in the sacrament, he would haue the verie flesh of Christ to be couered vnder the shewes of bread and wine, which he calleth the matter of the sacrament: also he would haue the accidents, vnder which the bodie of Christ is hidden, to be a signe of the flesh so hidden. Moreouer and besides this he saith, that the flesh of Christ so hidden is a signe of the very bodie of Christ hanging vpon the crosse, and that so it is a signe of it selfe.

D. Martyr. We do not now contend about the signe and thing signified, whether they be all one, but about the comparison betweene Christ and the Eucharist, and about the two natures in them both, the which ye do not retaine whole in the sacrament, while in stead of the substances ye place accidents. For Augustine affirmeth, that euerie thing conteineth in it selfe the nature and truth of those things, whereof it is made. And there is no man doubteth, but that the sacrament is made of bread. And whereas you adde, that the bodie of Christ, according to Augustines iudgement, is conteined vnder the accidents of bread and wine, in such wise that the substance of those signes is excluded from them; that you haue not out of his words.

D. Tresham. I saie that Augustine teacheth by those words, that the sacrament is made of the bodie of Christ, and of the accidents; the which accidents be the outward sacrament.

D. Martyr. You saie that the sacrament consisteth of accidents, and of the bodie of Christ; but I inforce the comparison betweene Christ himselfe and the Eucharist; for the sacrament must be correspondent with him: and therefore as in Christ neither of both the natures perished, so in the Eucharist it behoueth that both of them should remaine. Otherwise the heretikes will alwaies saie, that indeed the diuine nature is granted to be in Christ, but that he had onelie but a shew and accidents of an humane bodie.

D. Tresham. If the Eucharist be vnlike answerable to Christ, as you affirme it to be, it followeth, that euen as true bread is said to be there, so must likewise the true bodie of Christ be said to be there, the which maketh most of all against your second question. Wherefore the argument is of no force, bicause the similitude is of no force; for the similitude is not current.

D. Martyr. You answer indeed, that this maketh against me, bicause I do not affirme the bodie of Christ to be conteined in the sacrament: but yet so farre as I see, you answer nothing

thing hitherto to the comparison of these fathers, except it be in denieng of the same, and therefore the argument remaineth vnassoiled. For the fathers brought the same likelihe to this purpose, to shew that on both sides, as well in Christ as in the sacrament, both the natures remaine whole and perfect. But after what manner I appoint the true bodie of Christ to be in the sacrament, shall be declared afterward, when I come to the second question. Now by the testimonies alledged, we haue concluded effectuallie, that bread remaineth: for the confirmation whereof we haue Theodoretus, who against Eutyches wrote excellent dialogs. In the first of which, he thus saith; Those things, which appeare to be signes, be honoured with the name of his bodie and blood, vndoubtedlie not changing the nature it selfe, but ioining grace vnto nature. And in the second dialog, he bringeth in the heretike opposing after this maner; Wherefore euen as the signes of the bodie and blood of the Lord, be after one sort before the inuocation of the priest, but after the same inuocation, they be changed and made other things; so likewise the Lords bodie, after the assumption, was changed into a diuine substance. The Catholike answereth; Thou art caught euen in the same net, which thou thy selfe didst laie: for neither do those mysticall signes depart from their owne nature, sith they remaine in their former substance, figure, and shape: and so he concludeth against Eutyches, that the bodie of Christ was not changed into the diuine nature, as he affirmed. And thus you see that these Doctors, Cyprian, Augustine, Gelasius, and Theodoretus do verie well agree betweene themselues, that the substance of bread in the sacrament is not changed, bicause of the agreeablenesse which it hath with Christ, in whom as well the humanitie as diuinitie remaine entire.

Theodoretus thing-eth the same comparison, and plainlie proueth manifold transiation.

D. Tresham. Reduce your argument into a forme, and then I will shape you an answer.

D. Martyr. This is Theodoretus reason: As bread remaineth entire in the sacrament, & departeth not from his owne nature; so Christs bodie remained in him, and was not changed into the diuine, as the heretiks affirme it to be.

D. Tresham. This maketh still with me, and concludeth, that therein is the true bodie of Christ, which you in your second question denie. Againe, this Theodoretus, whom you cite, was a Nestorian heretike, and that appeareth manifestlie enough, by the historie of Nicephorus, and the Councell of Chalcedon, in the eight action. And the testimonie of an heretike deserueth no authoritie in so great a matter.

D. Martyr. That Theodoretus, was no Nestorian, no man can praise better than himselfe; who writing against all the heretiks which went before him, left not Nestorius vntouched; yea rather, he wrote a whole particular chapter against him, and called him a verie fit instrument of the diuell. But as touching that which you allege of Nicephorus, and the synod of Chalcedon, it happened for this cause. In the synod of Ephesus, there fell out verie greeuous offenses betweene Cyrill, which was president of the Councell, and Iohn patriarch of Antioch, bicause Cyrill with his fellowes had proceeded to the condemnation & deposition of Nestorius, without expecting of him and other bishops; and so both of them, going beyond the bounds of humanitie, exercised among themselues hatreds, not beseeming for christians. And the matter came to such a passe, as they did excommunicate one an other, and deposed one another: but afterward they returned into friendship againe. And during the time of this dissention, Theodoretus, which fauoured Iohn, wrote against the excommunications which Cyrill made, wherein he charged him grieuouslie. And, if a man will diligentlie read the matter, he shall hardlie find by that writing, that Theodoretus either was an heretike, or else fauoured anie iil opinion of Nestorius, notwithstanding that his aduersaries, and such as fauoured Cyrill, did so slander him. Howbeit, euen as we haue said, they were all at the length reconciled among themselues. And in this eight action of the synod of Chalcedon it appeareth manifestlie, that Theodoretus was falselie slandered; and there it appeareth how excellent a testimonie he had of the fathers of the Councell, by whom he was restored vnto his seat, and he openlie accursed Nestorius, with whom he shewed that he neuer consented in opinions. Of the verie which Theodoretus there is read somwhat in Bessarion cardinall of Nice, in the Florentine Councell. Since therefore the synod of Chalcedon did not refuse but allow of his confession, while do not ye admit of his purgation? And since he wrote these things against Eutyches, after the synod of Chalcedon, in the which synod he was allowed as a right beleeuer of the faith, they must not easilie be denied, as ye would they should: and we must giue more credit vnto the Councell, vnto Leo the most holie bishop of Rome, and vnto manie bishops more, than vnto that same one Monke Nicephorus.

D. Tresham. That purgation is not equall or to be admitted, wherewith a man purgeth himselfe. Let an other man praise thee (saith Salomon) and not thine owne mouth. Certeine it is, that Cyrill wrote manie things against him. Againe, he is but an obscure authour, and no

man hath him but you; wherefore he must not be cited for beining of so great a matter.

An excellent waie for euerie one to purge himselfe of heresie.

D.Martyr. Yes verelie, when anie mans faith is brought into question; euerie man is a competent witnesse to himselfe: as if so be one should be accused of Arianisme, he might no better waie purge himselfe, than by detesting of Arrius, and by writing against him. But if you thinke that Theodoret must be reiected, bicause he contended against Cyrill, and for that Cyrill wrote against him, by the same reason you will reiect Cyprian, bicause he once in the matter of baptisme, not onelie dissented from Steuen Bishop of Rome, but also from other Doctours of sound iudgement. And you may as iustlie refuse the writing of Epiphanius, Chrysostome, and Theophilact, who so earnestlie stroue and contended among themselues, that Iohn Chrysostome was displaced and cast out of his bishoppricke. And whereas you obiect that he is an obscure writer, and whome none but my selfe hath, be it knowne to you, that the booke is printed, and vendible at Rome.

D.Tresham. I answer, that it would be a long and tedious thing to go to Rome for such a booke.

D.Martyr. Now then if you will not allow of him, I will set him aside, and bring forth Origin, who maketh for me. He writing vpon the fifteenth chapter of Matthew, saith; If that whatsoeuer entereth into the mouth, goeth into the bellie, and is cast out into the draught: and that that meate, which is sanctified by the word of God and by praier, as touching that which is materiall, passeth into the bellie, and is cast into the draught; but in respect of the praier which commeth thereunto, it is made profitable and effectuall, according to the proposition of faith, that the mind may throughlie discerne and haue regard vnto that which is profitable. Neither is it the materiall bread, but the word spoken ouer the same, that profiteth him which doth not vnworthilie eate it; and thus much of the figuratiue and sacramentall bodie. So far he.

Origin holdeth, that the materiall substance of the Eucharist is cast into the draught.

D.Tresham. Origins testimonie is suspected in this matter. The place is found in the fragments which were latelie added by Erasmus. And you remember what a common saieng there is of Origin; Where he hath said well, no man hath said better; where euill, no man worse. And against Origin alone suspected, I oppose Chrysostome a verie faithfull writer: Dooll thou see (saith he) the bread? Dooll thou see the wine? Dooth it passe into the draught as other meates doo? Far be it that thou shouldest thinke anie such thing.

D.Martyr. Doubtlesse I am sorie, that so notable a man (as Origin I meane) fell into so grieuous errours. Howbeit, his heresies are recited by Hierom, Epiphanius, and other notable fathers, who throughlie searched him, and openlie reproued his errours, least they should infect the simpler sort, and yet did they neuer reprooue him in this matter.

D.Tresham. An argument negatiue, fetcht from an authoritie, is weake and of no force: they wrote not, that he erred as touching the Eucharist, therefore he erred not. Againe, this place is of the fragments latelie interpreted by Erasmus, which place perhaps the authors which you haue named neuer sawe.

D.Martyr. But neuertheless it is verie likelie, & most probable to all that iudge rightlie, that since they forbeare not to speake of all his other errours, which in your iudgement are not more grieuous than be these, they would not haue dissembled this which ye account to be so grieuous. And whereas you cauill, that these fragments be added by Erasmus, that is a vaine shift: for he deuised them not of himselfe. And since that all bookes haue beene after the selfe-same maner found out; to wit, by studious men in the old libraries, by the like argument all bookes might be refused at such time as they are cited. But let vs heare Irenæus, in his fourth booke against heresies: He taking bread the which was of the same condition that ours is, did confesse it to be his bodie: and moreouer, he taking the cup likewise, which is of the same creature that is amongst vs, confessed the same to be his bloud. But accidents that hang without a subiect, be no creatures amongst vs, naie rather they be exceeding great miracles. Therfore Irenæus did not thinke of those things, since he calleth the matter of this sacrament a creature, such as is amongst vs, that is to wit, visuall.

D.Tresham. It behoueth to ioine the head with the taile, to wit, that Irenæus should say, Christ tooke bread and made the same his bodie. And he confesseth that the bodie of Christ is in the Eucharist, and is made of bread: for he saith; that the bread which is from the earth, is no more common bread, but is made the Eucharist.

D. Martyr. Whereas he called bread, which is from the earth, his bodie; or said, that it is made the Eucharist, it ferueth nothing to this purpose, that the substance of bread should be excluded.

D.Tresham. It would without doubt be a verie absurd proposition, if it should be said; This bread is the bodie of Christ.

D.Martyr. That we may the more throughlie vnderstand Irenæus mind, we must heare himselfe speake in the selfe-same fourth booke, where he saith; For euen as the bread, which is from the earth, when it receiueth inuocation of God, is now no common bread; but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, to wit, earthlie and heauenlie: so our bodies likewise receiuing the Eucharist, are not now corupt, since they haue the hope of the resurrection. Verelie you may gather, that so the bodie is changed into the Eucharist, or into the bodie of Christ, as our bodies be changed, and made incorruptible. But yet in this change, the substance of our bodies is not cast awaie; and therefore neither doth the substance of the bread depart, nor is there anie need of your transubstantiation.

A comparison of our change with the change of bread.

D.Tresham. This argument is not firme, bicause it is deriued from a similitude; and verie learned men doo bring this selfe-same text against you: For bread (saith Irenæus) receiuing the inuocation of GOD, is now no more common bread, but the Eucharist; and euen so our bodies are made incorruptible. This change of bodies is not naturall, but spirituall; insomuch that Cyprian saith; Doubtlesse the coniunction of our bodies with his bodie, doth not mingle the persons, nor yet vnite the substances; but associate the affections, and confederate the wils. And as Paule saith, when he describeth this spirituall change; we are transformed spirituallie into Christ, proceeding from glorie to glorie, from daie to daie. There is a verie great difference betweene the change of our bodie, and the change of the Eucharist. For we be not by nature incorruptible, but it is by a spirituall change and incorruption, which is done by grace, faith, charitie, godlinesse, and such like.

1.Cor.3.18.

D. Martyr. There was no need why you should take all this paines in declaring how our bodies be incorruptible, insomuch as I doo vrge and gather the similitude out of Irenæus, that the like change is as well of the one as of the other; and I infer, that the substance of bread doth not perish, no more than our bodies in their change doo cast awaie their first substance.

D.Tresham. I answer, that the change of our bodies into Christ must be vnderstood in respect of the holie vertues of Christ abiding in vs, wherby we are made assured that our bodies shall hereafter be incorruptible: and herewithall I saie, that this argument is drawne from a similitude, and therefore not strong.

D.Martyr. Our bodie cannot be said to be changed into the vertues of Christ, for those perteine not to the bodie: and againe, my reason is from the authoritie of Irenæus. He bringeth in the similitude, so as the argument is not answered. Moreouer, you ought to weigh, that it is here said, that the Eucharist doth consist of two things; to wit, earthlie and heauenlie. Whereupon it followeth, that the bread doth remaine, the which is called an earthlie thing.

D.Tresham. This sacrament consisteth of two things; Therefore two things remaine in the same. I denie this argument. It is made indeed of an earthlie matter, not that it is remained, but bicause it was so before it was blessed: but after consecration, there remaine no longer two things, but one.

D.Martyr. That which you pchue to your selfe is verie absurd; namelie, that the sacrament standeth of two natures before it is blessed; for then before the blessing, it is neither a sacrament, nor yet the bodie of Christ. Wherefore Irenæus speaketh of the Eucharist, which now is the Eucharist: neither will I admit that anie thing doth consist of those things that haue no being. And to your similitude, touching the nourishment of our bodie: I saie that the meate is digested in the stomach, and that a part thereof is cast forth by the draught and other excrements. I denie not; but yet, vnlesse that the substance thereof should remaine, and be reteined in the bodie, we could not be nourished: howbeit, all these things perteine smallie to the matter. For I still affirme, that Irenæus doth appoint such a change to be of the bread into the Eucharist, as the change of our bodies is into an incorruptible state, vnto which obiection you haue not yet answered.

The sacrament consisteth not of two things before blessing, for then it is not a sacrament.

D.Tresham. To the first point I answer, that a bodie must doth consist of elements; and yet the elements in the mixed bodie are not extant. To the other point I saie, that an argument taken from a similitude is of no force.

In what sort elements be in compounded bodies.

D.Martyr. You answer likewise absurdlie, when you affirme anie thing to consist of that which is not. And that, which you produce as touching a bodie, which you call mixed, you must vnderstand that elements are so extant therein, as it consisteth of them. For if it consist of them in act, as they speake, they be there extant in act: if it consist of them in power, or in strength, so they are extant in them. And whereas you make much a doo, that an argument from a similitude is of no force, I shewed you before, that I neither feigne here anie similitude; I onelie inforce that which Irenæus said.

D.Tresham. I answer againe, that an argument taken from a similitude is nothing worth.

D.Martyr. What? Is this to answer an argument? I my selfe brought not the reason from a similitude, but I vrge the similitude of Irenæus. If I my selfe had brought the simili-

tude, you might iustlie haue refused it.

D.Tresham. I saie that those similitudes also, which we find written else-where, and our selues haue not deuised them, are likewise of no force in arguments: and this will I shew out of the holie scriptures. The Lord said; Father, cause that they may be all one, euen as thou Father art in me, and I in thee. Now is it nothing worth, if a man should argue: The father and the sonne be of one substance, therefore Christ and we be of one substance.

D. Martyr. That your answer is no answer Hilarie testifieth, who in his eight booke *De trinitate* teacheth, that it doth very fitlie agree, and that it is a very firme argument which you do bring of the similitude taken out of the scriptures. You thinke that the argument is of no force, but he saith that it doth altogither conclude; and he confesseth, by the power of that argument, that we be of one substance, and naturallie ioined with Christ by his humanitie, wherewith our humane nature (as Cyrill speaketh) is consubstantiall; that is, togither of one substance. And so you see that the similitude which you haue drawne out of the holie scriptures, doth make the argument to be true. In his booke *De recta fide ad reginas.*

D.Tresham. I maruell that you flie to Hilarie: for he maketh against you; and hereof Bucer shall be a witnesse, who saith, that we are ioined with Christ, in the holie communion, not onelie by will, but also by a naturall participation, as Hilarie writeth.

D.Martyr. First, I cited not Hilarie for the question of the Eucharist, but to shew; that an argument deriued from a similitude taken out of the holie scriptures (which you denied) standeth firme. And now you shew that Hilarie by Bucers iudgement saith, that we are ioined to Christ not onelie by will, but also by a naturall participation; which as you thought, is not trulie concluded. Trulie I denie not, that that same participation of Christ with vs, is also naturall, which Hilarie putteth. But here we dispute not of the coniunction of Christ with vs, but with the bread. And you shall perceiue that the same Hilarie a little before maketh the very same coniunction to be with vs in baptisme, that is to wit, a naturall coniunction; and not by the will. And so there would followe a transubstantiation in baptisme; which if you grant not to be there, I see no cause why it should be urged here of you. But if you will obiect the place vnto me, when you oppose me, you shall plainelie perceiue that it maketh nothing at all against me. For here we dispute (as I haue said) against transubstantiation, and reall coniunction of Christ with the bread, but not of the true coniunction of Christ with vs, which I do not denie. And as concerning Bucer, what he iudgeth, or how he agreeth with me, I will shew else-where. Wherfor we haue a coniunction with Christ, and that without doubt naturall: for he trulie tooke vpon him our nature of the virgine. Furthermore, by faith, our flesh and nature is the more conformed to the immortalitie of Christes nature, and is dailie increased, while we vse the sacraments; but this coniunction and participation, which I confes we haue with Christ is naturall. But these things shall be declared more at large, when we come to the place of Hilarie. Wherefore leaning this argument out of Irenæus, which hath not beene sufficientlie answered, I will obiect vnto you Gregorie the bishop of Rome, who saith in *Registro* thus: But yet while we receiue as well the vnleuened as the leuened bread, we are made one bread of the Lord our sauiour: but vnleuened and leuened bread do manifestlie shew that bread doth still remaine, for those be properties of bread, which haue no place, if you take awaie bread. The state of the question is not of the coniunction of Christ with vs but with the bread.

D.Tresham. Gregorie conuerteth all into allegories, and hath respect vnto manners; warning vs to be vnleuened and sincere, as Paule said; In the vnleuened bread of sincerities and truth. And so the argument is to no purpose being taken from a wrong sense; as Augustine testified to Vincentius the Donatist. An argument deriued otherwise than from the literall sense, is of small force to perswade anie thing by an effectuall inference. Or else it may be otherwise answered; to wit, that he speaketh of the substance of bread, which before consecration was either vnleuened or leuened. 1.Cor.5. 8.

D.Martyr. It is plainelie declared, that Gregorie spake nothing allegoricallie in this place. For it was then called into doubt; and the controuersie was, whether the bread of the Eucharist should be vsed either vnleuened or leuened. Gregorie being consulted herevpon in *Registro*, setteth downe his opinion vpon this matter.

D.Tresham. Now do I better vnderstand it than before. For I remember the controuersie; and the Grecians erre euen vntill this daie, reteining still leuened bread: but yet the place conteineth nothing against me, for Gregorie would not haue it to make ante matter, whether the bread wherof the sacrament is made be vnleuened or leuened; and it is called vnleuened or leuened, of that which it was before.

D.Martyr. I maruell that you in your answer do saie, that the Grecians do erre vntill this daie, since Gregorie sheweth that it maketh no matter, whether it be vnderstood of vnleuened or of leuened bread. And whereas you saie that he meaneth that which he spake, to be before consecration, that agreeth not with his words. For he saith; While we do receiue, neither is the sacrament receiued before consecration.

D.Tresham. After that the bread is transubstantiated, it is named according to that thing whereof it is derived.

That the holie scriptures acknowledge no transubstantiation.

D.Martyr. Alwaies when similitudes be brought in, which do proue bread to be in the sacrament, you shift off those matters by a figure taken from their former nature; and therefore I am minded to dispute with you after this manner: Transubstantiation is not declared nor proued by the holie scriptures, therfore it must not be receiued.

D.Tresham. By the power of the holie scripture, which saith, This is my bodie, the church was compelled to decree transubstantiation. For it is not possible that this proposition should properlie be true, vnlesse that this change be determined.

If the accidents remaine, while nothing but the substance?

D.Martyr. Why do you thinke I here now, If the accidents do remaine with the bodie of Christ, what not the substance? What hath the substance more offended than the accidents, that it may not abide with the bodie of Christ? And especiallie since a great part of the contention seemeth to be about measure and quantitie, which notwithstanding ye reteine; for the quantitie and masse of bread is not abolished.

D.Tresham. Therefore doth nor the substance remaine, because it did not so please Christ the institutor of this sacrament. Christ might haue brought to passe, that the bread should remaine, but now because of his word, the same hauing his accustomed power, it cannot remaine.

D.Martyr. Since that you answered me not sufficientlie, I demanded, while the bread might not remaine? By no other meanes (saie you) but by the word of God and will of Christ. But I do not as yet vnderstand, what the words of Christ should let. Neither do I see from whence you haue this testimonie of the will of GOD, whereby he will not haue bread to remaine.

D.Tresham. Euen because it is vnpossible, that the word of God should be false. Also it is vnpossible out of the propheticie of words to proue the truth of the Lords words, wherein he said, This is my bodie, without transubstantiation. Whether that proposition, This is my bodie, may be done without transubstantiation.

D.Martyr. I could now speake of the figuratiue speech of that propositio, wherby I might shew it to be a true proposition, as manie such like are true, the things remaining still as they were before: but I let this passe, and I proceed in the question alreadie made; to wit, whether the substance doth here perish, rather than the accidents. Neither do I heare anie reason, why you should rather plucke awaie one of these, than an other.

D.Tresham. I haue alreadie said, that the words of the proposition, This is my bodie, cannot be true, vnlesse that a transubstantiation followe, because the bread is not the bodie of Christ, nor the accidents the bodie of Christ. Moreouer, the word of God should not be working and effectuall, vnlesse there were a transubstantiation therewithall, and that the accident did onelie appeare to remaine. And therfore the properties of the saieng being kept, and putting no figure in the words, it is impossible that the proposition should be true, vnlesse that there be a transubstantiation admitted.

D.Martyr. I do note in your answer that the bodie of Christ cannot trulie be spoken, either of the bread, or of the accidents, where neuerthelesse Epiphanius saith in Anchorato. True he is, who together with grace, hath giuen vnto man that which is according to the image. And how manie things are there, which be of like similitude? For he saw what our sauiour take into his hands, according as we haue it in the Gospell, that he rose in the supper, and when he had giuen thanks, he said, This is mine, and this, and this; and we see that it is not equall nor alike, neither to the images in the cleth, nor to the inuisible deitie, nor yet to the lineaments of the members. For this is of a round forme, and insensible as touching the power: is thorough grace be vnderstood, This is mine, and this, and this; and yet there is no man but beleeueth his saieng: for he that beleeueth not that the same is true, according as he spake it, such a one falleth awaie from grace and from saluation. But what we haue heard, that we beleeue, because it is his word. Verelie we knowe our owne Lord, who is altogither sense, altogither sensible, altogither God, altogither the mouer, altogither the worker, altogither the light, and altogither incomprehensible, but yet such a one, as is the same to vs, which he giueth by his grace. By which words you heare as concerning a thing of round shape, and insensible in respect of the power thereof, the Lord of his grace said, This is my bodie. Neither can you auoid it, but that that which is round, whether it be substance or accident, is that wherof Epiphanius saith, that it is called the bodie of the Lord: for he will haue the bodie of Christ to be spoken of that which is insensible according to power. But it agreeth not with the bodie of Christ, that it should be without sense; euen The bodie of the Lord is said of that, which as touching power is insensible.

as you haue it expreslie shewed in the sentence alledged.

D.Tresham. It behoueth to read the auncient fathers fauourablie, as Erasmus saith. And, let the notaries write, that neither I name the accidents, nor yet the bread, the bodie of Christ. And further, it may be otherwise answered, that he on this wise spake therof, before he had made an end of uttering his words.

D.Martyr. Seeing you will not haue it that this round thing (whereof this Epiphanius saith, that it is called the bodie of Christ) is bread, nor yet an accident, what then did he meane by this pronowne demonstratiue, *Hoc*, this?

D.Tresham. That can I not tell, but that was the word which Christ himselfe ment: let him be asked, who did institute it. But if it be spoken concerning bread, it is ment, before consecration. The fathers (as I haue said) must be read with fauour.

D.Martyr. In that you saie that the fathers must be fauourablie read, I like it well: and I know that sometimes they must be interpreted conuenientlie. Howbeit, when they speake the truth, there is no need of pardon: neither do I thinke that Epiphanius in this place hath anie need thereof: he doth sufficientlie maintaine the word of God, and speaketh verie well of the same.

D.Tresham. Hilarie, in his fourth booke *De Trinitate*, as I remember, saith, that the vnderstanding of sayings must be gathered by the causes of the sayings, because the matter is not subiect to the speech, but the speech to the matter. And therefore to answer according to the condition and truth of the matter, I affirme, that Epiphanius saith; that as touching that which is of a round figure, the Lord would pronounce: This is my bodie, not that there is true bread vnder the round figure, but because it so seemeth and appeareth vnto our sense; and therefore I said, that he must be read fauourablie, because his words pretend bread to remaine, which neuerthelesse doth not remaine.

D.Martyr. That which you alledge out of Hilarie, helpeth you but little, seeing Epiphanius cannot otherwise be vnderstood, but as I haue declared. For it is manifestlie said; that the Lord of his grace said, concerning that which is of a round figure, that it was his bodie. Therefore, whether you will saie, that that round thing is bread, or an accident, he speaketh vtterlie against you, for by the same he nameth his bodie. But that you may vnderstand verie true bread to be present, I will shew it most euidentlie out of the words of the Euangelist; Christ tooke bread, he blessed, brake, and gaue to his apostles, saieng, &c. Those foure verbes, To take, to bless, to breake, and to giue, gouerne no more but one accusatiue case, that is to wit, Bread. And therefore euen as it is true bread, while it is receiued and blessed, no lesse true shall it be, when it is broken and giuen: whereof it followeth, that Christ gaue bread, not accidents alone. Otherwise the Euangelist would haue said; that Christ brake his bodie, and giue his bodie; but as you haue heard, he referreth all vnto bread: neither do I thinke that the Euangelist hath anie need of fauour.

Mat.26.26.

D.Tresham. I saie with Saint Peter, that the scripture is not of a priuate interpretation. The fathers of the church do clerlie enough expound according to my affection, that Christ gaue his bodie, and that in putting this verbe Gaue before, he vsed a figure. 2.Pet.1.20.

D.Martyr. Yet do not you satisfie me; for that which Peter saith, to wit, that the scripture is not of a priuate interpretation, that is, it ought not to be expounded according to our vnpriuate affections, I admit: but you are neuer a whit the more furthered. And as for that which you alledge of the fathers, I haue taken testimonie of them, and haue shewed that they are of my mind. And therefore I repeat these words: Christ tooke bread, blessed bread, brake bread, & gaue bread: so speake the fathers, so speake the scriptures. You run into figures, and you seeme to saie, that we must vse the spirit. But I see not where we should seeke the spirit, except in the holie scriptures; which affirme the one and the other to be giuen, bread I meane and the bodie: the which I also confesse, but you in reiecting the bread, do not consent with the scriptures. How that place, The scripture is not of priuate interpretation, must be vnderstood.

D.Tresham. The holie scriptures must be expounded with the selfe-same spirit whereby they were indited. And the holie Ghost hath taught the good fathers, that immediatelie, so soone as the words of consecration are vttered, the substance of bread and wine ceaseth, of which mind are all the catholike Doctors. And I haue not the fathers alone, but Christ himselfe also, which promised in the first of Iohn, that he would giue vnto vs his flesh: he is faithfull, and his truth hangeth not of the fathers, but of himselfe. The bread (saith he) which I shall giue is my flesh, which I shall giue for the life of the world. And so I confesse that it is bread, bread, bread, bread, and bread, euen vntill the last pronuntiation of the words, afterward it is no bread, but flesh. That both the bread is giuen and the bodie: but the bread vnto the mouth, and the bodie vnto the soule and vnto faith. verse.51.

D.Martyr. The words of the scripture saie both the one and the other; to wit, that bread is giuen, and that flesh is giuen: while you not then confesse bread to be giuen also, as the Euangelists haue euidentlie written: For whereas you saie, that the fathers make on your side,

I haue now shewed by manie of their testimonies, that it is not true, and I allow that the scriptures should be expounded with the selfe-same spirit whereby they were indited. But when they are otherwise expounded of you than they meane, that exposition doth not proceed of that spirit, whereby they were written; for that spirit dissenteth not from them.

D.Tresham. I saie both: but yet I vnderstand the scriptures not as you do, sith about the vnderstanding of the scriptures, all controuersie hath euermore arisen. For by the scriptures Arrius went about to take awaie the diuinitie of Christ; by the scriptures Nestor and Eutyches endeuoured to take awaie his humanitie; by the scriptures Manes banished free will; by the scriptures Pelagius extolled free will aboue measure; by the scriptures Luther defended the truth of the bodie of Christ in the Eucharist; and contrariwise by the scriptures Zuinglius seemed to himselfe to take awaie the presence of the bodie of Christ from the Eucharist: and finallie all heresies, and the diuell hath alwaies said; It is written, and yet they erred. Wherefore it appeareth, that we must sue vnto that spirit, whereby the scriptures are published. Euen as Peter the apostle saith; that The scripture is not of priuate interpretation, and that spirit is promised vnto the church. Heresies of Arrius, Nestor and Eutyches. 1.Pet.1.20.

D.Martyr. Heretikes perhaps haue the scriptures, but yet they haue them not as it becommeth; they falsifie the text, but not the sound sense. But that church you tell me should be followed, I perceiue not; howbeit, this I know, that the Euangelists, Paule, and the holie fathers, whom I haue named, do testifie that here is bread, and the holie scriptures do most manifestlie speake the same. And without these things, which I haue rehersed, there is no church: neither doth there anie god spirit make against these. Both the scriptures & the consent of the church are the spirit.

D.Tresham. These words of Christ; Do ye this in remembrance of me, be words of commandement, and commaund vs to do that which Christ did. And he gaue his owne bodie, which said that it was his bodie: and loke what Christ the spouse of the church hath done, that by his commandement the church doeth through the scriptures.

D.Martyr. Of these words, which you recite, wrote Chrysostome vpon the first epistle to the Corinthians, the eleuenth chapter, the 27. homilie; For Christ in the bread and in the cup said; Do this in remembrance of me. Also Cyrill vpon Iohn, the 14. booke, and 24. chapter; He gaue them pieces of bread. 1.Co.11.24 Mat.15.

D.Tresham. The fathers name it bread, of the terme from whence it came; to wit, because of the former name it had.

D Martyr. You do but halse, and stand vpon the terme, from whence; you forbid a figure, and yet you alwaies defend your selfe by a figure.

D.Tresham. I haue manie places of Chrysostome that make for me; and I saie Chrysostome to Chrysostome: and the doctors, when they speake obscurelie, must be interpreted by places more plaine. But Chrysostome in the sermon of the treason of Iudas, confesseth that the bread is changed.

D.Martyr. It is not now my turne to answer. When you oppose me, I will answer to that which you obiect out of Chrysostome. Howbeit, in the meane time, because I will not seeme to be too precise, I hold with Chrysostome, that the bread is changed, but yet into a sacrament; but that the substance of bread is done awaie, that do I denie, neither shall you euer proue it out of Chrysostome. Yea and Cyrill saith; Euen in the bread we receiue his pretious bodie; and in the wine, his bloud.

D.Tresham. We receiue it in the bread and wine; that is to wit, in the shewes of bread and wine.

D.Martyr. What do you call the shewes of bread and wine?

D.Tresham. The accidentall formes of bread and wine.

D.Martyr. Assuredlie you haue not this signification from the fathers; for they by *Species*, that is, forme or kind, vnderstand the verie natures of the things, not the accidents. Ambrose, in his booke *Eorum, qui initiantur mysteriis*, the last chapter; Wot ye not if the fyer of Elias were of so great force, as it could fetch downe fire from heauen; shall not the sauing of Christ be forcible, touching the kinds of the elements? He treateth of a sacramentall change. Wherefore, if he should meane the kinds to be the accidents, it would follow, that the accidents should be changed in the Eucharist; but that doth the sense denie. Againe, this father in the same chapter; Before the plessing of the heauenlie words, another kind is named; after consecration the bodie of Christ is signified. And Augustine vpon Iohn, the 26. treatise; One thing did they, and another thing we, but yet in a visible kind, which neuerthelesse signified all one thing. And he speaketh there concerning the difference of the sacraments of the old and new lawe. And euen the verie same in a maner is said by Augustine, in his treatise *De catechizandis rudibus*, the first booke, and 16. chapter.

D.Tresham,

D.Tresham. The fathers call the forme or kind, sometimes the substance, and sometime the accident; for it is an ambiguous word: and that which the scriptures call bread, and the fathers also name bread, we call the kinds or forms.

Here it seemed good vnto the Visitors, that wee should dispute in the second question.

D.Martyr. We denie the bodie and blood of Christ to be in the bread and wine carnallie and corporallie, or substantiallie and realle, as ye saie it is; or vnder the formes of bread and wine. And this will I proue out of the scriptures. In the last of Marke; The Lord Iesus after he had spoken vnto them, was taken vp into heaven, & sitteth at the right hand of God. In the 26. of Matthew? The poore shall ye alwaies haue with you, but me shall ye not haue. In the first of Iohn; I leaue the world, and I go vnto my father. Manie shall saie in those daies; Behold here is Christ, or there is Christ, beleeue them not. In the third of the Acts; Whome it behoueth the heauens to hold, vntill the time of the restitution of all things. And vnto the Colossians the third chapter; Seeke ye those things that be aboue, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God. Since therefore it appeereth by these sayings, that Christ, being taken vp from hence, liueth in the heauens; and that it is not agreeable to the nature of a true humane bodie, to be in manie places at once: it followeth, that the bodie of Christ is not reallie in the bread or wine.

Mark.16,19

The scriptures testifie that Christ departeth from vs in bodie.

Matt.24,23

D.Tresham. I denie that it cannot agree to any humane bodie, to be in diuers places at once: for the holie scriptures teach the contrarie, that Christ after the ascension, was with his apostles euen according to his humanitie. In the first epistle to the Corinthians the 9 chapter, Paule saith; Did not I see the Lord? And in the 15. chapter of the same epistle, And last of all he was seen of me, as of one borne out of time. And in the ninth of the Acts; Saule, Saule, why doest thou persecute me? And againe; I am Iesus whom thou persecutest. And a little after, Ananias said; Brother Saule, the Lord hath sent me, euen Iesus which appeered to thee in the waie. And Barnabas said after ward vnto the apostles concerning Saule, how he in the waie had seene the Lord, and that he had spoken vnto him. During the which time it behoueth to beleeue, that Christ was in heauen at the right hand of his father, bicause it is an article of the faith: and yet neuertheless he was then vpon the earth in visible forme. Wherefore you haue concluded nothing; and herein well may the bodie of Christ be in the sacrament vnder an inuisible forme, when he was otherwhile in the earth in a visible forme, as we haue proued. Wherefore your reasons do not conclude.

When Christ appeered vnto Paule he was in heauen.

D.Martyr. The answer doth not suffice: for how knowe you that Christ appeered not vnto Paule, abiding in heauen, according as he was seene of Steeuen, sitting at the right hand of God? Yea and Augustine vpon the 54. psalme saith, that the head, which was in heauen, cried for the bodie which was vpon the earth, and said; Saule, Saule, whie doest thou persecute me?

Acts.9.4.

Moreouer, was not Paule rapted into the third heauen, when he had power to see Christ? The which he testifieth vnto the Corinthians. For therefore onelie saith, that he saw Christ, but speaketh nothing of the place or time. Indeed, he appeared vnto Paule as he was in the waie, and while he was in the waie did speake vnto him: neuertheless (as I haue said) he might do this remaining in heauen, and frame a voice from thence which should be heard vpon the earth. Furthermore, put the case that the Lord exhibited himselfe to be seene of Paule, vpon the earth, you shall not be able to shew that he was in heauen at the selfe-same time. We beleeue the article of our faith, to wit, that he was assumpted into heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of the father, but that he cannot sometime transferre himselfe from thence and appeere to whome he will, that are not we bound to beleeue. It is inough to confesse, that he hath his proper mansion in heauen.

D.Tresham. Whereas Augustine saith, vpon the psalme, that Christ was in heauen, when he cried, Saule, why persecutest thou me? it is agreeable to my opinion. For it signifieth that he was at one time, both in heauen and in the earth; or else I answer, that the heauen is meant by him to be thaire, where perhaps Christ was when he cried, Saule, Saule, why persecutest thou me? And that the aire is called heauen, the scripture testifieth, when it saith, The foules of heauen.

D.Martyr. Whereas you do saie that Christ according to Augustines iudgement is in both places; to wit, in heauen and in earth, you learne not that of him; nate rather he theweth himselfe elsewhere to be of an other mind. And to appoint Christ to hang in the aire is an absurditie, and you seeme thereby to make him a foule of the aire.

Gen.1.30.

Iob.28,21.

Psal.8,9.

D.Tresham. I make not Christ a foule of the aire, for then should he be such a one when he hong vpon the crosse.

D.Martyr. No verelie: for he was then fastened to the crosse. But let these toies passe. If we will see what Augustines iudgement was as touching this matter; let vs consider his epistle vnto Dardanus; where he wrote as concerning the glorified bodie of Christ, that it is in some certeine place, bicause of the measure of a true bodie. The question was propounded vnto him, how the theefe was with Christ in paradise that same daie wherein he died, as he promised he should be: And he answereth, that if for paradise, we vnderstand heauen, it was not so as touching his humanitie; bicause his bodie was in the sepulchre, and his soule in the nethermost places: wherevpon he decreed, that this should be vnderstood as touching his diuinitie. And thereby I gather this argument: If Augustine durst not admit vnto the soule of Christ to be at one time both in hell and in heauen, much lesse must it be granted vnto his bodie.

If Christ might be in manie places at once, he may also be euerie where.

D.Tresham. I saie with Augustine; Distribute the times, and the scripture agreeth. Three errors did Augustine impugne at that time: one is of those men, which did take the word, that is to saie, the Godhead in place of the soule of Christ; another take the word for the mind of the soule of Christ; the third was of them which made the bodie of Christ to be spread euerie where. Augustine therefore in that place, speaketh of the bodie of Christ, so far forth as it hath a visible forme: and after that maner he saith, that it is onelie in heauen; vnlesse that at anie time it do miraculoulie happen otherwise. Yeabeit, he is in the sacrament, according to an inuisible forme: according wherevnto Augustine beleeued, that it is in diuers places at once; for euen in the selfe-same epistle, he maketh mention of our sacrifice. Neither is it to be doubted, but that Christ doth offer himselfe visible, and againe inuisible, euen as pleased him. As in the fourth of Luke; When he withdrew himselfe from the multitude, & went through the middest of them, & on the mount Thabor he shewed his glorified bodie. And therfore vnto Augustine I answer, that much rather now, he doth these works at his owne pleasure.

D.Martyr. You haue gathered manie things togither, but yet can it not be gathered of all these, that Augustine would haue the bodie of Christ to be in manie places at once. Albeit he made mention of our sacrifice; that was for an other cause, neither doth it belong vnto this article, as may appeare vnto them which read it. Yea rather, he referreth our sacrifice to the vnitie of the mysticall bodie, and maketh no mention at all of the flesh or blood of Christ himselfe. Neither taketh he in hand to confute the error touching the soule or mind of Christ. Maie rather he supposeth that Dardanus was not intangled with them. And it appeareth how greatlie he writeth there against you, sith he will haue no accidents; if the subiect be wanting; nor bodies, if you take place awaie from them. And vndoubtedlie, if he did make for your part when he wrote these things, it behoued to except the Eucharist. Besides all this, if we should grant that anie bodie may be in manie places at one time, it must be granted, that it can also be in all places: and that likewise did Scotus saie. Yeabeit, as I haue alreadie affirmed, it standeth as yet firme by the saieng of Augustine, that bicause of the measure of a true bodie, the bodie of Christ requireth a place certeine.

D.Tresham. And yet if God will, it may be in manie places, yea euen in so manie as he himselfe will. Neither must it be ascribed to anie want of diuine power in him, which includeth not anie contradiction in the termes.

D.Martyr. There is no part of the diuine power diminished by me, although I haue spoken after this maner. And I speake of the power of God with all modestie: but yet there be manie things which therefore cannot be done, bicause the nature of things doth not permit, being such as are mere contraries, and (as it is said of you) do implie contradiction, and this must not be imputed to an infirmitie in God. Yeabeit you haue not proued, that there is here no repugnancie of the termes (as you speake:) onelie you saie it.

D.Tresham. Here there is no difficultie on the behalfe of the things: for Paule distinguisheth betweene a naturall bodie and a spirituall bodie. But the bodie of Christ is spirituall: and hereby is taken awaie all the difficultie on the behalfe of the thing. And not onelie is the bodie of Christ spirituall: but euen so shall our bodies be after the resurrection.

D. Martyr. I knowe, that the bodie of Christ is spirituall: but Augustine saith in an epistle to Consentius; It is ment that a naturall bodie is said to be like vnto other liuing creatures, bicause of the dissolution and corruption of death; but a spirituall bodie is so called, bicause it is now immortall with the spirit. And a little after; Therefore as a naturall bodie is not a soule, but a bodie, so we must thinke that a spirituall bodie is not a spirit, but a bodie. And in his treatise *De ciuitate Dei*, the 12. booke, and the 20. chapter; Yeabeit, bicause it shall be subdued to the spirit, by an excellent and wonderfull easinesse of obeieng, euen to the accomplishing of the most assured will of immortalitie, which cannot be dissolued. And a little after; Euen as the spirit

spirit which serueth the flesh, is not amisse called carnall, so the flesh seruing the spirit, is called spirituall, not that it is changed into the spirit. You heare what things are spoken of a spirituall bodie, among the which we find not, that it is in diuers places at one time. For it is euen as repugnant to the nature of a bodie, to be in diuers places at once, as it is to be no bodie.

D. Tresham. I denie your minor proposition, that it is as repugnant to the nature of a bodie, to be conuersant in manie places at once, as it is to be no bodie; for this latter includeth contradiction of the verie termes, and so doth not the former. And more readilie may this be done in a bodie, which hath the properties of a glorious bodie.

D. Martyr. I will proue anon, that it is against the bodie of Christ, being definit, and circumscribed by limits of place, and a creature, to be in manie places at once. But as touching the glorie which he now hath, I saie I do not exclude the gifts of glorie. Howbeit, I will prosecute the argument in hand; to wit, that Augustine ment not, that the soule of Christ was at one time both in hell and in heauen with the theefe: much lesse therefore shall this be granted to the bodie, which is not attributed to the soule. Neither in that treatise doth Augustine exclude the Eucharist.

D. Tresham. Yes verelie, he did exclude it.

D. Martyr. Augustine made mention there of the Eucharist, but intended a far other matter than to exclude the same from the truth determined. For he disputed of the holie Ghost, how he being one, distributeth his gifts without diuision of himselfe, that he maie adorne with his graces, the mysticall bodie of the church, which mysticall bodie of Christ, he saith, is set forth in our sacrifice.

D. Tresham. What if Augustine denie that the soule of Christ cannot be in diuers places; therefore can it not be? Shall the saieng of Augustine diminish the power of God, that it shall not do as it will? No, it shall not diminish it.

D. Martyr. It shall now suffice at this present, that we haue seene Augustines iudgement, that Christ as touching his humanitie, & because of the quantitie of a true bodie, is in heauen; but as touching his diuinitie, euerie where.

D. Tresham. When Augustine saith: Christ, in that respect that he is man, is in heauen, vnderstandeth that to be true as touching visible forme: for so he expounded himselfe in that place, saieng; I he shall come according to that voice of the angell, euen in such wise as he was seene go into heauen, that is (to vse his owne words) in the same forme of flesh; according to this forme, he saith, he must not be thought to be dispersed euerie where. Afterward Augustine maketh mention there of our sacrifice. And at that time no man doubted of the truth of the sacrament.

D. Martyr. You shall neuer find there out of Augustine, that the bodie of Christ by an inuisible forme may be in manie places [at once:] this is of your owne deuise. And I haue now shewed to what end he made mention there of the Eucharist. Moreouer, we do not dispute here of the truth of the sacrament, which we all confesse; but we contend as touching the maner how Christ is there. And I will shew most assuredlie, that it is in God alone to be in manie places, and euerie where at once, and that it must not be granted vnto creatures. For by this reason doth Didymus, in his first booke *De spiritu sancto*, proue the Godhead of the holie Ghost, because he was ableto be in many places at one time, which can be no condition of anie creature. And the verie selfe-same reason made Basil, in his booke *De spiritu sancto*, chapter 22. Wherefore if these mens arguments should be of anie strength, it would be concluded, that the humane nature in Christ is the diuine nature, seeing it is affirmed of you to be in manie places at once, and so all things would be confounded. But now let vs heare their words. Didymus saith thus; The holie Ghost himselfe, if he were one of the creatures, he should at the least-wise haue a substance circumscriptible, or within limitation, euen as haue all things that be made. For albeit, that the inuisible creatures are not limited within place and bounds; yet are they bounded by the propertie of their substance. But the holie Ghost, sith he is in manie places, hath no limited substance. For Jesus sending forth the Preachers of his doctrine, replenished them with the spirit, and breathing vpon them; Receiue ye (saith he) the holie Ghost, and go yee forth and teach all nations: not as though he sent them all to euerie nation. Neither in verie deed did the apostles trauell together vnto all nations; but some into Asia, some into Scythia, and others were dispersed into other nations, according to the dispensation of that holie spirit which they had. After what maner also we haue heard the Lord saie: I am with you euen vntill the end of the world. Herewith all likewise agreeth that saieng; Ye shall receiue power of the holie Ghost, when hee shall come on you; and ye shall be witnesses vnto me both in Ierusalem, and in all Iudæa, and in Samaria, and vnto the vttermost ends of the earth. Now then, if these apostles for the testimonie of the Lord

It is onelie God that can be in manie places at once.

John. 20. 22.

Act. 1. 8.

Lord, being placed in the vttermost confines of the earth, were distant in most far places one from an other, & yet that the holie Ghost dwelled in them, hauing a substance which cannot be bounded or limited, it is an euident token that the power of angels is far other than this is: seeing (for example sake) the angell which was present with the apostle, when he praied in Asia, could not at the selfe-same time be present with others, which were placed in other parts of the world. But the holie Ghost not onelie is at hand with them which are separated one from an other, but also remaineth an assistant to all particular angels, principalities, thrones, dominations; and as he sanctifieth men, so is he of an other nature than men be of. Basil in his booke *De spiritu sancto*, the 22. chapter; Therefore as touching the holie Ghost, whom the world cannot receiue, but may be seene onlie of the saints, through a pureneſſe of hart, what are we else to iudge of him, but that all honour belongeth vnto him? All other powers are beleeued to be in a place limited. For the angel, which stood by Cornelius, was not in the same place, wherein hee stood with Philip. Neither yet the angel, which spake vnto Zacharie from the altar, did for that time also fill his station in heauen. But the holie Ghost all at one time both wrought in Abacuk, and was beleeued to be in Daniel at Babylon, and was with Ieremie in the dungeon, and with Ezechiel in Chobar: for the spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world. And againe; Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Or whither shall I flie from thy face? Also the prophet; Because (saith he) the Lord saith among you; And my spirit standeth in the midst of you. But of what nature must we beleeue that he is, who is in euerie place, and who is present with GOD? Whether of a nature that comprehendeth all things, or else that is tied vnto particular places? Such as the sonne of GOD shewed the nature of angels to be. Howbeit, this thou wilt not saie. Here you may perceiue, that these most holie & learned men do decree, that euerie creature, yea euen angels be of a limited nature, and that they cannot be in diuers places at one time. And by this meanes they proue the diuinitie of the holie Ghost, because he may be found at one time in diuers and sundrie places. Let vs contriue the matter into the forme of an argument; Whatsoeuer is in manie places at once, the same is God; The bodie of Christ is not God, but a creature; Therefore the bodie of Christ is not in manie places at once.

Gir angels cannot be in manie places at once.

Psal. 138, 7.

Agge. 2, 6.

D. Tresham. I did not affirme that the bodie of Christ is euerie-where, although it may be in diuers places at once. And albeit that the bodie of Christ assumpted be not GOD, yet is Christ, God. And as touching Basil, Didymus, and Augustine, they speake onelie of that, which of his owne proper nature is euerie-where, or in manie places at once; and that they proue to be God: but yet do they neuer abridge the power of God, but that another thing than God may by his power be in diuers places at one time.

D. Martyr. When it is auouched that it can be together in manie places, by the like reason it is appointed to be euerie where. And where as you saie, that these fathers do speake of that, which in his owne proper nature may be in manie places, and do name such a thing to be God; and yet that they denie not, but that anie thing, which is created, may by the power of God be in manie places at once: it is not true. But this rather ouerthroweth their argument concerning the holie Ghost. For if the holie Ghost haue beene in manie places at once, the heretike will saie; This was by the power of God, not by his owne proper nature. And so by this reason it should not be proued, that he is a thing not created. And therefore, for the proofe of this matter, it behoued them to vnderstand absolutelie, that whatsoeuer is in manie places at one time, is God.

D. Tresham. Christ is God, and that is sufficient for vs.

D. Martyr. But yet (saith Augustine) we must beware, that we do not so build vp the diuinitie of Christ, that we destroie his humanitie.

D. Tresham. I saie that the humanitie of Christ is not destroied, by ascribing vnto him a multitude of places. For seeing he himselfe is omnipotent, he may, if he will, euen according to his bodie, be in manie places at one time.

D. Martyr. The question is not, whether Christ be omnipotent, or God; for both of these do we confesse: but it standeth in this, whether his bodie may be at one time in manie places; which these fathers denie can be said of anie creature: but you affirme it of Christs bodie, the which neuertheleſſe, is a creature. Wherefore I demand of you, whether the bodie of Christ be circumscribed or no?

D. Tresham. To be short, it is wheresoeuer it will, and it may be in manie places at once.

D. Martyr. Then heare what Cyrill saith in his dialogs of the Trinitie, the second booke, pag. 245. If the diuine nature should erulie, as they saie, receiue diuision and partition (as they saie it doth) it would be vnderstood to be a bodie; and if a bodie, then to be altogither in a place, both in bignesse and quantitie. And if it should

be

be of quantitie, then might it not chose but haue limit or bound. See then to how small purpose you delate to grant me, that that bodie of Christ is within limits, seeing that Cyrill euidentlie saith, that the diuinitie it selfe should be within limits if it were of quantitie. And so this argument is inuincible; Whatsoeuer is within limitation cannot be in manie places at once. This proposition would the fathers now haue cited. Hereunto adde the *Maior*; The bodie of Christ is bounded within limits. For seeing it hath quantitie, it cannot chose but haue limitation, & that did Cyrill now testifie; Wherefore it cannot be in manie places at one time.

D. Tresham. The *Maior* is vnderstood of grose bodies, not of glorified bodies. How can that bodie be closed vp in anie place, which rose vp, the sepulchre being fast shut, and entered in when the doores were closed?

D. Martyr. This did I earst while teach out of Cyrill; that if the diuinitie it selfe were of quantitie, it should be circumscribed: seeing therefore it doth not exclude God, much lesse doth it exempt glorified bodies, sith there is nothing more glorious than God. Neither is there anie need now to obiect against me, either his comming forth, the sepulchre being shut, or his going in when the doores were fast. The place will serue to speake of those matters, when it shall be appointed my turne to answer, and yours to oppose.

D. Tresham. Cyrill speaketh of a quantitie which hath the measure of quantitie, and after that maner he doth not restreine glorified bodies. Againe, we do grant that an accident may be in manie places at one time. As for ensample, health is one and the selfe-same in all parts of the bodie, and shall we denie this to the bodie of Christ?

D. Martyr. Cyrill could not more expresselie saie, & more diligentlie stop all shifts, when he said; that Euen the diuinitie it selfe also, if it were of quantitie, should both haue a place, and be bounded within limits. And as to that which you answer me as touching an accident, namelie, of health; the reason is not alike in both: for health is a qualitie, not a bodie; neither doth it occupie a place, and is one and the verie same, according as the bodie of the liuing creature, wherein it is said to be called one. But the health of one and the selfe-same liuing creature, is not the selfe-same in another liuing creature: for qualities haue their subiects according to the places; and it is impossible for them to be the same in number, at one time in diuers subiects: but all the parts of a liuing creature be the verie same in subiect, and one by the knitting together of members.

That an accident cannot be together in two subiects.

D. Tresham. The reason of Didymus doth proceed from that that is of it owne nature in manie places, and not otherwise. And all the Doctors agree, that Christ was borne, his mothers wombe being close; and that he rose, the sepulchre being shut, and that he went vnto his disciples when the doores were fast. And Hugo *de sancto victore* saith; that the angels are not circumscribed by place. Wherefore although the bodie of Christ be properlie in heauen, yet bicause it is spirituall, it is not repugnant to the power of God, but that it may be in manie places.

D. Martyr. Whether the fathers vnderstand their reasons touching that, which in his owne proper nature is in manie places, I haue alreadie answered. As touching the virgines wombe, the sepulchres, and the doores being fast shut, oppose you, and I will answer in place conuenient. As for Hugo *de sancto victore* and others, when they saie that angels are not conteined within the precinct of place, they must I saie be vnderstood as concerning locall compasse, whereby the bodies which are among vs are compassed about with the circumference of the aire, or some other thing conteining them. But these things cannot so be taken, that the angels or anie creature should be vnderstood to haue no definit substance, so as when they be in anie one place, they cannot be else-where. And so I return to the argument: it is a firme conclusion; This thing is in manie places, Therefore it is the Godhead.

D. Tresham. I answer: Christ is God; and now the speach betweene vs is as concerning the bodie, which hath the Godhead ioined therewith.

D. Martyr. I demand of you: Is the bodie of Christ a thing created or no?

D. Tresham. I grant it is; but Christ is no creature.

D. Martyr. But I saie that Christ is both; to wit, a creator and a creature. As touching his Godhead, he is a creator; and as touching his humanitie, a creature: and if a creature, as these fathers do affirme, he cannot be in diuers places at once. Christ by reason of his sundrie natures is both a creature and a creator.

D. Tresham. That which Christ tooke once vpon him, he neuer let go: and therefore bicause of his Godhead, which is inseparablie knit vnto his bodie; the bodie of Christ may be in manie places. Christ must not be diuided, but yet his natures must be vnconfounded.

D. Martyr. We likewise do not diuide Christ; and yet will we haue both his natures to be whole. And sith the Godhead doth not cause,

cause, but that the bodie of Christ is a creature, and yet haue now heard out of Basil and Didymus, that the powers created cannot be in manie places at once, you your selfe see what doth follow.

D. Tresham. They disputed of the nature of the thing, not of the absolute power of God: neither is reason or sense to be followed in matters of faith: otherwise manie absurdities would follow in matters of faith.

D. Martyr. I cannot tell, how they could haue spoken more apparantlie of the power of God: when as Cyrill doth not exclude euen the diuinitie it selfe, when he saith; If it were of quantitie, it might not chose but be circumscribed. And I acknowledge that which you saie; that in matters of faith we must not follow reason nor yet sense. Howbeit, it is no article of the faith, that the bodie of Christ is in manie places at once, sith the scriptures do not teach this anie where. Naie rather we learne otherwise out of them; to wit, that Christ is verie man, and that he hath a verie bodie; whereto is verie agreeable that it should be limited within bounds, and compassed within some certeine place. And touching his bodie, we beleeue that he is ascended into heauen, that he hath left the world, and sitteth at the right hand of the father.

The disputation of the second day, *which was the 29. daie of Maie*, betweene D. Peter Martyr, and D. *William Chadse*.

D. Peter Martyr.

I Thinke it not meet (right honorable) that I should vse at this present anie preface. For yesterdaie we declared those things which were thought good to be applied to the present purpose. And by your good foresight & authoritie it hapned, that all things were peaceablie and quietlie performed: which I hope this daie shall no lesse come to passe. Now maister Doctour as concerning the matter, you being present yesterdaie, might sufficientlie vnderstand what questions are propounded, & perceiue some reasons of mine opinion: wherefore to proceed in our purpose, I desire you to shew what you do iudge touching the questions; neither do I feare, but that all things shall be spoken of you, with indifferencie and modestie. Howbeit before you answer, you shall suffer me, according to my accustomed maner, to call for the helpe of God.

The Praier.

YEsterdaie, O almightie GOD, we began by thy gratious goodnesse to dispute: and since this daie also we shall proceed in that businesse, we call vpon thee againe, who art the fountaine of light, the most perfect truth, and the most cleere wisedome, that thou wilt so direct our words, that we fall not into absurdities; but rather, that those things which shall be handled, may both become more plaine, and also be set forth to the praise and glorie of thy name, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

The Preface of D. William Chadse.

GReat is the matter (right famous Doctor) and full of mysteries, which yesterdaie was handled, & this daie shall be handled. Great, bicause we dispute of the bodie wherewith we be satisfied, and do liue for euer: and of the bloud whereof we drinke, and which redeemeth the people; a thing full of mysteries: for vnlesse we beleeue, you shall not vnderstand; My words are spirit and life. It is the spirit which quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The Capernaites heare, and saie; This is a hard saieng, and who is able to abide it? The Christians heare and crie incessantlie with Peter; Thou hast the words of eternall life, we beleeue and knowe, that thou art the waie, the truth, and the life. We beleeue that thou diddest promise the holie Ghost, not which should come after one or two thousand yeares, but euen within a few daies after that thou hadst spoken it. We acknowledge the performance of this thy holie spirit, he shall lead vs into all truth, he shall teach vs all things whatsoeuer thou hast said vnto vs. Forsomuch therefore as thou art true, yea the verie truth it selfe; sith those things which haue gone forth of thy lips cannot be frustrate, I firmelie beleeue from thy mouth, and pronounce it from my hart, as touching the presence of thy bodie, in the most holie sacrament of the Eucharist; that no feined nor phan-

John. 6.

John. 6, 68.

tastically, nor imaginatiue, nor bare figuratiue bodie, but thy true, reall, substantiall, yea, and not to forbeare the grosser kind of termes, thy corporall, naturall, and carnall bodie is there
Matt. 26, 26. present; seeing thou hast said: Take ye, eate ye, This is my bodie, which is giuen for you, which is broken, deliuered, or shall be deliuered for you. But touching the maner how or after what sort it is there, whether with the bread, whether the elements be changed, or whether the bread as the schools-diuines speake, be transubstantiated, the holie scripture in plaine words hath not taught. But what, thou sayest, it saith it not in plaine words, therefore it hath not taught it. God forbid. Manie things haue I to say vnto you, which
John. 16, 12 ye cannot now beare. He hath taught: The
John. 6. bread which I will giue, is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world. He taught: He tooke bread in his hands, he gaue thankes, he brake the bread, and distributed it saying: This is my bodie: He taught it, yet some what obscurelie, he would not then be vrged, because he had not as yet ascended to his father. For ascended, he sent the holie Ghost; this holie Ghost exercised his office, taught the church, taught the Councels, taught the fathers all truth. Therefore giue eare vnto him, put your trust in him, he ouercommeth, and shall ouercome the world. Howbeit, since there is none of so happie a wit, of so firme a memorie, of so sound and perfect vtterance, but is easilie disquieted, either with the force of arguments; or with the outward shew of authorities, or with the obscurenesse of the fathers, in a matter otherwise most true; I desire pardon of you the kings maiesties most honourable commissioners, and I submit my selfe vnto you, if perhaps I utter anie thing which shall either be repugnant to the scriptures, or anie maner of waies disagreable to the lawes of this realme. And that we may happilie performe all these things, let vs with ioint praier call for the helpe of his holie spirit, who knoweth all things, and teacheth all things, saieng together after this maner: Come holie spirit replenish the hearts of thy faithfull ones, &c. Let vs praie: O God, which hast taught the harts of the faithfull by the illumination of thy holie spirit, &c.

Now then (most famous Doctor) I prepare my selfe to the questions propounded. But first (by your leaue) partlie for my owne instruction, partlie for that those things which yesterdaie were alledged by you, may seeme not to be assoiled, and partlie that they which be present should not be seduced, I will run ouer two or three authorities, which yesterdaie you brought forth. You argued out of Saint Cyprian: Euen as in the person of Christ is hidden the Godhead, &c. And euen as the Godhead and the flesh is one Christ; so the bread and the bodie of Christ do make one sacrament: I answer, that the similitude doth agree, not as touching the secret thing hidden; to wit, that euen as the Godhead is close hidden in the humanitie, and as it seemeth reasonable is close hidden in the bodie, so vnder the sacrament is secretlie hidden the bodie of Christ vnder the forme of bread. Other wise if it should hold likenesse and proportion in all things, it would follow, that Christ could not die; and that his soule was neuer separated from his bodie. For Annanias saith: Cyprian as the most reasonable and the wisest in vnderstanding, saieng the Godhead could not be separated from the manhood, that is to wit, neither could the bodie be from the soule, neither plucked asunder from the flesh by death. Iustice?

To Cyprian.

To Iesuites.

Ye shall see whom you alledge on your part, to be with Nestorius. For either doth it well conclude, or els it doth not. If it well conclude, then is he no Nestorian, wherefore he is none at all. Albeit he was charged of this heresie: he might therefore be denied, but yet he expounded himselfe: For manhood in the propertie of nature; that is, of the accidents and thinges of bread; it hath the tast of bread, it hath the power of nourishing, and other qualities of bread. And this sense doth Augustine vse in an epistle vnto Dardanus, vnder this word Substance, when he saith; He shall come againe (as the words of the angell testifie) euen as he was seene to go into heauen: to wit, in the same forme and substance of flesh. And as concerning that which Augustine saith to Dardanus; True it is that the bodie of Christ is in one onlie place, vnder the forme of man. You alledged moreouer Augustine in the sentences of Prosper, who saith, that a sacrament consisteth of two things, that is to saie, of a sacrament, and the matter of the sacrament. I answer, that the outward sacrament is that which appeareth to the eie: but the matter of the sacrament is the bodie of Christ. Beholde, Augustines mind is, that this sacrament standeth of two things; namelie, of the outward visible signe, that is, the shewes of bread and wine; and of the matter of the sacrament, that is, the bodie of Christ: and these things doo without doubt remaine. This is it which is gathered out of Augustine, for the same Augustine calleth it the same, and not the same. Theodoretus, albeit I haue not his booke, and that in Cyrill he is condemned with Nestorius, ye I saie is of the verie same mind that other of the fathers be, who when they saie, that the nature remaineth, they vnderstand the properties of the bread. And after that sort we refuse not Theodoretus, but we admit him; yet in this sense, that he alone be not repugnant vnto ma-

To Gelasium.

To Augustine Ad Dardanum.

To Augustine in Sententijs Prosperi.

To Theodoretus.

nie. And this is the rule, which you would to be obserued in interpreting of the fathers.

To Origin. I grant that to be true, which Origin hath vpon the 15. of Matthew, in the fragments: to wit, that this materiall thing goeth into the draught, yet neuerthelesse he interpreteth himselfe in another place; Sticke not (saith he) to the bloud of the flesh, but learne the bloud of the word: for if we liue without faith eate the flesh, or drinke the bloud, it profiteth not, but goeth into the draught; not the flesh it selfe, but the bread and wine. For the same Cyprian in his sermon *De lapsis*, saith; that the Lord doubtlesse departeth, when he is denied: and be addeth; When his comfortable grace, through our departing from a holie life, is changed into adhes. Irenæus (you
To Irenæus. saie) calleth it bread; and inuited before consecration it is verie bread: howbeit, when the word of God commeth thereunto, it is made the bodie of Christ; so as that creature goeth before the consecration. And in that (saith he) he confessed the cup, which is of the creature that is amongst vs, to be his bloud, he shewed, that by the wonderfull power of GOD, the bloud of our Lord is made of a creature, which is amongst vs. Neither must it be vnderstood, that it is togither both the bloud of Christ and the wine, but that a creature in respect of vs, is made bloud, after that the words be pronounced.

To Gregorie. Gregorie likewise *In regestro*, saith; that It may be made as well of sweet bread, as of leauened bread; not that he meaneth bread to remaine. Beside this, Epiphanius in *Anchorato* is
To Epiphanius. alledged by you: and that place doth most of all make for vs. Wherefore, I maruell that you made mention of Epiphanius. And for an answer it shall suffice to read his words. We see that our sauiour, as the Gospell testifieth, toke it into his hands, that he rose in the supper, and toke these things; & when he had giuen thanks, he said; This is mine, This and This: and we see that it is not equall nor like, neither to the image in the flesh, nor to the inuisible Godhead, nor yet to the fashion of the members. For this is of a round and insensible forme as touching the power, and yet would he by his grace saie; This is mine, This and This: and there is no man but beleeueth his saieng. For he which beleeueth it not to be true, euen as he spake it, falleth awaie from grace. And hereof it may be vnderstood, that whosoeuer beleeueth not the verie bodie to be there, he falleth from grace and saluation. Now to come to the matter propounded: I answer as touching the first question, that in the sacrament of the Eucharist, the bread and wine is changed in substance into the true bodie & the true bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, as touching those things, which were discoursed yesterdaie: and you haue indeuoured to frame somewhat a large answer vnto those matters, which I in the obiections, vsed against the other aduersarie. But now, if I would shew of what strength your answers be, the disputation would be exceeding long. Againe, since I haue other reasons, in the shewing wherof, this daies space (as I thinke) will not suffice, I giue you my word, that vpon that daie, wherein I shall answer you, I will repeate all these saiengs of yours, and will declare, of how small strength they be to weaken my part. And in the meane time, lest anie should slander me without cause, and by your words be moued to draw me into enuie, I protest, that we in the communion do receiue the verie bodie, and the verie bloud of Christ, but yet with the mind, and with faith. Neither do I affirme it to be a feigned or phantasticall bodie. But now onelie is called into question, after what maner the same true bodie, and true bloud is present in the Eucharist: I saie, spirituallie, and that we by faith do imbrace the same, and make it to be present. But you affirme, that we take it with the mouth and carnallie. And I wholie perswade my selfe, and know for a certeintie, that those things, which I haue spoken, do not tend to a diuision of the auditorie, as you accuse me, but vnto the teaching of the truth. But omiting these matters, let vs come to the handling of the question. In all sacraments there ought to be an analogie or proportion obserued and kept betweene the sacrament and the matter of the sacrament: which analogie Cicero calleth a conueniencie. And Augustine *De catechizandis rudibus*, would that a sacrament should haue a likenesse of the thing it selfe. And that both he also testifie vnto Boniface: where, because of this likenesse, he attributeth vnto the sacraments, the names of the things themselues. Seeing therefore the Eucharist hath for the matter of the sacrament both the bodie of Christ, and the mysticall bodie; ye which by transubstantiation take awaie the bread and wine, ouerthrowe the analogie, which consisteth therein; that euen as we be naturallie nourished by bread and wine, so by the bodie and bloud of Christ, we are nourished spirituallie, both in the outward and inward man. And as concerning the mysticall bodie, therein doth the similitude stand; that euen as bread and wine consist of much gathering and pressing together, that is to saie, of manie graines of corne, and manie grapes; so the mysticall bodie standeth of manie members, which growe by togither in one.

That an analogie must be kept in the sacraments.

Two kinds of analogie in the Eucharist.

D. Martyr. I haue heard you allege much

D. Chadsey. I denie the *Minor* proposition, that the substance of the bread being departed,

the analogie also is taken awaie.

That our bodies are not nourished by accidents.

D. Martyr. I haue proued it; for euen as our bodie is nourished naturallie by bread and wine, so spirituallie we be nourished by the bodie and bloud of Christ. And it is manifest, that our bodies are not nourished by accidents, but by substance.

D. Chadse. We take not awaie the analogie: for that consisteth in the matter, which is had before the consecration; for the word commeth vnto the element, and it is made a sacrament, and when consecration is finished, there remaine accidents, which lead vs by the hand to that similitude. And those outward things do suffice to shew that, which you seeke: and they be left though the great mercie of GOD, because we may not loath the bodie and bloud of Christ, if they should be shewed vnto vs without the shewes of bread and wine. And yet for all this conuenience it is not required, that the nature of bread and wine should remaine.

In baptisme is kept an analogie, because water remaineth.

D. Martyr. Your answer standeth vpon manie theese points; I will replie to euerie one by it selfe. First, whereas you saie; It sufficeth that it is bread and wine before consecration, by which substances we be nourished, it proueth not, but that in the sacrament it selfe the conuenience is by you taken awaie. For we speake not of the sacrament, when it is now a sacrament, where also we affirme, that the analogie must be kept. You appoint the same to be before the sacrament; and when ye come to the sacrament, you take it awaie, and so ye sinne against the sacrament. Doubtlesse in baptisme it fareth not after that maner: for by the water, wherewith we be commonlie washed, is signified the purging of the soule; neither is the water taken awaie. No; but it remaineth, and we are washed therewith: and if it were taken awaie, it should be no full sacrament. And therefore it is not enough to saie, that before consecration, there was a due matter extant. Againe, the saieng, which you alledge out of Augustine; The

If the word come vnto the element it doeth not thrust it out.

word commeth to the element, and is made a sacrament, doth make most of all against you: for he saith not; It thrusteth out the element, but it commeth to the element; and the meaning is, that the element it selfe is made a sacrament. The verie same mercie, which you saie is giuen vs by reason of the accidents, that in them may be hidden the bodie of Christ, least while it is seene, it should cause a lothing thereof; euen the same, I saie, we haue by the remaining of bread and wine. For accustomed natures are not loathsome to vs. And whereas you affirme, that the accidents or shewes do lead vs vnto that similitude, it doth not satisfie. First, because that, which you speake of accidents is a feigned thing. Secondlie, because that must remaine, which nourisheth vs naturallie: which accidents do not performe. For a sacrament must signifie the matter of the sacrament, but not a substance that had beene, which ye saie it hath cast awaie. Lastlie, you alledge no cause, why ye extrude the bread. Oftentimes yesterdaie did I aske, why? But could heare nothing: perhaps you will assigne a cause.

D. Chadse. First I answer, that it is not required, that bread should remaine in the Eucharist, as water doth in baptisme: for the nature of both sacraments is not alike; sith in this sacrament it is said; This is my bodie: but in that other it is not said; This water is my bloud, or my bodie. Further, it is not necessarie (as you argue) that the element should remaine after the comming of the word. And that doth naturall reason teach by a similitude. As in digestion there commeth a naturall heate vnto the meate now receiued, and changeth the substance thereof into fleshe; so in the sacrament, when the word commeth, it changeth the substance of bread into the true bodie of Christ. And whereas you demand, why we do take awaie bread, we answer: Because the holie Ghost foreseine, that there would come heretikes, which would saie, that in the sacrament there is bread together with the bodie of Christ, and that the substance of bread is the fleshe of Christ, and which would denie reall presence; because they labour to proue, that the substance of bread doth there remaine.

D. Martyr. Your answer standeth on three parts. The first is, that you do not admit a similitude betweene baptisme and the Eucharist: as if so be that I had argued from the like. I touched somewhat of baptisme by the waie: but the ground of the argument was, that a conuenient substance ought to be kept in the sacraments. And that, as touching the Eucharist is that, which nourisheth vs; which is done by the substance of bread, not by accidents. And yet do I not for this cause denie, that there ought not to be had the same consideration in baptisme, that is in the Eucharist: neither haue you shewed the contrarie. Also you contend, that Augustines saieng; The word commeth to the element, and it is made a sacrament, doth not make against you, as I shewed that it did. But I proue that it maketh against you, because he iudgeth, that the element doth remaine, and that the word is ioined therewith; and so of them is made the sacrament. And as for your similitude of naturall digestion, it serueth not to the purpose. For when the naturall meate commeth, the meate is conuerted into our substance;

when the holie Ghost teacheth doctrines of faith, the word maketh mention of it.

stance; which if it were absent, as ye exclude bread in the transubstantiation, we should not be sustained or nourished by anie meanes. Againe, that there is the same consideration to be had of naturall heate, that is of the words of consecration, you make but small proofe. Lastlie, as touching the cause that ye bring, why ye reiect bread; namelie, because the holie Ghost foreslawe, that there should come heretikes, which would saie that bread remaineth, or that the bodie of Christ is not reallie or substantiallie in the Eucharist; I saie that is a paine cause. For these heretikes, as ye call them, were the fathers, who saie that bread there remaineth. Further more, if the holie Ghost taught the church this matter, why do ye not bring forth the word whereby he taught it?

D. Chadse. It is not required that the matter should remaine in this sacrament, according to the substance: for as I haue said, the analogie may be had by the accidents which remaine. And moreouer, Augustine saith; not that the element remaineth, so the substance of bread is not retained, when digestion is past. And herof let Physicians and Philosophers iudge. Finallie I answer; the holie Ghost taught the church in the Laterane Councell, that we should confesse a transubstantiation.

D. Martyr. Vnto the latter part of your answer I replie, that I asked, by what word of God the holie Ghost taught transubstantiation. And you answer me; by the Laterane Councell, so the which we are not to passe what it hath decreed, vnlesse it haue iustified his decrees by the word of God. But this do I demand of you, seeing you confessed in you preface, that transubstantiation cannot expressedlie be proued out of the holie scriptures. Against the other point I saie againe, that vnlesse the matter or substance of the meate or bread should remaine in vs after the digestion, we could not liue. Indeed some part therof is cast forth by the draught and excrements; but on the other side, vnlesse that somewhat did remaine, we should not be sustained. But I will shew how wel this similitude maketh for you: In the naturall concoction, the substance or matter of the meate is retained, according to a due proportion, but the forme or accidents are done awaie. But ye on the contrarie part do cast awaie the substance and retaine the accidents. And hereof (as you also said) I would haue the Physicians and Philosophers to iudge. For in the nourishing of the bodie, I do not appoint anie forme of bread to remaine, but the matter, substance, and bodie of the same.

D. Chadse. I affirme that Councels must by all meanes be greatlie regarded, when they decree the word of GOD, according as it was done by the Laterane Councell, which I cited. For out of the Gospell you haue transubstantiation, although obscurelie, when it is said; This is my bodie. And we saie moreouer, that the accidents remaine, because of our infirmitie. And besides; euen as our flesh is made of bread when it is digested, the substance of bread not remaining; so of the element, when the word is ioined therevnto, is made the bodie of Christ.

D. Martyr. This is euen as much as to haue said nothing; sith you haue not as yet shewed, that the Laterane Councell decreed it out of the word of God. And I haue now often obiected, that the element must of necessitie remaine, if it shall be made a sacrament. And for hauing a consideration of our infirmitie, the substance of bread doth profit euen as much, and a great deale more, than doth the accident.

D. Chadse. I grant that which Augustine saith; The word commeth to the element, & is made a sacrament; and yet doth he not saie, that the element is made a sacrament.

D. Martyr. Let vs ponder the words; The word commeth vnto the element & is made a sacrament. What is made a sacrament?

D. Chadse. Not the element, nor the word, but some certeine third thing compounded of both, being another than either the word or the element is.

By the definition of a sacrament is proued that bread remaineth.

D. Martyr. A sacrament is the signe of an holy thing, & this is agreeable to an element, namelie, to be a signe. And all men do grant, that sacraments be made of the thing, and of the signe. For so much therefore as signification belongeth to the element, it is necessarie that it should remaine. And this do you grant before you be aware, when you saie that the sacrament is neither the element nor the word, but some third thing compounded of these. But how can it be compounded thereof, if it remaine not? And this do you plainelie perceiue to come to passe in baptisme, where we doubt not but that the water is an element, which seeing it doth signifie, it doth remaine.

D. Chadse. It is not of necessitie that the element should remaine in the Eucharist, as it doth in baptisme. This similitude I haue alreadie denied, and I denie it againe.

D. Martyr. I produced the argument from the definition of a sacrament, which in verie deed is a signe, and seeing the propertie of signifieng belongeth vnto an element, it must of necessitie remaine; vnlesse you will haue the nature of a sacrament to be destroied. And hereunto you answer nothing. And when I bring

in a similitude of baptisme, you perpetuallie denie the same; as though that Christ were not receiued of vs in both of these sacraments. There we be regenerated in Christ: here we feed vpon the selfe-same Christ. There we are baptised into one bodie, to wit, of Christ: here we haue bin made to drinke in one spirit, as it is said vnto the Corinthians: and in baptisme we put on Christ, as it is said to the Galathians. Wherefore these two sacraments be alike. Neither doth it cause that this similitude should be denied, bicause Christ said not; This water is my bodie, as he said in the Eucharist; This is my bodie. For it is not requisit for the making of these words true, that the nature of bread should be cast awaie; but although the same nature be preserued, yet is that most true which Christ said. Now then what constreineth you to extrude the bread?

1.Co.12,13. Gal.3,27.

D.Chadse. We are constreined by the words of Christ, for he saith; This is my bodie, and saith not; This water is my bloud.

D.Martyr. It is a wonder, that sith yée attribute so much to the power of God, as by it ye saie is made so manie and so great miracles in transubstantiation; whie also ye cannot or will not thereby perswade your selues that the substance of bread remaineth. But ye saie, that to this end, that the bodie of Christ may be giuen, ye are compelled to affirme, that the substance of the bread is changed. And this also was the diuels counsell, that Christ, if he would eat, should first change the bread into stones: as though that Christ by the power of God had not béene able to eate anie thing, and to be sustained by whatsoeuer it had béene. Wherevpon he verie well answered; Man liueth not by bread alone, but by euerie word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. As if he had said; I might also eate of stones, if I would, and there should be no néed to conuert them into bread. So then, if we may thought the power of God be nourished by euerie thing, whie also shall it not be lawfull with verie bread to receiue the bodie of Christ?

The aduersaries will not decree that by the power of God, bread can remaine and the bodie of Christ be giuen. Mat.4,4.

D.Chadse. We reason not of the power, but of the fact: for although it might haue béene done otherwise, yet was it so instituted by Christ.

D.Martyr. I speake this as touching the power of God, to shew that the same doth not let, but that the bread may remaine, and yet the bodie of Christ be giuen: for I beare it to be maruellouslie extolled by you, when ye decrée, that there be accidents without a subiect: and I thought that the verie same might be done; to wit, that in the sacrament, bread as well as the accidents might remaine: and againe, I did it, to the intent I might take out of you that necessitie there is to take awaie the bread. For as to that which ye speake of the fact, it appeareth not: sith the scripture doth not testifie that Christ would haue the bread to depart. Therefore it appeareth not as yet, that ye be compelled by the word of God to extrude the bread.

D.Chadse. The necessitie is out of the word of God, and it is conteined sufficientlie in the scriptures, namelie, in these words; This is my bodie. Againe; The bread which I shall giue, is my flesh, the which I will giue for the life of the world.

Iohn.6,51.

D.Martyr. These two things are not repugnant; to wit, that it is not the bodie of Christ and bread. For other sacraments also do kéepe the element, and yet haue the matter of the sacrament. And bicause you pretend the word of God; This is my bodie, I also haue often shewed, that to affirme it both of the bodie of Christ and bread, hath the word of God for it. Now then, if you pretend so much the word of GOD, whie do you not reteine both the bread and the bodie?

D.Chadse. I grant indéed, that the scripture doth speake of both, but I denie that sense which you make; for the word teacheth otherwise, and therefore the bread is not reserued herein. And to haue the bread present, doth derogate from the maiestie and power of God.

D.Martyr. That the word teacheth the bread to be present, I haue alreadie declared before out of the scripture: insomuch as Iesus tooke bread, blessed it, brake it, and gaue it, all which are referred to bread: and to haue bread to be present, is by no meanes anie derogation to the power or maiestie of God.

It doth not derogate from the maiestie of Christ, to haue bread present.

D.Chadse. I denie that Christ gaue bread, but he gaue his bodie; and that which he maketh demonstration of, was bread at the first, but by consecration it is made the bodie.

D.Martyr. The scripture is verie plaine, which saith; that Christ not onelie toke, but also gaue. What did the Lord take? What did hée breake? What did he giue? You can make no other answer, but bread, if you will reteine the grammaticall construction.

D.Chadse. He gaue his bodie; and a déed done, is recited of the Euangelist, not a maner and order of doing.

D.Martyr. I denie not but that both are giuen, as well the bodie as the bread: but I vrge you who denie the bread, when as the grammaticall sense constreineth you, whether you will or no, to grant that he gaue bread. Neither is this word,

word, bodie, referred vnto those verbs; He toke, he blessed, he brake, and he gaue, but vnto these verbe *Est*, Is. Yet (as I haue said) I denie not but that the bodie of Christ is giuen: howbeit since the holie scripture hath both, to wit, as well bread as bodie: you ought to grant both. Wil let vs trie an other waie. Ye ellermore vse this propolition, This is my bodie, to prooue that bread must be excluded out of this sacrament; and yet is not that which ye would haue, necessarilie prooued hereby; for so much as ye take your argument from a dolibtfull thing. For if we shall bring in manie such like propositions, which be held for figuratiue, and as I may saie, significatiue kind of speeches, you cannot prooue but that this is of the selfe-same kind. It is written vnto the Corinthians; But the rocke was Christ. And Christ saith to his apostles; Haue not I chosen you twelue, and one of you is a diuell. And of circumcision; My couenant shall be in your flesh. And of Iohn; If ye will receiue him, he is Helias. Againe; When he had breathed vpon them, he said: Receiue ye the holie Ghost. And againe; I am the vine, I am the doore, Of Ioseph, Iuda said; He is our brother and our flesh. Paule said of Christ; He is our peace. And of our selues; Yee be the bodie of Christ. And it is written also; that He is a stone of offense, and a rocke to stumble at. And Paule affirmeth the Gospell to be the power of God to saluation. And in the scriptures it is diuerse times said, that The words of the Lord are righteousnesse, iudgement, and truth. And the same apostle testifieth, that The Gospell vnto the vnfaithfull is but foolishnesse. In the booke of Genesis; The seuen eares are seauen yeares, and the ten peeces of the clocke, are ten tribes of Israel, as Ahias the Silonit saith. Also the woman weareth vpon hir head τὸ ἐξουσίαν, that is, power. In like maner; The priest did eat the sinnes of the people. Againe, Christ for vs became sinne. The lambe or the sacrifice is the passeouer. And againe; Christ our passeouer is offered vp. And infinit other places, which in the holie scripture haue the like maner of speech, in the which account sith this sentence, This is my bodie, ought to be numbred, and is cited of you in a plaine sense, it concludeth nothing, since you leane to ambiguitie. And when ye say, that ye be herevnto compelled by the holie scriptures, you bring forth that sentence of GOD which is in controuersie, whose right sense neuertheles may appéere by other places.

1.Cor.10,4. Iohn.6,70. Gen.17,11. Matt.17,10 Iohn.20,22. Iohn.15,1. Gen.37,27. 1.Co.12,27 Heb.1,14. Rom.1,16. Phil.2.10,7. Pa.119, 86 and 142. 1.Cor.1,28. Gen.41,25. 1.Kin.11,30

D.Chadse. I denie that we leane to ambiguities. There is none but bo grant that there be manie figuratiue speeches in the scriptures, but yet we denie that all be figures. Neither is it a good argument: Here and there be figuratiue speeches, Therefore this also is a figuratiue speech. But wheresoeuer there is a figure, there be circumstance of the place the which it: but no circumstance is here that maketh demonstration hereof. And if so be that the verbe, Is, should be taken for, it signifieth, Christ should be no verie man, except by signification. And when it is said; The word was made flesh, we should interpret it, it signifieth flesh, and the word was not in verie déed made flesh. And whereas it is written, God was the word, we should interpret it, that he signified the word: and this all things should be confounded. Wherefore we conclude, that in this place there is no figure. Iohn.1,14.

D.Martyr. As touching Christ, whether he be God and man, there be extant most euident testimonies, whereby we are constrained to vnderstand absolutelie those sentences which you alledged. But that we should affirme in this place a figuratiue speech, we are lead by the words of the scripture, by the nature of a sacrament, and also by testimonies of the fathers. As touching the scripture, it is written there; Doo this in remembrance of me; and remembrance is not of things corporallie present, but of such as be absent. It is added; Vntill my comming: which is not agreeable, if he were alreadie come thither by consecration. And Paule said; The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of the bodie of Christ? But it agreeth not with the bodie of Christ to be broken, sith by reason of his glorie, it cannot possiblie suffer. And moreouer the Lord said, that they should take and eat; which without a figure cannot be vnderstood, if you refer it to the bodie of Christ: for it beseemeth not that he should be broken and grinded with the teeth, the which is done in true and proper eating. Moreouer ye your selues are compelled to admit a figure; for by your opinion well knowne, the bodie of Christ is not in the Eucharist, except after the words be vttered: so as the verbe, Is, cannot be vnderstood in his owne proper signification, while ye vtter the same: for it behoueth first that a thing be, before anie thing can truelie be spoken of the same. Besides this, in Luke, and in Paule, the words be spoken of the cup; wherein ye cannot shun a figure, when it is said: This cup is the new testament; which is nothing else, but, it signifieth the new testament. Againe, in the first chapter of Iohn: My words be spirit and life, the flesh profiteth nothing. And he made mention of his ascension. And thus much out of the scriptures; by and by I will speake of the nature of the sacrament, and of the fathers.

D.Chadse. I answer, that those words,

wordes: This doo in remembrance of me, and till I shall come, do not argue a figure. It is no good argument; Somwhat is done in remembrance of a thing, therefore it is nothing, or it remaineth not. Christ thought rather by those wordes to commend vnto them the action which was then done before them, that in verie deed they might do that which they saw he had done. And whereas you adde; Vntill I shall come, it must be vnderstood as touching his humane forme, wherein he shall come to iudge: for this sacrifice shall not cease vntill the end of the world. And vnto those things, which you haue spoken of breaking, thus I answer; that the bodie of Christ was trulie broken vpon the crosse, when his side was opened with a speare, and he is broken euerie daie spirituallie in the sacrament, when we set forth his death.

D.Martyr. There is no man doubteth, but
1.Co.10,16 that Paule, when he said; The bread, which we breake, is it not the participation of the bodie of Christ? signified that same visible breaking of the signes, and distribution of the sacrament, which we see to be done in the Lords supper. And whereas you saie, that there may be a memozie of a thing which remaineth, therein you are deceiued; bicause the nature of memozie is, that it must be of a thing alreadie past, or which at the leastwise is not present: naie rather, the presence of a thing, and the remembrance of the same haue betweene them a flat contrarietie. I demand of you moreouer, why he named his ascension? Was it not to let vs vnderstand that he must not be eaten carnallie?

D.Chadse. Therefore did he speake of his ascension, bicause he trulie ascended into heauen, and is there trulie; not as though his verie presence were not here also, not indeed to be deuoured, but to be receiued and eaten, according to his commandement.

D.Martyr. Trulie it should haue beene nothing to the purpose to haue mentioned his ascension, vnlesse he ment to note, that he spake of that kind of eating, which the absence of a corpozall thing might not hinder. But now, that saie you at the length to that place alledged:
1.Co.10,16 The bread, which we breake, is it not the communion of Christs bodie? This, if you refer it to Christs bodie, is not broken: for this is agreeable to bread, and they do transfer it to the bodie of Christ by a figure.

D.Chadse. So must we vnderstand in that place, Bread broken, euen as it is there said; We being manie are one bread, that is to wit, figuratiuelie. For if bread in the former place should be taken for naturall bread, it should so likewise be taken in the place following, & so all

twe should be naturall bread, and our substance should be the substance of bread, if you will argue from the nature of bread in the first part.

D.Martyr. My purpose was onelie to shew, that you are not able to defend, that you in the communion do breake bread, when you take it awaie from thence, and especiallie if you take bread for the bodie of Christ figuratiuelie, as you your selfe do now confesse. For you will haue it to be vnderstood after the selfe-same manner, as when afterward it is said; Wee being
1.Co.10,17 manie are one bread: and yet you see that it can not properlie be fit for allegozicall bread to be broken. And thus for your transubstantiation sake, you be constreined to deuise there two figures: first, to vnderstand allegozicall bread in both the places; secondlie, to vnderstand Breaking figuratiuelie. And so you, which are against figures, do run continuallie into them. But for my part I vnderstand bread in that place properlie. And when it is said; We being manie are one bread, I interpret, in signification, not in substance. For euen as the bread is one, and consisteth of manie graines; or euen as it is one, and is done into manie parts, so twe in like maner are one, and also manie members: and thus I vnderstand the bread in both places after one maner. The figure is in the word *Sumus*, We be. Herwithall, if you will vnderstand The bread, which is broken, in like maner as afterward, when it is said; We being manie are one bread, you shall be compelled by a figure, to vnderstand the mysticall bodie. But how shall that be broken? And sith you be so readie with your figures, I see no cause why it should so much greeue you to admit a figure in the proposition, which twe haue in hand; to wit, This is my bodie. But as to the second, how will ye auoid a figure, sith a sacrament is here instituted, and vnto sacraments figures be most familiar?

D.Chadse. We do not here vtterlie denie a figure; for it is not bread that is handled, but it is called bread, and that by a figure; but yet in the sacramentall wordes, or wordes of consecration, we denie that there is a figure; bicause none of the circumstances do shew the same.

D.Martyr. How can you denie a figure to be in the sacramentall wordes, since it is plainelie said at the cup; This cup is the new te-
1.Co.11,25 stament, where if you grant a figure, why is it absurd, that the other part, which is spoken at the bread, should be figuratiue? And I wonder that you will acknowledge no circumstance in this place, since I shewed before of manie, which you dissembled and passed ouer.

D.Chadse. That which you speake doth not

not conclude. For here at the cup, the circumstance constreineth vs to confesse a figure, but nothing constreineth on the other part. Againe, whereas Luke and Paule speake figuratiuelie, the other two euangelists said flatlie; This is my bloud.

D.Martyr. Whereas you saie that Matthew & Marke saie absolutelie; This is my bloud, bicause those wordes also which are in Luke and Paul, howsoeuer they be put, must needs be true: which cannot be, if a figure be not admitted. And that there is a figure in the former sentence, not onlie the holie scriptures and the nature of a sacrament (as I haue said) but also the fathers haue confessed the selfe-same. Whie do you so earnestlie seeke to shun the figure? Doubtlesse Tertullian said; This is my bodie, that is, a figure of my bodie. Also Augustine vpon the third psalme said, that Christ gaue a figure of his bodie. And against Adamantus the Manichei; He doubted not to saie, This is my bodie, when he gaue a figure of his bodie: and Ierom saith with Tertullian; that Christ represented his bodie. And such testimonies innumerable there be, all which do shew, that they admitted a figure in the wordes which are spoken at the bread.

D.Chadse. True it is that Tertullian and Augustine saie, that it is a figure, but yet they exclude not the thing it selfe, so as both the figure and the thing figured should be all one. Euen as in the epistle to the Hebrues, The son
Heb.1,3. is the image of the fathers substance, & yet is the same that the fathers substance is. But if you will saie there; He is a figure of the fathers substance, therefore he is not the fathers substance: you plainelie see that the argument doth not hold. So in the present matter, to saie; It is a figure of the bodie of Christ, therefore it is not the bodie of Christ: is no good conclusion.

D.Martyr. How much that concludeth or not concludeth, I dispute not at this present, onlie this I affirme; that the fathers in that kind of speach, This is my bodie, acknowledged a figure, and that do their owne wordes shew, when they often inculcate a figure and representation. And Augustine in his treatise *De doctrina christiana*, and else-where most plainlie testifieth, that the speach of eating the bodie of Christ is figuratiue. And therefore what you denie, he plainelie affirmeth. And whereas you alledge, that a figure and a thing figured is all one, it is from the purpose we haue in hand: and yet shall you hardlie be able to proue the same.
Heb.1,3. Wherefore to the place in the epistle to the Hebrues, that the sonne is called a figure of the fathers substance; I saie that Paule doth there speake of the sonne, so far forth as he is man, and in this respect he is a figure, and not the substance of the father. For he hath it by the figure *Antonomasia* that he is the image of his father, and that doth more noblie agree with him than with other men. The words of th'epistle be these; At sundrie times & in diuers maners spake God Heb.1,1. in the old time to the fathers in the prophets, but in these last daies he hath spoken vnto vs in his sonne. But if you vnderstand [Sonne,] as touching his Godhead, God as well spake by him though the prophets in the old testament, as he spake to vs in our daies. But herein standeth the difference, that he did that now by his humanity which in old time he did not performe. Howbeit if you shall altogether vrge that this speach must be vnderstood of the diuine person, it should not yet proue, that the figure and thing figured is all one. For the Greeke words are χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, that is: The figure of his substance. And that which our interpretor absolutelie called substance, in Greeke it is ὑπόστασις. And seeing the person of the sonne is not the person of the father, verie well also may the son, as touching his Godhead, be called the substantiall figure of the father. Yet it followeth not therfore, that the figure and thing figured is all one: for betweene persons there is a reall distinction, as they call it.

D.Chadse. I answer, that this is common in the scriptures that the thing which is ascribed to the manhood, belongeth to the Godhead, Iohn.3,13. and to the contrarie. As for example; No man ascendeth into heauen, but he which came downe from heauen, euen the sonne of man which is in heauen; whereas notwithstanding the sonne of man descended not from heauen. And Paule saith; They would neuer haue crucified the Lord of glorie. And therefore Christ both according to his manhood, and according to his Godhead, is called the image of his fathers substance. For if this be agreeable vnto him by one nature, it may be attributed vnto him according to the other, by participation of the properties. And here vnto is added, that Christ as a meere man cannot be called the image of his fathers substance; for then should I and all other creatures be called images of the fathers substance: and therefore in that respect that Christ is a figure, he is also said to be the thing figured. And vnto Tertullian I answer, that he writeth against Marcion, who affirmed Christs bodie to be a phantasticall bodie: but he confessed the figure of an humane bodie to be in Christ, wherevpon Tertullian argued from the confessions which Marcion made. Thus he induced his argument; That which is phantasticall, hath no figure, as Marcion said it had; Therefore Christ had a true and no phantasticall bodie. And this

was

The place of Paule expounded.

The figure a common vse of the fathers.

Heb.1,3.

A figure in the words (This is my bodie) proued from the nature of a sacrament.

was Tertullians scope: and he reasoned so of necessitie to confound the heretike, & he gathered it violentlie. And so this in effect is Tertullians meaning. Marcion attributed vnto Christ a figured & phantasticall bodie, and yet in the sacrement he denied not the bodie of Christ to be, that is, the figure of his bodie. Hereof he argueth, that there is not a figure of a bodie, vnlesse there be a true bodie also; bicause there is no figure but of a truth.

D. Martyr. As touching the first: I neuer denied a participation of the properties in the two natures of Christ; whereby I grant that that which is said of the one, may also be attributed to the other: but pet I saie, it must be diligentlie examined, when such participations do come togither; of which nature that is spoken which wee here pronounced, as in both your examples it appeareth. For when it is said, that the sonne of man descended from heauen, we receiue that maner of speech: but yet we confesse that the same must be admitted as touching his Godhead. Againe, we confesse that the Lord of glorie was crucified, but we testifie that the same is attributed vnto him in respect of his humanitie. And so I in that place to the Hebrues, grant Christ to be an image of the fathers substance; but pet as the matter is there handled, I did affirme, that the same is spoken according to his humanitie; seeing before the redemption, GOD spake to the fathers in the diuinitie of Christ, but in these latter daies he spake by his sonne; namelie, when he had put vpon him the humanitie. Which saieng also, if you would needs haue it to respect the diuinitie, I sent you vnto the Greeke text, out of which you might well vnderstand the difference betweene the figure and the thing figured. But whereas you saie besides, that then he should be no more according to the image of GOD, than I or an other creature, I denie the consequent: for as he is among all men the most excellent, so likewise is he among vs the principall image of GOD. Neither said I, that this agreeth vnto him as he is mere man. For who seeth not, that vnto the humanitie of Christ, is not beseeming so great an excellencie as we see the same haue, vnlesse it be bicause it hath the Godhead ioined therewith? And as touching Tertullian, I acknowledge as you saie, that he argueth there against Marcion, but not after such a maner as you recite the argument: for he reasoneth with him by things manifest, & commonlie granted, wherein also an heretike durst not disagree from the common sense of the church; namelie, that this sacrament should be a figure of the Lords bodie. And he argueth; Of a thing phantasticall there is no figure, for a figure signifieth a true thing, but this sacrament is a figure of the bodie of Christ; and therefore the bodie of Christ is no phantasticall thing, bicause it hath this sacrament for his figure. And you ought to knowe, that to the end a figure should not be vaine, is required that the same represent some truth. And this is an easie and plaine meaning of Tertullians words. But that which you bring, that the collection is forced, & such like, they be strange speeches. And if Tertullian would haue argued after this maner, he needed not to haue produced the Eucharist, he might sufficientlie out of Marcions words haue proued that which hee went about, saieng; Forsomuch as thou graunt est, that that which Christ bare about him, was a figure, and but a shape of a bodie; and a figure cannot be but of some thing that is extant indeed, thereby it is proued, that it is a true bodie which Christ toke vpon him. So then a making mention of the Eucharist would be superfluous, but according to my allegation, it is manifestlie concluded. The Eucharist (as all men confesse) is a figure of Christs bodie, therefore the bodie of Christ is a true bodie, otherwise it shuld not haue a figure.

D. Chadse. I answer as before. First, that Christ, as he is mere man, can no more be said to be the image of his fathers substance than other creatures. And as touching the participation of the natures, the selfe-same Christ is both the figure and the thing which is figured. And to Tertullian I saie againe, it is a figure, and yet not a figure onelie, but the thing it selfe also: the words of Christ necessarilie enforce the same.

D. Martyr. I saie, that here is no constreint by the word of God, but that both may be granted; to wit, as well the bread as the bodie of Christ. But now will I shew (bicause you saie that it is not onelie the figure, but the thing it selfe withall) that this sacrament is a figure of a thing, which in respect of substantiall and real presence, is absent. Ambrose in his 4. booke *De sacramentis*, the fourth chapter: Euen as thou receiuest the similitude of death, so dost thou drinke the similitude of the pretious bloud. But there is no man doubteth that the death of Christ is not reallie present in this sacrament; and pet neuertheles it is said, that in such wise is drunke the similitude of the bloud, as the similitude of the death.

The Eucharist is a figure of a thing which substantiallie, corporallie, and reallie is absent.

D. Chadse. I am glad you attribute so much to Ambrose, he is altogither on my side, as it appeareth by those bokes of the sacraments, and euen by this verie chapter, and by these words which you recite. For he straitwaie addeth, that this similitude was giuen, bicause of the horrour of bloud: And if so be that those things which go before, & which follow, be weighed, it shall be perceiued, that he meaneth far otherwise than you alledge. For the scope of Ambrose is to teach, that in the Eucharist is represented the death of Christ: that euen as you beleue that Christ died for you, so by his bloud your sinnes are cleansed; but of a substance remaining of the signes there is no mention.

D. Martyr. You vaunt that Ambrose is wholie yours, that shall I afterward knowe in the obiections which you will make against me. But as concerning this place, he saith plainlie, that euen as the one is a similitude of his death, so the other is a similitude of his bloud. And hereby you haue it sufficientlie proued, that the substance of bread remaineth, when the thing which it signifieth is substantiallie and reallie absent: euen as we knowe that the death of Christ is not present, when we do communicate, except by shewing & remembring of the same.

D. Chadse. But he saith not that it is onelie a similitude: for in other places, he teacheth in plaine termes a naturall change of the bread and wine.

D. Martyr. I weigh nothing the word, onelie, whether it be or be not expressed, seeing it is plainelie enough conteined in the similitude alledged, that the thing it selfe is shewed to be absent. And the time shall serue to discusse this matter which Ambrose maketh, when I shall come to answer your obiections. Howbeit, that you may vnderstand how euidentlie the fathers acknowledge a figure in this place, I haue thought good to cite Augustin against Adamantus the Manichei. Christ doubted not to saie, This is my bodie, when he gaue a signe of his bodie.

Augustine saith, that Christ gaue a figure of his bodie.

D. Chadse. I acknowledge these to be the words of Augustine, and I will shew by what reason he was lead to write them. All the Manicheis were enimies of the old testament. And when we read in Deuteronomie; The soule is the bloud, this saieng Adamantus refelled, as though it had beene repugnant with the new testament. And he obiected against him; Feare ye not those which kill the bodie, but cannot kill the soule: Adamantus said; So often as the bloud is shed and troden vnder fot, so often doth the soule suffer these iniuries. If it be the bloud, whie should it not be rightlie said, that men cannot hurt the soule? Augustine answereth two maner of waies. First, that in Deuteronomie, the bloud is called, not the soule of a man, but of a beast. Secondlie, he saith; What if I should saie, that this after a certeine maner of speaking, is to be vnderstood euen of the soule of man, as Christ doubted not to saie; This is my bodie, when he gaue a signe of his bodie? And this ment he; that euen as secretlie in this signe lieth hid the reall bodie of Christ, so in the bloud, is the soule: and euen as the bloud is the signe of the soule hidden therein, so is the fome a signe of the bodie; and this signe, bicause of the presence lieng hidden, is called the bodie of Christ.

Deut. 12, 23

Mat. 10, 28

D. Martyr. This hath not Augustine; that the bodie of Christ (forsooth) lieth hid in the shewes of bread and wine; this is your owne deuise. You contended before, that the signe, and thing signified, is the figure, and thing figured are all one. But will you now saie, that the bloud is all one with the soule? Assuredlie, will ye, nill ye, they be two substances, neither is the one taken awaie by the other, as you affirme here to be done of the bread. And besides, when bloud is a signe of the soule abiding in the bodie, it behoueth that it be seene, and that it be saith of the liuing creatures bodie, and then doth not the soule lie hidden therein. And thereof must the saieng be, touching that which the scripture saith, that it should not be eaten; and that was separated from the bodie, for otherwise it cannot be eaten: and this is it that was then forbidden in the lawe, when these things were spoken. But let vs now passe ouer this, howsoeuer it be. Onelie this I haue to conclude, that the signe in this sacrament is not the thing signified, nor the figure the thing figured; the which neuertheless you did so earnestlie affirme before. For is the bloud, which is put for the signe of the soule, the soule it selfe? Euen so is it in that which Christ gaue; when as Augustine after this maner, saith, that it was a signe of the bodie of the Lord; it is as much the bodie of the Lord, as the bloud is the soule.

That the signe is not the thing signified.

D. Chadse. I answer, that the similitude tendeth not to that end, but rather to teach, that euen as the soule lieth hidden in the bloud, so is the bodie of Christ secretlie hidden in the shewes of bread and wine, and that is the scope of the text it selfe. For euen as in this visible thing is conteined the bodie of Christ, so in that visible thing is conteined the soule, but the similitudes do not concur in all points.

D. Martyr. You thinke that it hath most chiefelie respect vnto that which I said, so as he should affirme; that euen in such sort as the bloud is there the soule, so the bread is here the bodie. Augustine neuer speaketh, either of lieng hidden, or not lieng hidden. These words be afterward pieced to of your selfe. His meaning was to shew that the scripture hath a phrase, whereby it nameth a thing to be that, whose figure it was, although it be a thing distinct and diuers from the same.

D. Chadse. Albeit that Augustine doth not

not faie this, yet doth the similitude tend to this end: for the bodie so lieth hidden in the signe, as the soule doth in the blood.

D.Martyr. I do not see him here to giue an inkeling of anie other thing, but that this is the phase and maner of speech of the scriptures, to attribute vnto the signe the name of the thing signified.

The Commissioners commanded that we should dispute of the second question.

Whether the bodie of Christ be substantiallie & carnallie in the bread and wine, or vnder the accidents of bread and wine.

D. Martyr.

CHrist take bread, he blessed it, he brake it, & gaue it to his disciples, saieng; This is my bodie: I demand of you, whether that bodie were * passible or impassible? Passible it was not: for this hath Augustine vpon the 98. psalme; You shall not eate this bodie, which you see; neither shall ye drinke the blood, which they shall shed. Neither yet is it becomming, or can it be, that a bodie of such condition as ours is, and passible, should be cast into so small a peece of bread. But if you will saie, that the bodie giuen was impassible; first, that will not be eallie admitted, seeing Christ himselfe had not as yet an impassible bodie. Againe, the words of the euangelist are against that: sith it is said; Eate ye, this is my bodie, which is giuen for you. But it is manifest that the bodie, wherein Christ was deliuered, was passible. Nor must it be admitted, that one verie bodie was at one selfe-same time both passible, and not passible, bicause these things are quite contrarie one to another; and therfore he gaue not his bodie corporallie and reallie; for it could not be deliuered without one of these conditions.

* Whether it could passible suffer or not suffer.

Things meere contrarie cannot be togither in one subiect.

D.Chadse. I answer, that the bodie vnder the shew of bread was impassible. And we saie, that at one time, although in a sundrie respect, it was both passible and impassible. For these be accidents, the which in a sundrie respect may be present and absent togither. Doubtlesse contraries and things opposite require all one respect.

D.Martyr. I doubt not, but that these be accidents; but that contraries, or things contradictorie, can be affirmed all at once for one subiect, and at one verie time, that I saie is absurd. And whereas you saie, In diuers respects, that helpeth you nothing at all: for in relatiues this might be somewhat. Put the case it be all one, to be said at once the right hand or the left; great and little: if it shall be compared vnto diuers things it is true. But we dispute now as touching absolute qualities, that is to wit, of the state and condition of Christ's bodie, whether it be passible, or not passible; and these things we denied to haue beene both at once, and at one time, by reason of a contrarietie of the things. And the words of the euangelist do referre it to a passible state. For it is thrattoale added; Which shall be giuen for you.

D.Chadse. The relatiue Which, doth note the substance, that there is no other substance vnder the shewes of bread and wine, than that which shall be giuen for you, yet not a qualitie, I saie, passible or impassible.

D.Martyr. But forsomuch as you will haue here the relatiue, Which, to haue relation to a substance, and so the sense to be; This bodie which ye receiue, is a substance, euen all one with that, which shall be giuen for you; but a quantitie of yours being admitted, I demand of you, how you will expound vnto me the saieng of Augustine, which I auouched: You shall not eate this bodie which you see. Let the relatiue Which, be likewise vnderstood in this place in such wise, as it should haue relation to a substance, as you affirme it must be done in the euangelist, and you shall see what will followe; euen this verelie, that we do not eate Christ substantiallie: or else, if you would that in Augustine the relatiue Which should be taken the qualitie, you shall suffer me likewise so to vnderstand the words of the euangelist for a qualitie, and you must not denie me that, which you grant vnto your selfe.

D.Chadse. In Augustine, the relatiue Which, doth betoken a qualitie, not a substance. And this are we constreined to answer, bicause he speaketh of a bodie, which they salue: but there are not seene anie other than accidents; for the substance it selfe is not seene. Moreouer, those things, which Augustine speaketh, must be vnderstood spirituallie, not carnallie; as the Capernaits vnderstood, who thought that the flesh of Christ should be eaten, as flesh that is bought out of the shambles. And it is all one, as if it should be said; Ye shall not eate it in an humane shew, but vnder another forme; namelie, of common bread, least flesh should be odious vnto you.

D.Martyr.

D.Martyr. I heare much, but I vse not demand to manie things. The question was of this relatiue *Quod*, Which; for you will vnderstand it after your owne mind: sometime that it should betoken a substance, and sometime a qualitie. In the euangelist you applie it vnto a substance; in Augustine you refer it to a qualitie: and that you do for your owne aduantage, and one to that end that you may thist on argumentes.

D.Chadse. Therefore interpret it otherwise in Augustine, bicause the words must be taken according as they be set forth by the doctors. And seeing Augustine said; Ye Capernaits, ye shall not eate this bodie which ye see: I do necessarilie die vnto the accidents and qualities, which is betokened, bicause this is seene, but not the substance.

D.Martyr. This shift helpeth you not, for it followeth in Augustine: Neither shall ye drinke the blood that they shall shed which crucifie me. Here now he speaketh not of drinking the blood, but of shedding the same: and no man doubteth but that the verie substance of blood was shed, not onlie the accidents. And so there is no cause, but as you will your selfe, that the relatiue, which, should betoken the qualitie of substance.

D.Chadse. This was the meaning of Augustine: Ye shall not drinke my blood vnder that shew and forme, wherein the Iewes shed the same; but vnder a shew of wine in the sacrament.

D.Martyr. So do you interpret & expound him; and in the meane time you answer nothing for the libertie and the licence that you take, in the turning of these relatiues to your owne purpose. But I returne to the chefe point of the argument, wherein I said, that one and the same bodie of Christ both not suffreine at one and the selfe-same time, so contrarie qualities as is passible and impassible: and you fled vnto diuers respects. But how much that auaileth in this question of the bodie of Christ, heare what Vigilius saith in his fourth booke against Eutyches; Bicause that one nature alone receiueth not in it selfe anie thing that is contrarie or diuerse. But diuerse it is, and farre vnlike, to be bounded within a place, and to be euery-where: for the word is euerie-where, but the flesh therof is not euerie-where. Thus you see that this most learned father deniech, that it can agree with one onelie nature to be limited within a place, and not to be limited. Wherefore the one of these things so will haue to be attributed vnto the Godhead, and the other to the manhod, bicause the nature of man is not capeable of both. But if we should giue you place for your diuers respects, it were vnprofitable spoken of him. For some man would obiect vnto him; The humane nature of Christ is in one respect limited, as you do saie, thatlelie, as it is in it selfe; but as it is in the Eucharist, it is without limitation. Howbeit, bicause to be within limit without limitation, doth not take the passible and impassible, be absolute qualities, therefore in what respect soeuer you speake, one and the selfe-same bodie cannot beare both conditions togither at one time.

D.Chadse. I do not consell that the bodie of Christ is in diuers places localitie; but I saie, that he is in diuers places accidentallie: that is to saie, bicause the shewes, wherein he is contained, be in diuers places.

D.Martyr. It was not ment by me out of the place of Vigilius, which I cited, that we should now seeke whether the bodie of Christ be in diuers places at once, but onlie to shew, that he confirmeth that which I said; to wit, that it is impossible that one and the selfe-same nature should together at one time admit things that be contrarie; and that it doth not helpe which you said, that this is done in a sundrie respect: when as those contraries be absolute. Neither is the speach concerning relatiues, but nature it selfe is considered. Howbeit, bicause you slip from thence, and shew me, that you affirme the bodie of Christ to be in diuers places at once, and that not localllie but by accidents, bicause the shewes [of bread and wine] are kept in sundrie places. I come to you also in this point, and I saie, that your cause is not relieued at all by this distinction: for the bodie of Christ can neither localllie nor; yet not localllie be in manie places, sith it is a creature, & a thing definite. And you haue heard by verie weightie testimonies, that it is granted to no creature, no not vnto angels, to be in manie places at once; who neuertheselle are not in place localllie: for they are not corporall. Moreouer, you bring new matters, and such as haue not beene heard of, either in prophane writers, or in the holie scriptures; that a bodie is in some place, and yet not localllie: for this is euen as much to saie, as a bodie and yet no bodie.

D.Chadse. These things do therefore happen, bicause Christ in the sacrament hath no bodie that consisteth of quantitie.

D.Martyr. This was euen it that I looked for; to find you guiltie both of robberie & of sacrilege. For you do vnmiskie rob the bread of substance, and despoile the bodie of Christ of his quantitie.

Chadse found guilt of theft and sacrilege towards God

D.Chadse. Not onelie shall the bodie of

Christ, but our bodies also be glorified after the resurrection, and shall be immortall, and without quantitie.

D. Martyr. I cannot wonder sufficientlie how you speake this. Will you not perceiue, that by taking awaie quantitie frō an humane bodie, ye take awaie the bodie it selfe? For sith it is a liuing bodie, it hath instruments also, and it behoueth it, that it haue manie members and parts, the which cannot consist without substance and quantitie. And therefore it followeth verie well, that quantitie being taken awaie from an humane bodie, the bodie it selfe also is extinguished.

D. Chadse. I denie the argument.

D. Martyr. Where do ye then place the true bodie of Christ with his quantitie?

D. Chadse. He is in heauen as in place.

D. Martyr. Then yée do not appoint the verie bodie of Christ to be in the sacrament. For if he be there without a quantitie, it may indeed be a substance, but no humane bodie: for that consisteth of diuers parts and instruments, the which if quantitie be removed, they haue no place.

D. Chadse. We saie that in the sacrament is the verie bodie of Christ, but yet not in quantitie; nor yet as being in a place.

D. Martyr. If it be both without place and quantitie, when it is vnder your shewes, then shall it be a spirituall substance: for bodilie and vnbodilie substances are distinguished by the substance quantitatiue, and not quantitatiue; neither be spirits of dimensions, as bodies be. And this did Christ confirme, when he said; A spirit hath no flesh and bones.

D. Chadse. I admit the bodie of Christ to be some spirituall thing, bicause the sense doth not iudge thereof, as it may iudge of other bodies which be of quantitie.

D. Martyr. I speake not here of the bodie of Christ, as it is perceiued, or not perceiued by the sense; nor yet speake I of our capacitie, but I speake of that bodie as it is in it selfe. And I affirmed that it ought to be of quantitie, and that it hath a bignesse: otherwise it should be a substance without a bodie, and should vnlike be reckoned among the kinds of spirits.

D. Chadse. We intreate here of the presence of Christs bodie in the sacrament, which we affirme to be as touching the thing it selfe, and the substance thereof; and we passe not for the accidents of Christs bodie, that is, for the quantitie and proportions, whether they be present or not present. And as touching your argument, I saie it is but weake, saieng it concludeth not, to saie; This bodie is not vnder the selfe-same qualities and quantities, therefore it is not the selfe-same bodie. And Christ now in heauen hath not the same qualities which he had here: therefore he hath not the same bodie. The argument is not good. For if all those qualities which were in the bodie of Christ, should be required now in the sacrament, to this purpose, that it should be the selfe-same bodie, it would follow, that now in heauen is not the selfe-same Christ which was crucified. For now those qualities be not in him which he had vpon the crosse, where he shed his blood, and was passible. So then, his measure is changed, but he euermore remaineth the verie same.

D. Martyr. O good GOD! Here do you change all things, both the times and the accidents thereof we dispute. For who denieth here that the bodie of Christ may be successiuelie vnder diuers qualities, and that it is not required that he should alwaies haue the selfe-same? Who knoweth not now that he hath other qualities than he had vpon the crosse? That which we contended about before, was this, that at one time, a bodie cannot be passible & impassible, mortall & immortall. And now that we are in hand with the bignesse and quantitie of the bodie, I know not how you digrelled vnto qualities. You vrd answer, that therefore the bodie of Christ cannot be present locallie, bicause it should be of no quantitie in the Eucharist: against which opinion was mine argument, that a bodie naturall and instrumentall, such as it behoueth mans bodie to be, is taken awaie and altogither destroied, if quantitie be taken from the same. And hereunto hath beene no answer at all.

D. Chadse. As touching the qualities, which I saie are not requisit in the bodie of Christ, for testifieng the same to be all one; true it is, that I change the times, but you change also the maner. And it is euen all one of the maner, as it is of the time: wherefore if I offend in changing the times, you also offend in your argument by changing the maner.

D. Martyr. Of these things, which you speake, there is gathered no answer to the argument: for, as you speake, you decree that Christ is at one time in heauen, bounded in with quantitie, and in a place; but that he is in the sacrament without limitation, without quantitie, and without place: and so great contrarieties in their owne nature, Vigilius shewed might not be admitted. But if a diuersitie of maner, as you affirme, maketh it possible, that in nature, the selfe-same things being so diuers may be receiued together, and at one verie time, now hath Eutyches gotten the victorie; neither doth Vigilius conclude against him. For he will saie that the bodie of Christ, as touching himselfe, is bounded within limits, but as it passeth into the Godhead, it is without limitation; as touching his owne nature it is definite, but as it passeth into the Godhead, it is infinite: and so Vigilius laboured in vaine against him.

D. Chadse. No; but he rather taught this that I haue said: onelie he denieth manie places to a bodie, taken after one & the selfe-same maner. And without doubt, a bodie is one thing in substance, and an other thing in qualitie. But if one will demand whether quantitie be of the nature of substance, I suppose you will denie it.

D. Martyr. I would not be accounted so ignorant, as though I knew not the predicaments: I know that quantitie commeth after substance: but yet it followeth not, that those things which by a supernaturall reason be discerned one from an other; can, as touching their being, be severed in nature one from an other. Wherefore as yet the argument standeth strong of it selfe: A bodie which beareth life, forsomuch as it hath instrumentall parts, and members which are fit for a liuing creature, it cannot consist without quantitie and place certeine. But if you now obtrude an other maner (as you speake) it is a deuise found out of you, to thrist off this kind of argument.

D. Chadse. True it is as touching the bodie of Christ in heauen, that it cannot be without quantitie, and without his instrumentall parts, but I do not grant the same in the sacrament, where notwithstanding, he is all one as touching substance with him that is in heauen.

D. Martyr. These things which I haue brought are so manifest, as it is not needfull for me to labour anie more about them, vnlesse you bring forth some new matter.

Heere did Doctor Cartwright put foorth certeine arguments, and desired leaue so to doo, and the Chancellor gaue him leaue.

D. Cartwright.

Eſai. 63. 3.

LEt it should be said in you, most famous Doctor, which the scripture speaketh of Christ; I haue troden the wine presse alone, I haue determined for the honour of this schole, to take vpon me a part of the labor. If there should be transubstantiation, euill men also should receiue the bodie of Christ, but they receiue it not, therefore no transubstantiation is not granted.

D. Chadse. I denie the minor.

D. Cartwright. Out of the first of Iohn; He that eateth my flesh, & drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me; but euill men do not dwell in Christ, therefore they eat not the bodie of Christ. And Augustine vpon this place saith; This is to eate Christ, to haue Christ dwelling in him. Wherevpon it appeareth, that since euill men haue not Christ dwelling in them, they do not eate him. And Paule in the first epistle to the Corinthians; He that eateth this bread, and drinketh the cup of the Lord vnworthilie, he eateth and drinketh iudgement to himselfe. Behold he saith that they do eate bread, not the bodie of Christ.

Whether the wicked do receiue the bodie of Christ.

1. Co. 11, 29

D. Chadse. Unto the words of Iohn, I saie, that those be vnderstood of them which eate worthilie, for then is it true; He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him. But Augustine speaketh of the effect of the sacrament. And Iohn meaneth not; whosoeuer eateth: but, whosoeuer eateth as he should eate, dwelleth in me, and I in him. And such phrases of speech there be found in the scriptures. For, in Iohn, the disciples asked of Christ: Who sinned; this man or his parents, that he should be borne blind? Christ answereth; Neither this man sinned, nor yet his parents. Which saieng doubtlesse must be restreined: for he did not absolutelie denie that they sinned, but he denied that this man was made blind bicause of their sinnes. Euen so Iohn in this place; He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, & I in him; vnderstandeth it of them that do eate worthilie. And Augustine denieth not, that euill men do eate, but yet he teacheth the effect of true & worthie eating. And the place cited by Paule, maketh mention in expresse words, both of worthie and vnworthie eating.

Iohn 9, 2.

D. Cartwright. To denie the substance of bread to remaine, is to denie the sacrament: for a sacrament is the signe of an holie thing.

D. Chadse. I saie that the figure remaineth, the which I meane of bread and wine, which do as much represent the thing signified, as if the substance of them should remaine. For they signifie that they be one in Christ; and of him be spirituallie nourished.

D. Cartwright. Naie rather, the likenes betweene the signe and thing signified, is this; That euen as bread nourisheth the bodie, so the flesh of Christ nourisheth vs. And how do your accidents serue to this purpose; to wit, the roundnesse, colour, and such like.

In the second question.

D.Cartwright.

BEcause it is not my mind to be anie let to this reuerend man, but that he may prosecute his determination, as I dealt hereselfe with you in the first question, so will I do in the second: wherin I will proue, that the bodie of Christ is not reallie in the sacrament. Christ said; It is expedient for you that I go my waies. For if he had tarried, he should haue beene a lett (as he himselfe said) of the holie Ghost comming vnto them; for because they were to much in loue with his carnall presence. Wherefore, if after the same maner he should be said to be substantiallie present vpon the altar, the people should be hindered from lifting vp their minds and eies vnto heauen, and from obteining of the spirit and his gifts.

John. 16, 7. If Christ were carnallie present, hee should hinder our spirituall commoditie.

D.Chadse. I denie that that presence, wich we appoint, is an impediment to the people. That presence indeed, whereby he was conuersant with his apostles, should haue beene a lett.

D.Cartwright. This impediment is euident enough. For men that do beleeue this reall presence, do saie, when they haue heard a Masse; This daie haue I seene my Lord: and this they thinke to be the whole summe of godlinesse, and so are they called awaie from an earnest and true eating.

D. Chadse. If the people be hindered or hurt, their error must be corrected, and it should behoue the people to be taught. For if all things that be an offense vnto the people should be taken awaie, the Gospell should be taken awaie, wherof manie do take offense.

D. Cartwright. Christ is not more in the Eucharist, than the holie Ghost was in the doue: but the doue was onelie a signe of the holie Ghost that came downe; therefore the Eucharist is onelie a signe.

D.Chadse. The holie scripture doth not saie, that the doue was the holie Ghost, as it saith; This is my bodie. Neither is the Eucharist an instrument to signifie, as the doue was.

D.Cartwright. Yes: but Iohn saith; I sawe the holie Ghost, which descended vpon him: And it is added; In the likenesse of a doue.

D.Martyr. I will prosecute the first argument of M. Cartwright, whom I thanke for so taking our part. Trulie he hath pleasured me verie much, as I hope, manie others also. You take it as granted, that the bodie of Christ is trulie eaten of all those that do communicate: but I vtterlie denie it to be eaten of the wicked and vnfaithfull. For an vnfaithfull man, if he receiue the bodie of Christ, he doth this either by sense, or by reason, or by faith. By the sense it cannot be said, because it reacheth not vnto Christ, and it onelie receiueth the signes: neither (as ye heare take the bodie of Christ) can it be received by the sense. And in like maner, it cannot be received by reason; for it passeth the capacitie thereof. Now then there remaineth faith; the which seeing the vnfaithfull do want, they cannot thereby receiue the bodie of Christ. Of wicked mens eating.

D.Chadse. I denie the *Minor* propositi-on; for with the mouth they receiue the bodie of Christ.

D.Martyr. As though by the mouth anie thing can be receiued without the sense. Those things, which passe through by the mouth, are manifestlie felt of vs.

D.Chadse. With the mouth they receiue the bodie of Christ; but with the sense they receiue the accidents. Moreouer, if I be without faith, mine vnbeleefe taketh not awaie the faith of GOD, neither doth it make frustrate his word; for after consecration, it is the bodie of Christ, whether I beleeue or beleeue not.

D.Martyr. Whereas you affirme that the bodie of Christ is receiued with the mouth, that is repugnant vnto that which you hold; for you saie, that the bodie of Christ in the Eucharist is not of quantitie; and the action or receiuing of our mouth, seeing it is naturall, is not extended vnto spirituall substance: and you shall neuer be able to shew anie other thing to be receiued with the mouth, but the signes. As touching the truth of the sacrament and faith of God, I knowe it is a true sacrament, although we do not beleeue. And yet that proueth not, but that he, which is void of faith, hath some other thing than the sacrament, that is, the signe or the elements. And what is to eate Christ, Cyprian declared in his sermon *De cœna Domini*, when he saith; That we might knowe that our eating is our dwelling in Christ, & our drinking is a kind of incorporating [into him.] Againe; Wherefore the eating of this flesh, is a certeine gredinesse, and as it were a certeine desire of dwelling in him. And againe; Loke that god is to the flesh, that same is faith vnto the soule: what meate is to the bodie, that same is the word to the spirit. And yet againe; These things so often as we do, we sharpen not our teeth vnto biting, but with a sincere faith, we breake and diuide the holie bread. Also Augustine, in his 21. booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the 25. chapter, saith; And therefore, these must neither be said to eate the bodie of Christ, What is to eate Christ.

Christ, because also they must not be accounted among the members of Christ, and (to vse deare the rest) They cannot be together the members of Christ, and the members of an harlot. Finallie, insomuch as he saith; He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him, it therby what is to eate, not a sacramentallie, but verelie the bodie of Christ, and to drinke his bloud, that is, he to dwell in Christ, and that Christ should dwell in him. For he spake this, as if he should haue said; He that dwelleth not in me, and he in whom I dwell not, let him not saie or esteeme of himselfe, that he eateth my bodie, or drinketh my bloud. And in another place he saith, that To drinke signifieth as much, as to liue. Againe; Whie preparest thou thy bellie, and thy teeth? Beleeue, and thou hast eaten. Which matters sith they agree not to the wicked, they cannot be said to eate the bodie of Christ. 1.Cor.6. John 6,56.

D.Chadse. The fathers haue respect to the effect of the sacrament, and speake not of the matter of the sacrament; they write of the spirituall eating: and such phrases hath the holie scripture; I know you not, that is to wit, vnto that end that I will allow of you. Againe; Whosoeuer is baptised, shall be saued. Likewise; Whosoeuer calleth vpon the name of the Lord, shall be saued. It must euermore be added; If so be he shall continue. For I may beleeue and be baptised, and yet be damned; if I do not perseuere (to the end.) So likewise be that eateth Christ, hath not the effect of the sacrament, whereof the fathers speake, vnlesse he do eate worthilie. Luk.13,27. Mark.16,16 Iohn.6,32.

D.Martyr. The holie scripture doth not acknowledge an eating of Christ, except vnto saluation. Neither haue you it out of the holie scriptures, that the wicked do eate the bodie of Christ. And of them that eate vnworthilie, thus speaketh Paule; If anie man shall eate this bread, or shall drinke the cup of the Lord. He saith that they do eate bread, not the bodie of the Lord.

D.Chadse. Therfore doth Paule speake after this maner, because he calleth the bodie of Christ, bread, in that respect; that it was bread before, or else for that it hath the forme of bread: and besides, Paule saith; This bread and cup of the Lord.

D.Martyr. You saie, that Christs bodie is eaten of the wicked. Paule speaketh it not, but calleth it bread. Your run vnto the accustomed refuge. Howbeit, vnlesse you satisfie the matter otherwise, you cannot escape, seeing Paule doth plainelie call it bread: and he addeth this article, This: and saith, Of the Lord, because those things be now changed into sacraments.

D.Chadse. Augustine against the letters of Petilianus, the second booke, 55. chapter, teacheth manifestlie, that the wicked do eate the bodie of Christ: and he saith; What a madnesse is it [for them] to communicate in the sacraments of the Lord? Therefore these, when they shall saie; Haue not we in thy name eaten & drunken? Luk.13, 26. they shall heare it said; I know you not, seeing they eate his bodie, and drinke his bloud in the sacrament, and yet knowe not his members dispersed ouer all the world. And infinite other places more I haue, which shall be shewed when occasion is offered.

D.Martyr. The place of Augustine which you cite preuaileth nothing at all: for it may in this respect be said, that the wicked do eate the flesh and drinke the bloud of the Lord, because they receiue the sacraments of these things. And as the same Augustine teacheth, sacraments be so called, of those things which they signifie. And as touching the other places, which you saie you haue, we will see how they be alledged, and then will I answer them: but as for this time, you haue not brought one word out of the holy scriptures, to teach that the wicked do eate the Lords bodie. But out of Augustine I will euidentlie shew, that these propositions; namelie, to eate the bodie of Christ, and to haue saluation and life, are conuertible, and interchangeable. For vpon the Gospell of Iohn, in the 26. treatise he saith; He that eateth not his flesh, nor drinketh his bloud, hath not eternall life in him: & he that doth eate his flesh, & drinke his bloud, hath eternall life. Do you not heare that these words are not couerted & interchanged one with another? And a little after; This is to eate that meate, and to drinke that drinke, to dwell in Christ, and to haue Christ dwelling in him. And by this meanes, he that dwelleth not in Christ, and he in whom Christ dwelleth not, without doubt he eateth not spirituallie his flesh, nor drinketh his bloud, though he crush with his teeth the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ.

D.Chadse. True it is, that they eate not and drinke not vnto saluation: and after such a maner doth Augustine vnderstand the eating of Christs bodie. And the scriptures do saie, that some do eate vnworthilie.

D.Martyr. Augustine hath not that which you speake; and Paule doth plainelie call that, bread, which the wicked do eate. But it is a deuise of your owne, to saie; that there is a certeine bodie of Christ, that the wicked do eate, and yet haue not saluation, nor yet be partakers of the spirit of Christ.

The third act was betweene M. Morgan, and D. Tresham, *on the one part: and Doctor Martyr,* on the other part.

Bicause D. Treshams books, by his seruants default, were not brought; therefore he earnestlie desired, that the time might a while be prolonged. But the Commissioners, least the time should passe awaie in vaine, commanded M. Morgan a Maister of Arts to oppose, which otherwise was appointed to the same purpose for that daie.

M. Morgan.

WHat maner of beginning shall I vse with you most learned Sir, in setting downe of your opinion? Will you stand onlie vpon the scriptures? Or will you commit the matter vnto the fathers?

D. Martyr. I was minded to saie somewhat before the disputation, vnto the questions which I proposed, and in them would haue spoken somewhat for the satisfieng of mine aduersarie, which should this daie dispute with me: howbeit, since the case so happeneth, that you are appointed to be his substitute for a time, euen at the verie same time, wherein I was minded now to oppose, I will deferre it vntill an other time. But before I answer vnto those things which you demanded of me, I will make mine accustomed praiers.

The Praier.

O Almightie God, for somuch as we shall dispute of the principall mysteries of our religion, we approch vnto thy goodnesse and mercie, whereby all desire of contention being laid awaie, and all disquietnes of mind remoued, we may sincerelie seeke out the truth; hauing found it, we may imbraze it; and haueing obteined the same, we may purelie teach it. Wherefore guide vs in disputing by the direction of thy holie spirit; whereby in the discussing of thy word, in the examination of reasons, and in those things which should be persuaded or disuaded; we doo beseech thee, that we may not depart one iot from the summe of godlinesse. But whatsoeuer we shall inuent, thinke, and saie, the same being directed by thy helpe and power, may further, as much as is possible, to the honour of thy name, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

NOw I answer. The power of iudging matters of Diuinitie, or the cheefe thing whereby we iudge of the holie scriptures, in teaching else where, I proued to be two waies; that is to wit, by the holie Ghost, & by the holie scriptures; the one of which is inward, & the other outward. But now, bicause we deale as touching the outward, I saie that there must be no other thing appointed than the holie scriptures. There I laie the foundation, and therto I cheefelie cleaue. Trulie I will not contemne the fathers, naie rather I will attribute much to them, when they speake according to the scriptures: I haue cited them as ye haue heard. And perhaps I staid my selfe ouer-much in that course, not that I depend of them, but bicause I see that manie are addicted vnto them superstitiouslie, which perpetuallie crie out; The fathers, the fathers, and doo thinke them to be euermore against vs. I thought it good to shew such men, that they make most of all for vs. And what I haue said as touching the fathers, thinke you that I haue answered as touching the Councels. Wherefore, we stand vnto the holie scriptures, and we yeeld vnto all those, which speake and will speake according to the same.

What the cheefe thing is whereby we iudge of the holie scriptures.

M. Morgan. Now then, let vs dispute out of the scriptures. For this proposition, which we haue in hand, is doubtfull, wherein it is said; This is my bodie. For hereof some do gather transubstantiation; others, a bodilie presence with the bread;

bread; others impanation, whereby the bodie of Christ and the bread do ioine into one person; others appoint a bare signe, and others an effectuall signe. And there want not those, which care no more for the presence of Christ, but that they may hereby driue awaie all worshipping; as I knowe a young man of England did. For somuch therefore as we see diuers men diuerslie affirme; teach me what sense of this place of scripture must be reteined.

Mat.26. marc.26. 1.Cor.10, 16. 1.Cor.11, 25.

the sense of his proposition is gathered out of the scriptures.

D. Martyr. The proper meaning of these words may easilie be gathered out of the scriptures, if they be well examined. In the first of John, Christ most plainlie sheweth, that the eating of his bodie must be vnderstood spirituallie: for he said, that his words are spirit and life. And againe, that the spirit quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing; and strait waie he made mention of his ascension. And of this matter he delt so plentifullie in that chapter, that afterward in his last supper he spake nothing therof, as Augustine testifieth in his booke *De consensu Euangelistarum.* Consider afterward in the same chapter, that Christ denied the carnall eating, which the Capernaites surmised: whereby you may gather, that the eating of Christs bodie is not carnall, but spirituall. And so as touching this saieng, you haue an easie and cleere sense. Besides this, the scripture doth euidentlie call it bread. The Lord tooke bread, blessed it, brake it, and gaue it. The bread which we breake (saith Paule) is it not the communion of the bodie of Christ? Againe; So often as yee shall eate this bread. Therefore in like maner appeareth by these saiengs, that bread remaineth: neither is there anie cause why you should complaine of the obscurenesse of the place, as touching this matter. And that there is a figurative kind of speech in these words, manie things declare. For it is not properlie agreable to the bodie of Christ to be eaten: seeing those things which we eate, we crash & grind with our teeth, and being passed downe into the bellie, we digest them, and conuert them into our owne substance: which to speake properlie of the bodie of Christ, is great wickednesse. And at the cup, there is vsed a most manifest figure, when it is said; This cup is the new testament, &c. Herewithall in the scriptures, there be most manifest and eudent speeches of the sacraments, from the which may be had the interpretation of this place. For circumcision is called the couenant; & the lambe or sacrifice is called the Passeouer. Paule said of baptisme, that therein we be buried with Christ: neither doth he saie there, that a sepulchre is signified. Againe, we know that Christ had a true humane bodie, and that he was taken vp into heauen, and from thence shall come to

1.Cor.11, 25.

iudge the world. All these places, if a man do well compare together, will iudge no otherwise of the meaning of this scripture than we do.

M. Morgan. Luther had the scriptures, and disagreed from Zuinglius. The Catholikes see them and read them, and disagree from them both. And the scriptures seeme to be so ambiguous, that vnlesse they be cleered by an other light; that is to wit, by the fathers, they are not sufficient for our instruction.

D. Martyr. Yes indeed, they plentifullie suffice, as you heard me euen now declare.

M. Morgan. Since I see that you stand to the scriptures, which neuertheless are wrested of diuers men diuerslie; now will I deale with you by a briefe reason to driue from that place wherein the sacrament was instituted. Christ tooke bread. What bread tooke he?

D. Martyr. Since you saie, that the scriptures are diuerslie wrested by diuers men, according as they be affected: I answer, that this is done by the fault either of euill or ignorant men, yet must not the scriptures be accused as darke in those things which be necessarie to saluation. When they be brought forth & read with a sincere mind, they doo their part excellentlie well. And the holie Ghost testifieth, that they be profitable to teach, to reproue, and to instruct a man, that he may be perfect and well ordered to euerie good woorke. But if that anie haue doubted, it was their owne fault, not the scriptures fault: and the scripture must not be accused bicause of their contentions, as though it cannot teach vs. We see that there were oftentimes demonstrations made against the Arrians, and that out of the scriptures; That Christ is GOD. Yet would they contend, neither changed they their opinion: neither was this anie derogation to the light and worthinesse of the scriptures. There is no cause therefore that you should obiect vnto me, men either yet liuing, or but latelie dead, which disagreed one from an other, and yet had the scriptures; sith there may be other causes alleaged of their disagreement, besides the ambiguitie of the scriptures. And how I should iudge now of those men, the place serueth not to declare: it sufficeth for me, that I haue defended the right of the scriptures. But as to that which you demanded; namelie, what bread Christ tooke: I answer, that it was common and vsuall bread; to wit, sweet bread, bicause the feast of Easter was celebrated.

M. Morgan. When did he consecrate the same? Whether when he tooke it into his hands? Or when he blessed it? Or else when he gaue it? How shall I know when the bread was consecrated.

When and how consecration was made.

D. Martyr. By giuing of thanks, by saieng as he said, and doing as he did. Wherefore we also muste saie and do euen the verie same that he said and did. And bicause we haue not else-where by demonstration of the scriptures anie certeine place, that is, foure or fiue words, whereby the bread & wine is consecrated, therefore muste we recite all that which is written in the historie of the supper.

M. Morgan. The ministers do consecrate after the selfe-same maner that Christ did; doth therefore the minister consecrate by reciting bread into his hands?

What is consecration.

D. Martyr. No: but by performing the institution of the Lord it is consecrated; that is to saie, it is appointed to a holie vse; and though the words and commandement of the Lord, it is made an instrument, to signifie effectuallie the bodie of Christ. So as I saie, that it is then consecrated, when all the words be spoken, and distribution made to the faithfull.

M. Morgan. If the words of consecration be not written, certeinlie then is not the scripture sufficient of it selfe as touching consecration. Againe, I demand of you, whether the bread was a sacrament or signe, before the finishing of the words; that is, when it is said, that he take bread? Was the bread as yet made a signe of the bodie of Christ?

D. Martyr. No sacramentall signe, according as we speake. And to that which you inferred, by reason of that which I said, that there be no determined words of consecration in the scripture; that then it followeth, that the scripture is not sufficient: I answer, that it followeth not. For though it do appoint foure or fiue words onelie, whereby consecration should preciselie be made: yet doth it faithfullie describe the whole discourse of this mysterie; the which is sufficient. Wherefore, we ought to repeate the same in the supper of the Lord, that both we may do and saie that, which Christ did and said. And this was commanded vs, when the Lord said; Luk. 22, 19. This doo in remembrance of me. The which must be referred as well vnto the words, as vnto the deeds. For the Lord ment not, that when the fiue words are pronounced, we should thinke that we haue performed so great a mysterie. 1. Co. 11, 24.

M. Morgan. He blessed the bread not yet consecrated, he brake the bread not yet consecrated, he gaue the bread not yet consecrated; therefore he gaue the bread before it was yet a signe or sacrament.

D. Martyr. This sacrament consisteth of all those things, which the Lord Iesus did and said. And when he said; Doo these things, he ment as touching all those things, and not of one or two alone: and he made it a signe by blessing, by breaking, by giuing, and by adding such things as followe.

M. Morgan. It followeth, that sith Christ gaue bread before he had finished all the words, he gaue bread which was not consecrate; seeing vnto consecration all the words are required. Wherefore, I being a minister, and repeating the words of Christ, when do I make the sacrament?

D. Martyr. Euen by saieng and doing those things, which Christ said and did; that is to wit, when that action is performed in such sort as it is described. But whether you tend, or what your meaning is, I perceiue not, but that manie words be wasted in vaine.

M. Morgan. I will speake more plainelie. The ministers do all the things that Christ did, otherwise they should faile in the right vse: but the ministers do not consecrate it for a sacrament, before all the words be vttered; and therefore Christ also did it not. But if so be he gaue the bread before the finishing of the words, he gaue common bread, but not a signe of his bodie.

D. Martyr. Here haue I answered already, that Christ gaue no signe before he had finished the action, nor before he had said and done those things, which were to be done and said: and when those things were performed, he gaue not an onelie substance of bread, but he gaue the same with a condition adioined, the which was symbolicall or signifieng. First therfore he toke bread; but and if afterward, by reason of those things, which he said and did, there be added a sacramentall or symbolicall condition, it is not therefore ouerthrowen, but that he gaue bread: for he gaue both; to wit, bread & a sacrament. Neither is it requisite, that you should so cauill, that Christ gaue bread first before he vttered the words: for this may appeare, if onelie a respect be had vnto the order of the words in the narration. But let vs set the action before our eies, & we shall see, that Christ in giuing, finished the words which were necessarie. So as this, which you urge so soze, is but a sophisticall cauill: for while he hauing giuen thanks, did breake and giue, he said withall; This is my bodie, and so vnto the sacrament there was nothing wanting.

M. Morgan. What did he giue, common bread, or sacramentall bread?

D. Martyr. He gaue sacramentall bread.

M. Morgan. But yet he gaue it before he had pronounced; This is my bodie: so then he gaue no sacramentall bread. And for this cause said I these things, to the intent I might shew that we cannot be blamed, when we saie that Christ gaue his bodie after the words were finished: and we affirme that the accusatiue case, Bread, muste not be ioined with the verbe Gaue, as it was with the verbes that went before.

D. Martyr. No man blameth you in this, that you saie; the bodie of Christ is giuen after the ceremonie is performed, but in this respect, that ye exclude the bread: for we muste determine, that as well the one as the other is giuen, and that one and the selfe-same accusatiue case is gouerned of all those verbes, according as order and grammaticall construction requireth. Neither is that true which you still indeuour to proue, that Christ had first giuen it, before he pronounced all the words, sith in giuing and distributing, or breaking, he finished the words which serued to the purpose. Here is no kind of inchantment to be imagined, although all were done by the finishing of one letter, syllable, or one sillie word.

M. Morgan. He gaue to his disciples. What gaue he? He gaue his bodie rather than bread: for bodie, is a nigher word vnto those verbes than is this word, bread.

D. Martyr. Grammaticall sense requireth that bread should remaine: for all these verbes do gouerne an accusatiue case. Neither is the nerenesse of place to be respected in this sentence. For albeit that this particle, My bodie, seeme to be the nerer speech, yet is it not gouerned of those words, He brake, he gaue, take ye, and eate ye: but of the verbe substantiue *est*, Is. But whereas it is written, that Christ first gaue, before he said, This is my bodie, it is the vsuall figure called ὑστερον προτερον, that is to wit, when a thing is set forth by a contrarie order, but yet not properlie: for it is admitted for a necessitie of setting forth the matter, sith these two things were done both togither; to wit, that he gaue, and that he spake: neither was there anie vrsie to be made for this matter.

M. Morgan. If it be the figure *Hysteron proteron*, then is the word, bodie, nerer vnto the verbe, gaue, than is the accusatiue case, bread; and then this word bodie is as well conferred with the verbe, gaue, as is that word bread. And this maketh as well for vs as for you, & the case is equall on both parts: and so it appeareth, that the answer this other daie was good; to wit, that Christ rather gaue his bodie, than the bread.

D. Martyr. Saie what you list, that this phrase maketh for your part, the phrase it selfe doth plainlie denie it, and therwith euidentlie, that bread muste be reteined: wherefore my argument remaineth inuincible. That the bodie of Christ is some waie giuen, I denie not: that which is giuen, is both; namelie, bread, and the bodie of Christ: but while you ercludе bread, you haue no reason for it, and the forme of speaking doth manifestlie make against you. Wherefore there is no equalitie of the case betweene vs. Neither as I haue said, in a grammaticall construction, muste the nerer placing of the words, but the gouerning of the verbes be regarded. And therefore this other daie it was not well answered, when the bodie of Christ was so affirmed to be giuen, as the bread should be taken awaie, which by a necessitie of grammaticall construction was proued to remaine.

M. Morgan. Theophylactus saith vpon Marke the 14. chapter, This is my bodie, this I saie which ye receiue; for the bread is not a figure, and a kind of an example of the Lords bodie, but it is changed euen into the verie selfe bodie of Christ. The Latine copies are false, where you shall read; the bodie of Christ is changed into it. The Greeke text hath εἰς τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο. Thus you plainlie see, that this father saith, that this bread is not a figure, but is changed into the bodie of Christ.

D. Martyr. First of all vnderstand as touching Theophylactus, that he is not of anie such authoritie, that if he did make directlie against vs, we should make anie great account of him. For he vpon the third chapter of Iohn, saith, that the Latine church did plaintlie erre, as touching the proceeding of the holie Ghost, and liued as it should seeme in a corrupted time. In the Latine bookes, which I haue seene (for the Greeke copies I haue not met withall) the bodie of Christ is changed into it: howbeit, whether the Greeke copies haue it so or not, I passe but litle; sith I do admit some kind of change into the bodie of Christ. And whereas you saie, that the bread is not a figure or example; in Theophylactus the words be thus: For it is not onelie a figure and patterne; which we graunt to be true, seeing the bread is not set bolune of vs to be a bare signe and a naked figure. And without doubt, vnlesse that same particle, onelie, were had; Theophylactus alone might not stand against all the other fathers, who do all vnderstand both a figure and an example: as do Tertullian, Basil, Augustine, Theodoretus, and in a manner all the rest. Furthermore, I vnderstand the change into the bodie of Christ to be sacramentall, sith it is made a sacrament of the bodie of Christ, which before it was not. For (as Augustine vnto Boniface recitifieth, and as we haue alreadie cited,) sacraments haue their names of the things, whereof they be sacraments. Wherefore the sacrament (saith he) of the bodie of Christ, is

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after a soyt the bodie of Christ: neither is the change such, as it can call awaie the former substance. And we may gather out of Theophylactus himselfe, that he so vnderstood it: for vpon John the first chapter he saith; He that eateth me shal liue for me, while after a sort he is mingled with me, and transelementated into me. You heare him saie, that we be transelementated into Christ, and yet you see we reteine the substance which we had before. Why will you not vnderstand the selfe-same thing to be done as touching bread?

M. Morgan. To the first, when you saie that Theophylactus one while erred, I answer; If for that cause he should not be receiued, by the like reason you might refuse Augustine, which alloweth the invocation of saints, images and prayers for the dead: which be errours, if we shall follow your opinion.

D. Martyr. I did not saie, that he was therefore to be vtterlie reiected; but I ment to shew, that there be degrées of the fathers; to let you vnderstand, that the authoritie of them all is not alike: which must chiefly be considered, according to the time and age wherein they liued. And in that he disagreed from the Latine church so expreslie, in the controuersie touching the holy Ghost, it is an argument that he happened into, in those latter times, when vehement dissention was betweene the Grékes and the Latines: in the verie which time began now the doctrine of transubstantiation to bud forth. But of Augustine, and such as he was, the case is far otherwise: for they liued in the purer times. And as for the inuocation of saints, or prayers for the dead, or how much, or how he dissented from vs, an other place shall serue to declare it. But as touching that he allowed the worshipping of images, I know nothing thereof.

M. Morgan. Theophylactus is altogither on my side, while he saith vpon the first chapter of Iohn: The bread which I will giue, is not a figure of my flesh, but it is my flesh; for by the mysticall words the bread is transformed, & albeit it séeme bread vnto vs, yet is it flesh, &c. You see that he saith; There is a change of the bread into the flesh of Christ. And vpon Matthew, he hath in a maner the very same words, & he addeth; Therefore there appeareth bread, that there may be a condescending to our infirmitie. And let vs put the case that he would haue taught transubstantiation; what else could he haue said? Or with what more manifest words could he haue vttered it? For againe, vpon the 14. of Marke, he saith; It keepeth in verie déed the shew of bread and wine, but it is transelementated into the power of flesh and bloud.

D. Martyr. As touching this change, whereof Theophylactus maketh mention in the 14. chapter, we dout not; for it is sacramentall. And as you cited but euen now, he saith; that bread and wine is changed into the power of flesh and bloud; but he saith not, into flesh and bloud. The which we also will grant; for so much as sacraments are named by the things which they signifie, and by them God giueth his grace and spirit, which is the power & strength of those things that they signifie. And when he said, they are transelementated or changed into the power of flesh & bloud, he sheweth, how we must vnderstand bread to be changed into the body of Christ namelie, that by these signes and sacraments, the holie Ghost may worke in vs, the merits, fruit, and grace of the bodie of Christ crucified for vs. And we grant into Theophylactus, as we haue said, a sacramentall change. And whereas he saith, that the Lord said not, that the bread and wine is a figure; this if he vnderstand absolutelie without exception, he hath all the fathers against him. For Basil saith, that It is ἀντίτυπον, that is, an example, a paterne: and Augustine, a figure and signe. And whereas he nameth it the shew of bread, it nothing hindereth the true nature and substance thereof: for this word *Species*, forme, among the fathers, as I haue aboue shewed, signifieth a true nature of things.

How we must vnderstand bread to be changed into the bodie of Christ.

M. Morgan. So may we likewise well saie; that the vertue may signifie the bodie. And the same Theophylactus vpon Matthew, the 26. chapter saith; This sentence, This is my bodie, sheweth that the bread which is sanctified vpon the altar is the verie bodie of the Lord, and no figure correspondent: for he said not; This is a figure, but, This is my bodie. Againe, this verbe *Transformatur*, is transformed, belongeth vnto substance, not vnto qualitie. And he saith moreouer, that it is so giuen vnto vs, that the bread may be séene, because we be weake, and least we should loath to eate raw flesh. But if we should follow your opinion, there were no need of a sacramentall change, and such as is not reall; for there would be no danger of loathing or abhorring the thing.

D. Martyr. As touching the signe, I haue answered sufficientlie, how it must be vnderstood. Neuertheles, sith you vrge so earnestlie, that Christ said not, that it was a figure: no more also did he saie, that the accidents are separated from the substance, or that the bread is excluded, as your selues affirme. And Theophylactus words of changing, transforming, and transelementating we admit, because of the sacramentall change. And where he affirmeth, that the bread sanctified vpon the altar is the bodie of Christ, we allow thereof. For it is prooued by Augustine vnto Boniface, that the sacrament of the bodie of Christ, after a certeine maner is and is called the bodie of Christ. And further, that which is adued; to wit, that it is transformed by an vnspeakable worke, maketh nothing against vs: for we confesse this to be no worke of nature, as that a prophane & common thing should be made a sacrament. Doubtlesse it is such a worke, as the holie Ghost doth vnspeakablie worke it. But as touching the figure, whether it perteineth alone vnto the substance, or vnto you to that; perteine it is, that it is placed euen in the predicament of qualitie, so as there is no cause for you to obiect, that to be transformed hath respect vnto substance. And that same loathsomenesse of chumming raw flesh is taken away, by affirming a substance of bread, and a sacramentall signification. And nothing else meneth Theophylactus than to shew by his maner of speach, that a carnall eating should not haue béene conuenient; because we should haue milked of raw flesh, and therefore a spirituall eating was appointed, vnder the forme, that is to wit, the nature of bread should be kept; and yet not withstanding we haue trulie the bodie and flesh of Christ, that is to wit; in receiuing of the same by faith. And whereas you so greatlie vrge the efficacie of Theophylactus words, it mooueth me but little. For I knowe that he, and the rest of the fathers were vehement, and full of excellent speeches, and therefore must be conuenientlie interpreted.

Why the scriptures admit no transubstantiation.

M. Morgan. I demanded before, and now againe I demand; If the holie Ghost were mooued to verie transubstantiation by the scriptures, by what words would he haue done it?

D. Martyr. The scriptures would not haue testified that bread is present, as we haue shewed, that they do plainelie declare; neither would they haue set downe vnto vs an eating or a breaking: which matters cannot agree to the bodie of Christ; namelie, that it should in verie déed be broken, crushed, and ground with the teeth. And therefore when the scripture attributeth these things vnto bread, as when it saith; The bread, which we breake: and againe; He that shall eate this bread vnworthilie, it sheweth euidentlie, that it speaketh of true bread, and doth not appoint anie transubstantiation.

1 Co. 10, 16
1 Co. 11, 29

M. Morgan. But the bodie of Christ, sith in the first chapter of Iohn, it is figuratiuelie called bread, therefore in the institution of the supper, there is mention made of bread by Paule, euen that it may reteine the phrase of Christ, which he vsed in the first chapter of Iohn.

D. Martyr. It is a sure argument, that

Christ in the supper speaketh of the true natures of the elements of bread and wine, insomuch as he saith; I will not hereafter drinke of this fruit of the vine. And the vine tree doth not bring forth accidents for the fruit. Moreouer, Paule plainlie saith; The bread, which we breake, is it not a communion of the bodie of Christ? And further, Christ commanded vs that we should eate; the which (as I haue said) cannot properlie agree with the bodie of Christ, seeing that is not eaten, which is not ground with the teeth. Indeed Iacknowledge a metaphor in the first of Iohn, where Christ calleth himselfe bread, because he feedeth vs, as material bread doth, and as the old fathers in the wilderneslie did feed of Manna. But in this place it is not so, that he should speake metaphoricallie; seeing that bread, whereof he speaketh, is both broken and ground by eating: and moreouer, because the fathers do expound it, that this sacramentall bread, whereof we speake, is made of manie graines.

Matt. 26, 29.
1 Co. 10, 16

M. Morgan. And why may it not here also be vnderstood metaphoricallie?

D. Martyr. Because, as I haue twise said, there be properties here spoken of; namelie, breaking and eating, which doo not agree with bread vnderstood metaphoricallie, that is, vnto the bodie of Christ.

M. Morgan. Those things, which be attributed vnto the sacraments, be some maner of waie attributed euen vnto the things, whereof they be sacraments: as saith Augustine vnto Boniface; Sacraments haue their names of the things. But the bread, which is a sacrament, is trulie and properlie broken; therefore the bodie of Christ, which is the matter of the sacrament, by a figure is said to be broken. Besides, when it is said; Take ye, eate ye: is the bread, which is taken and eaten, metaphoricall bread? Also; Take ye, and Eate ye, be they metaphors belonging to the bodie of Christ, or no?

two kinds of eating, and two kinds of bread in the sacrament.

D. Martyr. I answer: when we receiue the sacrament faithfullie, two kinds of eatings are there, and also two sorts of bread. For the receiuing of the bodie of Christ, which we haue by faith, is called a metaphoricall eating: euen as the bodie of Christ, which we receiue, is a metaphoricall bread. There also haue we an eating of the sacramentall signes; the which is a proper eating, euen as also bread is both true and naturall. In the first of Iohn, there is mention onlie of metaphoricall eating, and of metaphoricall bread: but in the supper of the Lord, wherein he communicated with his apostles, there was had a proper eating; and true bread was giuen for a signe: and so in the supper was giuen both sorts of bread, eiuen naturall and metaphoricall:

and

and both sorts of eating is performed; to wit, both a naturall eating in signes, and also a metaphorical, as touching the bodie of Christ, which we receiue by faith. But I maruell that you vnderstand it so, as you will haue that to be attributed vnto the things, which is properlie agreeable to the sacrament: in such wise as you will haue it said, that the bodie of Christ is broken figuratiuelie, bicause that the bread is broken. For if you grant, that the bread is here broken indeed, why do you contend anie longer? Now you grant bread, transubstantiation shall be no longer. Ouer this, when the scripture saith, that bread is broken, and our sense perceiueth the breaking of the bread: let this first be determined. Afterward, when the scripture saith, that the bodie of Christ is broken; if you will vnderstand by a metaphore figure; namelie, that it is broken, bicause the sacrament thereof is broken, we agree. But first of all must the ground of this figure be granted; euen that it is bread, which in verie deed is broken: this doth the sense it selfe knowe to be done. But as for the words; Take ye, and eate ye, I saie, that they must be thus vnderstood: As ye receiue this bread, and eate it with your bodie; so receiue ye my bodie by faith, and with the mind, that ye may be strengthened thereby in stead of meate.

M.Morgan. This in my iudgement is but a wandering disputation: wherefore I come nerer to the matter. Take ye, and eate ye, are metaphoricall speaches, and after this maner they agree verie well with the bodie of Christ, and therefore the breaking may be attributed vnto the metaphoricall bread, that is, vnto the bodie of Christ: for in the like sense is breaking taken.

D.Martyr. If it be a wandering disputation, the fault is yours, bicause you frame no argument or reason. And whereas you obiect: that euen as eating may agree metaphoricallie with the bodie of Christ, so may breaking agree with the same; I affirme that a far other reason both of eating & breaking is had in these words & forme of speaking of the scripture, which we haue in hand: to wit, Is not the bread which we breake? For I suppose you would vnderstand this word, To breake, in such sort as it should be referred metaphoricallie to the crucifieng vpon the crosse. Notwithstanding, you must consider, that
1.Co.10,16 Paule saith; The bread which we breake: where it is not lawfull to vnderstand, that we our selues do crucifie Christ. Well may we saie, that we do eate him metaphoricallie, bicause we do feed vpon him; but that we do crucifie him, that is a verie hard and absurd speach.

M.Morgan. If we eate him metaphoricallie, that is, by the spirit and by faith, why do we not also breake him metaphoricallie; especiallie sith all eating hath in it a breaking.

D.Martyr. Paule saith; The bread which we breake. And if you will vnderstand, To breake, for, To crucifie, we by a metaphor shall be faine to crucifie Christ. Howbeit, I grant that all naturall eating hath in it selfe, as you saie, a breaking: but yet all spirituall eating hath not so, bicause that eating hath this respect, that we should inioy the thing receiued, as meate; but it is not extended vnto this point, that we should breake and grind with the teeth, that which cannot be grinded or broken.

M.Morgan. When we behold particularlie the greefs which Christ indured vpon the crosse, we are said metaphoricallie to be broken. For the same agreeablenesse that is betweene, To eate, and To receiue by faith, the selfe-same is betweene To breake, and To behold, or To knowe the greefs of Christ vpon the crosse.

D.Martyr. I wonder that you say there is an agreeablenesse betweene To breake, that is, To crucifie Christ, and To behold or knowe his greefs vpon the crosse: for we behold or see with the eies, and we breake with strength, and with the hands. Wherefe I thinke you knowe, that metaphors ought not to be so wide asunder. Againe, you double the metaphor; seeing (if we followe your mind) one is, in respect that To breake signifieth To crucifie; and another, that you refer this vnto knowledge. And you that cannot abide, that we in the words of the Lord, This is my bodie, should affirme anie figure, do frequent manie figures, and those hard & vnusuall. And to the end you will not grant in the supper of the Lord, the breaking of verie true bread, you run headlong into what else soeuer.

M.Morgan. To breake, is a metaphor apt enough, for that which is To behold, and with the mind to remember the passion of Christ. For Paule saith; This is my bodie, which 1.Co.11,24 is broken for you. And Bucer, *Contra Abricense[n]sem episcopum*, alloweth, that breaking may metaphoricallie be spoken of Christs bodie. And this same conuenience, that To breake, should be transferred vnto our knowledge, is vsed in the English tong, for we are said to breake doubts to our scholers.

D.Martyr. And if anie where else this metaphor perhaps might be apt, yet taketh it no place where Paule saith; The bread which wee 1.Co.10,16 breake, is it not the participation of the bodie of Christ? Where without doubt he respecteth the outward breaking and distribution of the Eucharist. Truelie I confesse with Bucer, that the bodie of Christ may be said to be broken; that is to saie, to haue suffered: but I do not allow that

that we can breake him, that is to saie, crucifie him. Furthermore, as touching your tong, seeing I vnderstand it not, I cannot shew the reason of such an english metaphor, vnlesse perhaps you meane, that To breake difficulties, is as much to saie, as to assoile them. But those things which I haue said, I haue spoken according as the Greeke and Latine tong, wherein we haue the scriptures of the new testament, haue been accustomed to speake.

The Visitors transferred the disputation to Doctor Tresham.

D.Tresham.

I Am constrained to omit those things which I purposed to speake, seeing both the disputation is gon a good waie forward, and the time is spent. Therefore I humblie desire you his Maiesties Commissioners, that you will as fauourable heare this daies disputations, as you did the other, which were made the daies before, which vndoubtedlie ye did moll fauourablie. Now our praiers premised, let vs come to the matter.

The praier of Doctor *Tresham.*

O Most benigne Lord Iesus Christ, the bread of eternall life, who of thy vnspeakeable grace, in thy mercie descendedst from heauen into mankind, to take flesh of the virgins flesh; and hauing taken vpon thee the same, didest vouchsafe to giue it a meate vnto vs, euen that we should diligentlie eate the same in remembrance of thee, and by the participation thereof to be made all one bodie: grant vnto thy humble suppliants, to feed and nourish vs perpetuallie with that most deintie food, which we beleeue to be thy liuelie flesh; and with that most pleasant drinke, which we confesse to be thy verie bloud: that thy light and truth being spread ouer all men, we may be of one mind in thy house, speaking and iudging all one thing, and that there may be in vs no schismes: but being perfect in the selfe-same mind, and the selfe-same vnderstanding, we may walke valiantlie in the strength of this meat, euen vnto thy holie hill, and by thy grace may be lead vnto thy tabernacles: who with the Father and the holie Ghost, liuest and reignest one and the same GOD, world without end; Amen.

I Remember, Maister Doctor Peter, that you promised, when you disputed with me the first daie, and that I in answering to your arguments obiected certeine places out of the fathers, you would satisfie me, when you should come to answering. Now the time is come for you to performe the same. Wherefore to oppose a martyr against Martyr, I will begin with Cyprian: and thus will I argue. Cyprian the martyr doth set downe transubstantiation, therefore Peter Martyr should not denie the same.

D.Martyr. So strong is this argument, as if we should argue from a thing to the name. For Cyprian was in verie deed a martyr, and I onelie am called Martyr. But let sports go, I answer that Cyprian doth not put transubstantiation.

D.Tresham. In his sermon *De cœna Domini*, he saith; This bread which the Lord gaue to his disciples, being changed, not in forme, but in nature, by the omnipotent power of GOD is made flesh. Whether Cyprian dooth mean that there is a transubstantiation.

D.Martyr. I denie that this place maketh for transubstantiation.

D.Tresham. Erasmus noted vpon the margent, that for this place must be vnderstood.

D.Martyr. Erasmus did therefore note it vpon the margent, bicause he knew that manie did gather this matter from hence. But how far Erasmus was persuaded in transubstantiation, you may find out by his writings. Howbeit you seeme now to magnifie him, whom else-where ye handle moll vnmollie. Sometime ye allow him not, and ye accuse him euerie where of error: but now ye can easilie vse his authoritie.

D.Tresham. You are wont to alledge Erasmus in these annotations of the margent, when he serueth your purpose; and now when he disagreeth from you, you reiect him. He vndoubtedlie saith, that this common bread is changed.

D.Martyr. That the bread is changed in the sacrament I neuer denied. But I maruell that you, which brought forth Cyprian at the beginning, do now turne your selfe to Erasmus. I grant indeed, that I once cited Erasmus, according as he had noted in the margent of Augustine; but yet I did not attribute so much vnto him, as I did not also confirme by other reasons, that which I thought good to be proued: bring you also other reasons, and I will answer them.

D.Tresham. When Erasmus serueth for your purpose, you take him; but when he is against you, you repell him. Yea, but I proue transubstantiation out of Cyprians words: for he saith in the same place; This common bread is changed into flesh and blood, it procureth life and increase vnto bodies; but a change of bread into flesh is a transubstantiation.

D.Martyr. This is your propertie, that you will contemne and commend Erasmus at your owne pleasure. Howbeit, because the time shall not waste, I will discusse the place of Cyprian, which you haue alledged; The bread, which the Lord offered to his disciples being changed, not in forme, but in nature, was by the omnipotencie of the word made flesh. These be his whole words, I weeke them not. And I answer, that he here appointeth a sacramentall change of the bread, the which we do affirme. And here haue we some things common with the transubstantiators, and some things diuers from them. Herein hold I with you, that the forme of the bread remaineth, and is not changed as Cyprian said, but it is the nature of bread that is changed. And as touching this change we disagree: for we saie, that the nature of bread is changed, because it is made a sacrament of the bodie of Christ, and no lesse a sacrament of the mysticall bodie, which before it was not: and therefore this change is attributed vnto the nature, not vnto the accidents of bread; sith it is the nature of bread, whereby we be nourished, and which consisteth of manie grains. And these be the reasons, wherevpon the consideration of this sacrament is founded. So now, when Cyprian saith, that the nature of bread is changed, it followeth not, that the same remaineth not; for in naturall changes, that which is changed; to wit, the subiect, is reteined. Yea moreouer, if you should take awaie the same subiect, the change shall not haue wherevnto to cleaue. In generation, the matter remaineth; in the alteration, the thing compounded; in the increase, that which is nourished and increased; and in the locall motion, that which is moued. Euen so, when Cyprian saith, that the nature of bread is changed, two things we haue, both that it remaineth, and that it is made a sacrament, which before it was not.

That which is changed in the Eucharist remaineth as touching the subiect.

D.Tresham. Now is Cyprian no Cyprian, but a Petrian: there is no need of omnipotencie, that we should bring into the bread some thing intentionall, and which happeneth from without. The image of Christ hanging vpon the crosse, is of as much account as it.

D.Martyr. I answer, that the sacramentall change is a great matter, neither can it be wrought without the power of God: for it is a thing supernaturall, & it is onelie Gods worke to make sacraments. And in baptisme, where you iudge not anie transubstantiation to be, a sacrament, whereby we are grafted into Christ, is not made of water, without the omnipotent power of God. And that vnto this matter is required the power of the holie Ghost, we learne it sufficientlie of Augustine, in his third booke *De trinitate*, where he saith; Which, when it is brought by the hands of men vnto that visible thew, it is not sanctified, to become so great a sacrament, without the inuisible operation of the holie Ghost. Wherefore, the image of Christ may perhaps be the signe of him, but no sacramentall signe.

D.Tresham. If the bread were made flesh, as Cyprian said it was, then was it flesh; the argument is most euident. But this can neuer be granted to be true, that bread is flesh: it is all one, as if one should saie, that man is a stone.

How the bread is said to be made flesh.

D.Martyr. We grant that bread is flesh after such a maner as it is made flesh; but it is not made flesh by transubstantiation, but by a sacramentall conuersion, and so euen according to this maner, we grant bread to be flesh. Wherefore the antecedent, if it be rightlie vnderstood, inferreth no more, but that bread is flesh sacramentallie. But if you will vnderstand the antecedent, that bread is reallie & substantiallie made flesh, we denie it. Whereas you adde afterward, that the proposition must needs be true; to wit, that bread is flesh; and that this is verie absurd. I saie that you haue not proued, nor yet are able to proue, that all propositions, which consist of the verbe substantiue *Est*, Is, must be counted identicall, that is, when the same is said to be the same; because some attributes may be affirmed of subiects, euen by a certeine proportion or agreeablenesse: as the circumcision is the couenant; where it is not required, that the couenant & circumcision should be one and the same. Againe, you see in the same proposition, wherein it is said; The word was made flesh, both do remaine, as well the word as the flesh. Why then in the sacrament, wherein you take vpon you to proue, that bread is made flesh, may

may not bread in like maner remaine?

D.Tresham. With Cyprian doth Chrysostome consent: both of them were of one spirit. Wherefore we haue found another witnesse of the truth. Chrysostome most euidentlie setteth downe transubstantiation: for in *Encœnijs* he hath an homilie, wherein he thus speaketh; Doost thou see bread? Doost thou see wine? Doth it like other meate passe into the draught? God forbid. Do not so thinke. For euen as wax, if it be applied to the fire, is made like vnto it, nothing of the substance remaineth, nothing runneth ouer; so thinke thou, that here likewise the mysteries are consumed in the substance of the bodie, &c. Here you see, that Chrysostome doth exclude the bread and the wine, and denieth that they passe awaie into the draught.

Chrysostom and other of the fathers vsed excessiue speeches.

D.Martyr. I saie, that Chrysostome, as did the rest of the fathers, to the intent he might speake the more glorioustie of this sacrament, vsed manie and great excessiue speeches, whereby he might draw the minds of his hearers to imbrace the matter of the sacrament. Otherwise, these excessiue speeches, if they should be examined in all points, might not in anie wise stand; so as they haue need of a conuenient interpretation. You may see, that oftentimes he, and other of the fathers, denie that absolutelie, which was onelie to be denied in some respect. Yea and such kind of speeches you may see in the holie scriptures. Paule saith; Our wrestling is not against flesh and bloud: which is against that, which is written to the Galathians; The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. Howbeit, he denied our striuing to be against flesh and bloud, in comparison onelie; as if it should be compared with that, which we haue with the spirituall craftinesses in heauenlie things; to wit, with the diuell and his angels. And in Christ (saith the same apostle) there is neither male nor female, whereas yet christianitie taketh not awaie the properties from humane nature. Naie rather, the apostle himselfe gaue particular commandements in Christ, both to maisters and to seruants, to husbands and to wiues. But be ment, that male and female are not in Christ, so far as belongeth to the receiuing of redemption, grace, and saluation. The same apostle wrote, that he was not sent to baptise, but to preach the Gospell. And yet Christ said as well to one, as to another of his apostles, not onelie that they should preach, but that they should also baptise. Wherefore he denied, that he was sent to baptise, not absolutelie, but in some respect, meaning to signifie, by comparing of the two offices together, that preaching was principallie committed vnto him; and that the same did so much excell the office of baptising, that after a certeine sort it might be said, that he was not sent to that purpose: otherwise he baptised Crispus, Gaius, and the houshold of Stephana. And after this maner must the fathers be vnderstood, that sometime here they denie bread and wine, not in their bare & flatlie or absolutelie; but in respect of comparison with the matter of the sacraments. Because for our part, we must make so great an account of the matter of the sacraments, as we should haue no more regard vnto the signes, than if they were not at all. And to the end they may shew, what we ought to seeke for in the communion, not in verie bare bread and wine by it selfe; for these things we haue at home: but the bodie and bloud of Christ; as though by a comparison of the thing vnto these, the bread and wine may after a sort be said, not to be extant. For we ought to drawe awaie our mind from earthlie elements, vnto the bodie and bloud of Christ in heauen: and so come we to the words of Chrysostome, when he saith; Doost thou see bread? Doost thou see wine? Ye shall waie addeth; Do not so thinke. And after the similitude of wax he writeth; (So thinke thou here also.) And in the words which followe he sheweth sufficientlie that he speaketh hyperbolicallie, when he saith; Do not thinke, that you receiue of a man the diuine bodie, but fire with the tongs of Seraphim himselfe. These things cannot be vnderstood according as the words be, vnlesse ye will either take awaie, or transubstantiate the minister himselfe. And he addeth; Account ye, that the bloud of saluation floweth as it were out of the diuine and immaculate side: the which thing yee your selues will not grant, neither can it be, that bloud should now flowe forth of the impassible bodie of Christ.

Eph.6, 12.

Gal.5,17.

Gal.3,28.

Matt.28, 19

D.Tresham. You haue spoken much: and the scriptures which you haue cited do admit another interpretation: and those things which you aplie vnto Chrysostome, be not agreeable vnto him. For Chrysostome himselfe, did first in these words establish the truth of doctrine and of faith; and then turned himselfe vnto maners, that he might drawe vs vnto higher matters. And first, he onelie instructeth and teacheth, before he commeth vnto figures; and when he setteth downe doctrine & teacheth, he bringeth an example of war: afterward I grant (as you saie) that he vseth hyperbolicall or excellent speaches. Now I demand; Did Chrysostome speake the truth, or did he not? If the truth, I haue what I sought: if not, he is found to be a false witnes of God; according to that which Paule hath in the first epistle to the Corinthians the 15. chapter, while he confirmeth the resurrection. For he writeth; If it be not true that Christ rose againe,

1.Cor.1, 14 and 16.

we are found false witnesses.

D.Martyr. You saie that Chrysostome first teachech doctrine, & then when he commeth to the framing of maners, you grant that he vseth exceslue and figuratiue speeches. And you will haue it that the example of way belongeth to the former part. I answer, that now we agree togither; that Chrysostome in this place, as in others also, is full of hyperbolical speeches; to the intent we should be admonished, not to haue our eies faltened vpon the figures, but that we raise vp our selues towards heauen vnto Christ himselfe, and consider of his death in our mind. These figures haue I plainlie enough proued by two or three places; & yet for all that must it not be said, that Chrysostome spake falslie. For the verie true bodie of Christ is giuen vs to be eaten, and his bloud to be dronken; but yet are these things receiued with the mind and with faith; and by them is not onelie the mind renewed, but also the bodie. And bicause we should not be deceiued in his figuratiue speeches, he vsed the verbes (esteeme you, thinke you, and consider you.) But whereas you distinguish these things into doctrine, and into maners, that same doth not appere by the order of Chrysostoms words. And much lesse doth that stand, that you will haue the similitude of war to be vnderstood properlie, as though it belonged vnto doctrine. For in the fourth booke of Cyrill vpon Iohn, the 17. chapter, we haue the selfe same similitude, as touching our change into Christ. The words of Cyrill be these; Euen as if a man among molten war powre in other war, he must of necessitie mingle the one with the other throughout; so if anie man receiue the flesh and bloud of the Lord, he is so ioined with him, that Christ is found in him, and he in Christ. And the same saieng in a maner hath he in the tenth booke and 13. chapter, where he writeth; For euen as if a man do mingle togither war molten in the fire, with other war likewise molten, in such wise that he seeth one certeine thing to be made of both; so by the communion of the bodie and bloud of Christ, he is in vs, and we are in him. And thus much out of Cyrill. Where you see that both Christ and we are compared vnto molten war, and yet will you not saie that Christ and we be transubstantiated. How then will you saie this to be done as concerning bread, bicause of that similitude set downe by Chrysostome? Nay rather if the matter be diligentlie examined, we our selues are more ioined vnto Christ than bread. For Christ is ioined after such a maner as he is vnto bread, to this end, that we should trulie be united vnto him. And the words whereby the bread is called the bodie of Christ, do more belong vnto vs, than vnto it, which by nature vnderstanded or beleeued nothing.

The similitude of war in Cyrill.

Christ is more ioined vnto vs, than vnto the bread.

D.Tresham. Chrysostome is the best interpretour of himselfe, who vpon the 26. chapter of Matthew, homilie the 83. sheweth, that he doth not speake hyperbolicallie, and writeth: Therefore let vs beleeue God euerie where, and let vs not withstand him, euen although vnto our sense and cogitation it may seeme absurd which he speaketh. And a litle after: For we cannot be deceiued by his words, but our owne sense is verie easilie deceiued. These words, This is my bodie, cannot be false: let vs be lead with no ambiguitie, but let vs beleeue, &c. And anon after: What sunnie beames shall not that hand exceed, which handleth this crowne? Here beginneth he to intermingle figures, neither must you alledge figures out of their owne places.

D.Martyr. Now as I said, do you concur with me, that Chrysostome otherwhile speaketh tropicallie in this matter, bicause you cannot denie it: but onelie you contend with me, that before those words: What sunnie beames ought not that hand to exceed? there is no figure. The thing it selfe sheweth that it is otherwise. For you haue it at the beginning. No sensible thing is deliuered vnto vs by Christ; and denie you if you can, that sensible signes are instituted by him and deliuered vnto vs. And moreouer he added: Oh how manie saie at this daie [I would I had the forme and shape of him! I would I had his verie garments! I would I might see his shoes! You see himselfe, and you touch himselfe. And will you not acknowledge a figure to be in this place? Which of vs in the Eucharist doth see and touch Christ? And a little after; He doth reduce vs (as I maie saie) into one masse and substance with him: neither maketh he vs his bodie by faith onelie, but in verie deed. Here doth he make mention of our change into Christ, which you cannot saie is a transubstantiation. And againe, in the verie same former places, he compareth baptisme with the Eucharist; to the intent we may vnderstand that the like consideration must be had of the one, that is of the other. And bicause you take hold for your selfe of that, which Chrysostome said; Neither doth he onelie by faith, but in verie deed make [vs] his bodie: you are neuer a whit furthered thereby, seeing he speaketh not there of bread, but of the coniunction of Christ with vs: which I grant & anded not of faith onelie. For albeit that we imbrace Christ in the sacrament by faith, yet doth there a verie true change of Christ into vs follow vpon the same. For our mind is made therefull and readie to do honour vnto God; and our bodie is become more

After what maner we be trulie changed into Christ.

more subdued: and so there is made a verie change indeed, as well of the mind as of the bodie. And after this maner it is vnderstood, that we are gathered into one masse or substance with Christ, bicause we are made verie conformable vnto him. And so you see that by these words, bread is not taken awaie; nor doth it follow, that Christ is either reallie or substantiallie conteined therein: but rather you haue it here out of Chrysostome, that they be sensible things which are deliuered vnto vs. And after the words which you noted, before which you would not haue a figure to be, figures are there so manifestlie, that you cannot denie them; as when he saith: The toong is made bloudie or red. Wherefore it followeth that all this speach is hyperbolicall or figuratiue.

D.Tresham. I would to God that you could rightlie vnderstand! The maner of the apostles and fathers is, first to teach faith, and the doctrine of truth, and afterward to order for maners.

D.Martyr. But yet in these places of Chrysostome, you cannot distinguish to me doctrine and maners: figuratiue speeches be spread euerie where.

D.Tresham. I haue alreadie shewed you how the case standeth. But I will bring an other Doctor against you, and I deale courteoulie with you. For I will put one to you that (as I take it) was your countriman, Thomas De vio, Caietanus.

of Cardinall Caietan.

D.Martyr. I allow him not, he is a schole-man, he was a cardinall, and liued in my time: neither yet would you in all matters admit him.

D.Tresham. Verie well, I pæld to you; if you will not allow of him, I will not alledge him.

Heere did the reuerend father, the bishop of Lincolne, giue leaue vnto M.Morgan to oppose againe, if he would.

M.Morgan.

All the Doctors and fathers, to the last man, confute all the principles whereby transubstantiation is taken awaie, and therefore it must be established.

D.Martyr. I denie the antecedent; for if the fathers be rightlie vnderstood, they do not take awaie our principles.

M.Morgan. This principle they quite take awaie; that an humane bodie cannot be in manie places at once: and that a bodie consisting of quantitie, cannot be without a measurable quantitie.

D.Martyr. I denie your argument, that the fathers do so abolish these things, as they be taken vtterlie awaie. Neither be these full principles, for the which transubstantiation is refused. For euen Luther, and they which hold with him, do grant the bodie to be in manie places at once; and that a bodie of quantitie may be without a quantitatiue measure; & yet notwithstanding they denie transubstantiation. Wherefore those things which you recite be no full and perfect principles, for the which transubstantiation is refused of vs. For our first and chefe principle is, the holie scripture, which doth acknowledge bread to be in that place.

The cheefe principle for which transubstantiation is denied.

M.Morgan. That a bodie maie be without quantitatiue measure, it shall be proued out of Chrysostome vpon the second chapter of Iohn the 86. homilie, where it is written; It may verie well be doubted, how an incorruptible bodie take the print of the nailes, and could be touched with a mortall hand. But let not this trouble you, seeing this came by speciall permission. For the bodie being so thin and light, as it could enter in the doores, when they were fast shut, wanted all maner of grosenesse: but euen such did he shew himselfe to be, that the resurrection might be beleeued. And that you might vnderstand that he himselfe was crucified, and that no other man did rise for him, therfore did he rise with the signes of the crosse, and did eate. Of which signe of the resurrection, the apostles made a great account, saieng; We which did eate and drinke togither with him. Therefore, euen as when before his passion he walked vpon the waters, we saie not that that bodie was anie other than a bodie of our nature; so after the resurrection, perceiuing it to haue the print of the nailes, we must not saie that the same was corruptible: these things were shewed for the disciples sake. You heare that it was by diuine permission, that the woounds were shewed, to the intent the disciples might beleeue; and that the bodie of Christ was without all thicknesse, and that it was so subtill and light, as it could enter in, the doores being fast shut. What saie you to Chrysostome?

Acts.10,41.

D.Martyr. First I answer, that I heare not by these words, that the bodie of Christ was in diuers places at one time, for then it had beene no humane bodie. And as touching thicknesse,

I answer, that the bodie being glorified, is not altogither without it, other wise it should be no humane bodie; yet such a substance as is nimble and light, and obeieth the spirit. Neither doth it therefore followe, that Christ was without circumscription, the which belongeth to the measure of quantitie; notwithstanding the which, he might neuertheleste by his Godhead and glorie, penetrate vnto his disciples. And bycause I distinguish of grossenesse, either that yon will vnderstand Chrysostome, that indeed Christ had the same, but yet not such as should hinder him from entering in vnto his disciples. Wherein I agree with him: or else you thinke, that he must be so vnderstood, as he wanted all kind of thicknesse; and this do I denie. Neither do the words of Chrysostome make for such an opinion: for he is plainlie of the euangelists mind, that the prints of the nailes and of the crosse were kept still in him. For how can it be, that figures can haue place, where, in the substance there is no quantitie? I grant indeed that it was of permission, that he suffered the scars vpon his bodie, that he would be felt, and that he did eate and drinke with his apostles: for it was not of necessitie that these things should be done; but so far forth as himselfe would. Yet in the meane time I heare not, that it was of permission that he had a quantitie, or that he was in some one place: which I affirmed to be necessarie vnto a bodie. Againe, he affirmeth that the same bodie was not of anie other nature than ours be. But that ours haue a quantitie, and measure of a quantitie, it is most certeine: onlie he excepteth pollibilitie to be corrupted. And he ascribeth vnto him so great a lightnesse and subtilitie of bodie, as he could enter in when the doores were shut. And onlie he taketh awaie such thicknesse, as might hinder that entering in, but yet not all thickenesse.

That the bodie of Christ after his resurrection had a quantitie.

M.Morgan. The bodie of Christ (by your saieng) stucke in the middest of the doores, his thicknesse not hindering him, and therefore there were two bodies in one place.

D.Martyr. Herunto I answer two maner of waies. First, that the holie scriptures do declare this miracle; and therefore we easilie giue credit vnto them: but that the bodie of Christ is substantiallie pselent in manie places at once, they neuer teach. Naie rather, they ascribe vnto the bodie of Christ a certeine place: heauen I meane, at the right hand of the father, not in one place. Further, it is repugnant with the nature of a true humane bodie, and therefore must not be admitted. Secondlie, I saie, that in the same entrance of the bodie of Christ vnto his disciples, the quantitie of the wall might by the power of his diuinitie so yeld, as two bodies were not at one time in one place. And I remember, that Tertullian (bicause ye be wont also to allege that the bodie of Christ came forth of the virgins wombe being shut) in his booke *De resurrectione carnis*, writeth; that Christ in his birth opened the wombe of his mother. And this doth Cyprian also in his exposition of the Creed affirme. And Ierom vnto Iustinus writeth; that Christ came forth bloudie out of his mothers wombe. Some there be, that thinke Christ came forth of the virgins wombe, the same altogither closed and shut. Wherefore, as all men are not of one mind in this matter, so haue I giuen you a double answer. One, where-in I grant, that this pearling through was done by miracle; yet not so, that the bodie of Christ in pearling through lost all his quantitie, but by an argument drawne from a similitude, I do not grant, that the bodie of Christ is in manie places at once, bicause this the scripture teacheth not, but sheweth the contrarie. The other answer is, that by the power of the Godhead, the doores gaue place; euen as some saie, that the virgins wombe was opened.

whether Christ opened the wombe of his mother.

M.Morgan. Vnto that which you answer, that the thicknesse or quantitie of the wall or doore gaue place by miracle vnto Christ that pearled it: I demand of you, whether the apostles sawe the doores giue place?

D.Martyr. What if they sawe it not? It maketh no matter whether they sawe it, or sawe it not: the holie scripture doth neither affirme it, nor denie it; but bicause it declareth it to be done, it must be beleeued. But that the bodie of Christ may carnallie or substantiallie be in manie places togither, or lieth hid vnder the accidents of bread and wine, it teacheth no where.

M.Morgan. I therefore demanded this question, bicause if the doores gaue place, and the apostles sawe it not, Christ did plainlie deceiue the senses; and so he had beene a iugler, the which you do oppugne, when you denie that the bodie of Christ lieth hid vnder the forme of bread, least forsooth he should be accounted a iugler or deceiuer of the senses, when as neuertheleste Erasmus vpon the 24. chapter of Luke, saith; that the bodie of Christ when he will is inuisible, and when he will, it may be seene. But setting this aside; Augustine, in his sermon, which in number is 159. and the title hereof is *Dominica in octauis paschæ*, in the third sermon *Ad competentes*; It is a miracle, that our Lord Jesus Christ in verie flesh entered in vnto his disciples, through the doores being shut. Perhaps ye require of me a reason, and ye require an argument. If it were verie flesh (saie you) which rose againe, how did it enter in vnto the disciples, the doores being

being fast shut? Render me a reason (saith he.) O man, if thou require a reason of me, it is not wonderfull; if there be sought an example, it shall not be singular. Doest thou beleeue that the Lord Christ walked with sure footing vpon the water? I knowe thou beleeuest it. And wilt thou then alike me; If Christ entered in by the doors being shut, where is the weight of his bodie? Let the measure and weight depart for a time. He hath done this, to whome nothing is impossible. Could not Christ, which brought forth his flesh out of the sepulchre, enter in vnto his disciples the doores being shut? And the selfe-same Augustine in the same title, sermon. 4. A great miracle! but yet cease thou to marueil, if thou thinke him to be GOD. For it were a marueil, if he that were onelie man had done this: referre it vnto the omnipotencie, not vnto a phantasie. He entered in when the doores were shut. I answer thee, that thou mightest knowe that he was true flesh, he shewed his scarres by touching. But euen as it is not (saist thou) the propertie of a bodilie nature, to enter in through the doores being shut, so commeth it not of a bodilie power, to walke vpon the waues of the sea: he entered in by the doores when they were shut. Answer me. Grant me that he had verie flesh; he walked vpon the waters of the sea. Grant thou me also a weight of the flesh. Wilt thou knowe that this likewise came of the omnipotencie? He gaue it also vnto Peter, who gaue that which he would; and that which was proper to himselfe, he reserued: for he being aliue, entered in at the doores being shut, and in his birth opened not the closenes of his mothers wombe. Lo, you haue heard that the weight and quantitatiue measure departed from Christs bodie.

the bodie of Christ which arose was of true flesh, and therefore of quantitie.

D.Martyr. Before you recited the places of Augustine, you obiected; But if the wall or doore gaue place vnto Christ, when he entered in, and the apostles sawe it not; then did Christ plainlie delude the senses. I answer, that this matter is not of necessitie: the apostles might see him standing by them in their sight, and yet not know the maner how he entred in to them. And whereas you saie, that I am against it, that the bodie of Christ is visible and inuisible at his owne pleasure, least he should seeme to be a iugler or mocker, I saie you are deceiued: I speake not this of the bodie of Christ, but of bread: bicause it might seeme to be the part of a iugler, to shew the properties, forme, taste, colour, and qualitie of bread, and yet to take awaie the substance thereof. Neither doth Erasmus, whome you alledge, make against me. But I answer vnto Augustine, and standing to my former distinction, I saie; that he meaneth not, that from the bodie of Christ departed all the measure of quantitie, for then should it haue beene no bodie; but he onelie vnderstandeth, that those things were reteined, which might haue beene a let to his entrance and pearling through to his disciples.

He denie not but that the flesh of Christ is visible and inuisible, at his owne pleasure.

M.Morgan. If there were permitted a quantitie and measure thereof in the bodie of Christ, in such sort as it should not hinder the perfing of the doore, it followeth that there were two bodies in one place.

D.Martyr. I denie the conclusion, bicause it might be (as I haue said) that the quantitie and thicknesse of the doore gaue place.

M.Morgan. If the quantitie of the doore had giuen place, it had beene no need for Augustine to saie; that the measure and weight of Christs bodie gaue place for a time: for he might haue entered in with his whole measure and weight, when the quantitie of the doore or wall gaue place. And so might I also answer to that which you obiect out of Augustine vnto Dardanus. Againe you saie, that the measure & weight of the bodie, which hindered the entering in, were cast awaie how beit, all quantitatiue measure hindereth the bodie of Christ from entering in through the doores being shut, and therefore all the quantitatiue measure was cast awaie from the bodie of Christ.

That all quantitie and measure thereof letteth not Christs bodie from entering in, the doores being shut.

D.Martyr. Whereas you take vpon you to proue, that all quantitie and measure therof letteth the bodie of Christ from passing through, that is not true: for he might by a miracle and by the power of his Godhead, enter in vnto the apostles, euen when the doores were shut; as it hath alreadie beene said, either bicause he opened the doores themselues when they were shut, or else bicause they gaue place vnto him for a time, and afterward did returne to their former state, or else by some other meanes not knowne vnto vs by the scripture. Of the like thing done, read the fift chapter of the Acts of the apostles. But this is a verie plaine matter, that all quantitie being removed, a humane bodie cannot reteine his owne nature. Howbeit, the bodie of Christ, and the glorified bodies of saints, haue not such a quantitie of grossenesse; but their bodies be light and nimble, in such sort as they obeie the spirit, and are moued whither it will. And whereas you saie, you can after the same maner answer vnto those things which are obiected out of the epistle vnto Dardanus: if you frame an answer and declare the same, I will saie what I thinke thereof; but when you speake generallie, it appeareth not what you would. And as to that which you saie, that the quantitie of the wall giuing place, there was no need for the measure and weight of Christs bodie to be left for a time, you weigh not the matter aright: for

for the quantitie of the wall might in such sort giue place, as yet there should be need of some slendernesse and lightnesse, or agilitie to the bodie of Christ, when it passed through: as when he walked vpon the waters, the waters sustained his bodie as it walked, but yet so, as some weight went awaie from the bodie when it walked. Besides, as I said before, the scripture theweth of this miracle, but so doth it not thew to be don in the Eucharist. And this was my cheefe principle against transubstantiation.

M.Morgan. Also Augustine in the third tome, in his booke *De agone christiano*, chap. 24. Such a bodie had Christ as was put into the sepulchre, and therefore was of quantitie. Luk. 24. 39. Neither let vs giue eare vnto them which denie, that such a bodie of the Lord rose againe, as was put in the sepulchre. For if it had not beene such a bodie, he him selfe would not haue said to his disciples after his resurrection; Handle and see, for a spirit hath no flesh and bones as ye see mee haue. And it is sacrilledge to beleeue, that our Lord, he himselfe being the truth, did make a lie in anie thing. Nor let it moue vs, that because it is written, that he appeared suddenlie to his disciples, the doores being shut, we should therefore denie that the same was an humane bodie; seeing against the nature of this bodie we see, that he entered in by the doores when they were shut: for all things are possible vnto God. And it is manifest, that to walke vpon the waters, is against the nature of this bodie, and yet not onelie the Lord himselfe, before his passion, walked after such a maner, but he also made Peter so to walke. And so likewise after his resurrection he did with his bodie what he would. If doubtlesse he were able before his passion, to glorifie that bodie, that it might appere as bright as the sunne; why could he not also after his passion reduce the same in a moment, to what thinnesse he would, that he might enter in at the doores fast shut? You heare out of Augustine, that the bodie of Christ became verie slender or subtill, for his entering in at the doores being shut: whereby it followeth, that two bodies were together in one place, which is no lesse absurd vnto nature, than one verie bodie to be in manie places at once.

D.Martyr. This place conteineth in it three cheefe points. First, that the bodie of Christ arose such a one, as it was in the sepulchre; that is to wit, a verie humane bodie: which being true, it could not be without a quantitie, and the measure thereof. The second point is, that Christ, after his resurrection, did with his bodie what he would; the which I easilie hold with: but yet he saith not, that he would haue his bodie to be without a quantitie, or to be found in manie places at once. The third is, that he could reduce the same in a moment of time, to becom as slender as he would, that he might enter in at the doores being shut: by which maner of speach, quantitie is not taken awaie, but pruned. For thinnesse is a qualitie of a substance that hath bodie and quantitie: wherefore it requireth a quantitie and some measure of the same. It is also remembred that Christ said; Handle and see, &c. But who is ignorant, that those things which are handled, haue both quantitie & measure of quantitie. Wherfore by slendernesse he vnderstandeth agilitie, yet not that which taketh awaie the bodie. But as for that which followeth; to wit, that two bodies were together, I haue alreadie denied it: because in some part the quantitie of the wall might giue place; and yet neuertheles the thinnesse of Christs bodie to be added. Againe, the fathers, which on this wise affirme this persing through, perhaps accounted it not for so great an absurditie in nature, to haue two bodies to be in one place, as to haue one bodie to be together in manie places. Lastlie I haue alreadie said, that of this accesse of Christ vnto his apostles, when the doores were shut, the scripture speaketh; but it doth not teach as touching the bodie of Christ, that it is in manie places together, or without quantitie: and by this miracle there is nothing diminished as touching the veritie of Christs bodie, neither is his proper quantitie taken awaie.

M.Morgan. I allow not that which you last spake; to wit, that Augustine by subtilitie vnderstandeth agilitie, because that belongeth to the swiftnesse of motion: but the qualitie, whereof Augustine speaketh, doth serue to the persing through of thicke matters. But now I will shew that it is the gift of a glorified bodie to penetrate, when it will, through most thicke bodies. For Ambrose vpon the 24. chapter of Luke saith; But Thomas had cause to wonder, when he sawe a bodie come in among them, all places being fast shut, by waies impossible to be entered, being compassed about with bodies, & the place remaining sound: & therefore a maruell, how a bodilie nature conueied it selfe in by a bodie that could not be passed through by an inuisible entrance, but by visible apparance, easilie to be touched, and hard to be conceiued. Finallie, the disciples being troubled, they thought they sawe a spirit: and therefore the Lord, to make a shew of his resurrection, said; Luk. 24. 39. Feele ye and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me haue. Wherefore he passed not through that waie, that vp and vnbled, by nature without a bodie, but by the qualitie of a bodilie resurrection. Sith that which is touched, is a bodie; that which is handled, is a bodie; and in a bodie shall we rise. For it is sowen a naturall bodie, 1. Co. 15. 44

bodie, it shall arise a spirituall bodie. But that shall be more subtill; this is more grosse, as that which pet was compact with the qualitie of earthlie corruption. For how could that not be a bodie, wherein remained the marks of the wounds, and points of the scars, which the Lord offered to be felt; wherein he not onelie confirmeth faith, but also wetteth deuotion? Because it pleased him to carrie into heauen the woumds which he had receiued for our sakes; but abolish them he would not, that he might shew vnto God the father, the price of our redemption. Here doth Ambrose affirme, that all glorified bodies haue power to carrie themselues through the thickest bodies. For he saith, that by reason of the qualitie of his bodilie resurrection, he passed thorough places, which vtnallie were vnpossible to be passed. And so we conclude here, that it must be attributed vnto glorified bodies, that when they will, they can penetrate through the thickest bodies. And you shall note that he saith; The bodie came in when the doores were shut, without breach of anie thing that was ioined together.

D.Martyr. It serueth not for my matter to dispute now of agilitie. Wherefore as concerning this, I grant that Augustine by this Latin word *Subtilitas* vnderstood *Tenuitas*, that is, slendernesse or thinnesse: we will not striue for this matter. But I will referre you to that which I said a little before; to wit, that subtilitie is a qualitie of quantitie, and doth necessarilie suppose a measure of quantitie. Then do I answer, that this place of Ambrose maketh nothing against me: for the substance of Christ, which did penetrate vnto his disciples, he plainelie calleth corporall, and onelie attributed the miracle to the qualitie of his resurreetion; and that which is handled and touched, he expreslie saith is a bodie. And betweene this bodie of ours, which we now haue, and that which shall hereafter be, he putteth this difference; that that shall be more subtill, and this is more grosse. And he would haue Christ to haue a true bodie, because of the marks of his wounds: wherefore he taketh not awaie the quantitie or measure thereof, but onlie sheweth what the qualitie of the resurrection is able to do. And in this argument of yours, two things should haue beene declared, which you did not shew. The one is, that the thicknesse or maulnesse of the doore gaue not place by miracle. Secondlie, that an humane bodie can be at one time in manie places. These things you tooke vpon you to be declared, and yet haue not prooued.

M.Morgan. Yes indeed, I declared it at the first; to wit, that quantitie gaue not place: because Ambrose saith, that the bodie of Christ entered without breach of anie thing that was close.

D.Martyr. Here, saith Ambrose, the bodie of Christ had an entrance and waie, by places impenetrable and vnpassable: which I also do grant, because they might not be penetrated without a miracle, the which might be, that the masse of the wall gaue place to the bodie glorified, and that without offense to the whole frame either of the bodie of Christ, or of the doore, which was not broken or opened by violence, but easilie, and of it owne accord made rowme, and was restored againe into his owne place, in such sort as there appeared neither violence nor harme done. And moreouer, that which is cheeflie required, you prooue not anie such thing to be done. The fathers I haue expounded, who although they may be drawne vnto your opinion, yet haue I plainlie taught before, out of the scriptures, what answer must be made.

Here was D. Tresham commanded to dispute againe.

D.Tresham.

You verie well knowe, that substance doth in nature go before quantitie; and therefore it is no hard matter vnto the diuine power to be separated and found without quantitie.

D.Martyr. I know that in a supernaturall consideration, substance is set apart from quantitie, because there is an other reason and definition to be had of the one than is of the other. But as touching that a corporall substance should be extant, and especiallie the true bodie of a man, it cannot be, if quantitie be taken awaie. And who knoweth not, that although substance do in nature go before quantitie, yet is it straitwaie diuided into bodilie and vnbodilie: and bodilie is diuided into that that hath life, and that which is without life. And a bodie hauing life, is said to be instrumentall, and also furnished with members, which to be without quantitie is vnpossible: otherwise it would be granted, that an humane bodie is without feet, without hands, and without eies, &c.

D.Tresham. It is no hard matter vnto God, that that which in nature is the former, should be extant without the latter.

D.Martyr. You should in the antecedent haue vnderstood a bodie naturall, and instrumentall, made perfect with all the members; such

such as is the bodie of Christ; & after this maner it is not so first in quantitie, as it can be extant without it.

D.Tresham. That which includeth not contradiction in the termes thereof, God is able to bring to passe. Againe, you affirmed in your former disputation, that one and the same thing is not a signe of it selfe in the selfe-same person. That do I denie out of the second chapter of Luke; I bring you glad tidings of great ioie, and this shall be a signe vnto you: ye shall find the babe swadled, and laid in a manger.

He would proue Christ to be a signe of himselfe. verse.10.

D.Martyr. First of all I answer, that it includeth contradiction, that there should be an instrumentall bodie furnished perfectlie with members, and yet to be without quantitie. Againe, that which you bring out of Luke proueth not; for the infant swadled in clothes was no signe of himselfe; but that the angell spake a truth: but the true words of the angell and Christ haue not one and the selfe-same person. And I before, when I spake these things, said; that the sonne in the epistle to the Hebrues, is not called the image of his fathers substance, vnlesse it be as touching his manhood. For by the figure *Antonomasia*, this name is fit for him aboue other men. For when it is said; Manie and sundrie waies spake God to the fathers in old time in the prophets, but last of all in his sonne, the speech concerneth him now incarnate. Albeit that all men are the images of God, yet much more is this attributed vnto the man Christ. After what maner also that place may be vnderstood, as touching the Godhead, I haue declared; and those things were handled by the waie.

D.Tresham. I demand of you, whether the bodie of Christ be passible and impassible both togither?

D.Martyr. I answer as before, according to the opinion of Vigilius, that one and the same nature doth not receiue such contraries both togither.

D.Tresham. I proue that the verie same bodie was both passible and impassible at one time: because the bodie of Christ, and the scripture teach, that it was passible, not of necessitie, but willinglie: sith in Iohn it is said; I laie downe my life, and no man taketh it from me: and I adde, that no man could take it awaie.

Esaie.53.7. And in Esaie the prophet, it is said; He is offered vp, because he himselfe would: and therefore in will he was passible. Also he was impassible, because if Christ would not, he should not haue suffered; so as the bodie of Christ was passible and impassible both togither, as he would himselfe. Wherfore, let this be the forme of the argument;

That bodie is impassible, whose life cannot be taken awaie, vnlesse he will himselfe; But the bodie of Christ was in such sort before his death, as no man could take awaie his life from him, except he would himselfe; Therefore it was impassible.

Whether the bodie of Christ were passible and impassible both at once.

D.Martyr. I distinguish the power of doing, or of not doing. For if you refer the same to the will of Christ, there was both. For Christ could be willing that he should suffer, and he could be willing that he should not suffer: and euen as he would himselfe, so should his bodie haue beene either passible or impassible, but he himselfe would neuer togither, and at the same time haue but the one part: and so that bodie was euermore either passible or impassible, and neuer both at one time togither, no not as touching this outward beginning of Christs will. Moreouer, if you haue respect to the qualities and conditions of his bodie, so as you speake of that which was in act; I saie that of necessitie, when the bodie of Christ was indued with passible qualities and conditions, it could not be vnder impassible qualities: it might be changed from the one sort to the other; but to reteine both at once it was vnpossible.

Of the second question: Whether the bodie of Christ be reallie present in the Eucharist.

D.Tresham.

THe ancient authour Irenæus, in his fourth booke, and 24. chapter against the Valentinians, who said there was no resurrection of the flesh, and denied Christ to be the sonne of God, who created all things; How (saith he) shall it appeare vnto them, that the bread, wherein thanks are giuen, is the bodie of his Lord, if they denie the verie sonne of that creator? And a little after; But how againe do they saie, that the flesh turneth into corruption, and receiueth not life, the same being nourished with the bodie and bloud of the Lord? Whereby it may be perceiued, that maner of faith and doctrine of the church there was at that time, touching the sacrament of the Eucharist. Thus I dispute; Euerie thing, whereby another thing is proued, ought to be more certeine than that which is proued: but the resurrection of our flesh is proued by the presence of the bodie of Christ in the Eucharist; and Christ is proued to be the verie true sonne of the creator

creator of this world, therfore the bodie of Christ is there reallie present; & that ought to be more certeine to vs, than those things which are proued by these.

D.Martyr. Irenæus argument is true, neither do I denie the same: but it maketh nothing against me. For that bread is a bread of the Lords supper, & it is also the bodie of Christ: but how? Sacramentallie. And that Irenæus may conclude against the heretikes, which denied Christ to haue beene the sonne of God, the maker of this world, he argueth, that Christ take bread, the which, sith it is from God the creator of this world, Christ would haue vsed an other creature. Wherefore, for Irenæus purpose it is sufficient, to proue that this kind of bread being a creature, hath place in verie deed in the sacrament; least Christ might seeme to be an vsurper of a strange creature, if he should be called the sonne of an other God than of him that made the world. But that we may knowe what Irenæus iudged as touching the Eucharist, let vs consider that he wrote that our bodies are fed, nourished, consist and increase by the Eucharist. And this saieng is so true, as we may vnderstand, that by this sacrament there commeth vnto vs two kinds of nourishment. One is naturall, to wit, by the signes, bread and wine, by the which commonlie an humane bodie is sustained. Vnto which kind of nurtriment, although it be not to be contemned, yet Irenæus and other of the fathers do not attribute much therevnto. The other nourishment is, that whilst we receiue the sacrament, we imbrase the bodie and bloud of Christ, by the mind and faith: and there first of all is our mind filled with the spirit and with grace; secondlie, our bodie is renewed, that it may from daie to daie become a fit instrument for the spirit, and so made more capable of the blessed resurrection. And this did Irenæus plainlie expresse, when he saith; Bread receiuing from the earth the calling of God, is no more common bread, but is made the Eucharist, which consisteth of two things; earthlie, and heauenlie: euen as our bodies receiuing the Eucharist, be no longer corruptible bodies. And after this maner he bringeth out of the Eucharist, a reason of our true resurrection to come.

Two sorts of nourishment in the Eucharist.

D.Tresham. Whereas you saie, that Irenæus doth name bread in this place, and that therefore his meaning is, that in the Eucharist there are both; to wit, as well bread as the bodie of Christ, & that these things are of great force to confirme his argument against the Valentinians: you haue not satisfied me. For loke in what sense the holie scriptures do name bread in this sacrament, euen in the same sense doth Irenæus speake in this place. And he most euidentlie saith, that the verie bodie of Christ is in the Eucharist: and he calleth it bread, either for that it was bread, or else for that it receiueth the shewes of bread.

D.Martyr. Indeed I grant, that Irenæus speaketh of bread in the verie same sense that the scriptures do: and therefore is it in such wise granted by him, as it is by them, that bread doth here remaine. But that he saith, that the bodie of Christ is in the bread, after such a maner as you will haue it, you shall neuer be able to shew out of his words. And that by the scripture it is named bread, in such a sense as you appoint, I haue often times disproued it.

D.Tresham. Chrysostome in his 61. homilie, vnto the people of Antioch, and vpon Iohn the 45. homilie writeth; Your brother was I minded to be, and I haue partaked flesh and bloud for you; and those things whereby I am ioined vnto you, I haue againe giuen to you. Wherevpon it appeareth againe, that the flesh and bloud, whereby he was made of our consanguinitie, are giuen in the Eucharist.

D.Martyr. That the flesh of Christ is giuen to the communicants in the Eucharist, I grant it: we dispute as touching the maner how; which I proue to be spirituall. And yet do I not therefore vnderstand, that we receiue a feined flesh, or a feined bodie; but in a sacrament & by faith, we truelie receiue those things, and are vnited vnto them.

D.Tresham. Whereas you saie, spirituallie, that is not in the words of Chrysostome: and by faith we may receiue euen without this sacrament.

D.Martyr. Albeit that Chrysostome, in this place, doth not write expresslie this word, Spirituallie, yet doth he sufficientlie expresse it else-where, when he saith; Those things which be giuen vnto vs, be such, as are to be vnderstood. And whereas you obiect, that the receiuing of the bodie of Christ by faith, may be also had without the sacrament, I grant it: for both with the signes & without the signes, while we consider in our minds Christ crucified for vs, & his bloud shed for vs, and do so beleeue, we are truelie made partakers of him: but yet the signes being ioined therewithall, which the holie Ghost vseth as instruments, for the better painting of faith in our minds, we are verie much holpen. For we be verie slacke vnto diuine things, and therefore we haue need of outward sacraments.

For we may both with the figures and without the figures, be partakers of the bodie of Christ.

The

The disputation of the fourth daie, *made betweene D.VVilliam Chadse*, wherein he opposed D.Peter *Martyr, the first daie of Iune.*

The Preface of D.VVilliam Chadse.

I Find, and I am most assuredlie taught by experience, that that is true, which that same Gregorie Nazianzen, called the diuine, hath in his third booke *De Theologia*: that To reiect another mans opinion, is no great matter, but easie for euerie man; howbeit contrariwise to proue his owne, is the point both of a godlie and a wise man. For if the contention be about bare words, that will come to passe, which that same wittie Logician in Nicæas trulie spake: While men striue about words, words are set against words; and that which is spoken, is ouerthrowne by the art of eloquence. But if the triall be about the right sense, Paule pronounceth; A naturall man perceiueth not those things which be of the spirit of God: for it is foolishnes vnto him, neither can he vnderstand, bicause they are spirituallie examined. If a man appeale vnto reason and profound wisedome, by and by it will be said; My speach and my preaching is not in the enticing words of mans wisedome, but in the declaration of the spirit, and of power, that our faith should not be in the wisedome of men, but in the power of God. Therefore to dispute in so hard a matter, and to proue by reasons, that which ought to be held onelie by faith and beleefe, is a dangerous thing; and granted to no man, without the singular gift of God. Especiallie (according to that saieng of Ierom vnto Paulinus) where there is a disputation betweene them, which after prophane writings come to the holie scriptures, and by a set maner of speach delight the eares of the people: Whatsoeuer they shall saie, that they thinke to be the lawe of God; and vouchsafe not to knowe what the prophets, & what the apostles haue iudged, but aplie vnfit testimonies to their owne sense.

1.Cor.2,14.

1.Cor.2,4.

As though it were a kind of speach of great value, and not of vile erroz, to depraue sentences and to drawe according to a mans owne will the scripture which is against him: there to acknowledge a figure, where no figure is; there to denie a figure, where there is a truth; to drawe all to that purpole, whither his affection leadeth him. To this verie well agreeth that which Augustine hath in his third booke *De doctrina christiana*, the tenth chapter; If an opinion of anie erroz haue possessed the mind, whatsoeuer otherwise the scripture hath affirmed, men thinke it to be a figuratiue speach. But is not this to please the affection, when as the sacred scripture saith manifestlie, This is my bodie, to interpret it, This signifieth my bodie? When the fathers affirme; verie flesh and verie bloud, to make a glose that the fathers spake spirituallie, or else hyperbolicallie; when they teach that bread is changed, not in forme but in nature; to ascribe the same onelie vnto an holie vse? Do they bring in the scriptures? No, but they pretend the scriptures, as saith Tertullian. And by this their boldnesse they persuade some, yea & in the disputation it selfe they tire the strong, they catch hold of the weake, and send away the indifferent in a doubt. Therefore we must labour diligentlie, that our eies may be opened; we must obteine by praiers, that he which is the author of the scriptures, will also be the interpretour of them, that he will open our sense that we may vnderstand the scriptures. He that speaketh with the tong, let him praie, that he may interpret. And so, in stead of words, there will proceed vertue; and for reason, faith; that we be not carried awaie with euerie winde of a word, but that we may be grafted and rooted in that word, which hath power to saue our soules. And that this may come to passe praie you vnto the holie Ghost togither with me in my accustomed praier.

Come holie spirit, &c.

D.Peter Martyr.

THose things, which you haue now so bitinglie spoken in your preface, how vnagreeable they are to me, I will not indeuour to shew. Onlie this will I admonish, that I neuer wrested or corrupted the holie scriptures, neither haue I imagined figures where they haue no place, nor yet haue brought in anie new, but such as are vsuall, and which in a maner all the fathers do acknowledge. Howbeit, I will not spend the time in confuting of these matters, for there be manie things, which I must saie, for the confirmation of my questions; as commonlie is wont to be done of them, which are to answer in disputations, lest they might seeme to defend absurdities: whereby also it shall be knowne how smallie those things which you spake earwhilst do belong to my opinion. Yesterdaie in verie deed I was minded to do this: but bicause I cannot tell by what chance I was constreined to deale with another aduersarie, than was

was determined; I thought good for the sooner dispatch with him, & to dispute with the ordinarie appointed, to pretermit these things, & to refer them ouer to this daie. And that our purpose may haue good successe, I will (as I haue hitherto done) call for the helpe of God.

D.Martyrs Praier.

OAlmightie God, we acknowledge the weakenesse of our mind, and therefore we dare not approch to the beholding and declaring of thy truth, vnles we first, as meet we should, do call vpon thy name. Wherefore we desire thee with most feruent praiers, that of thy speciall goodnesse thou wilt infuse light into our darknesse, and by the benefit of thy holie spirit thou wilt make plaine thole doubts, which shall happen: that the waie of saluation may be made manifest vnto them which beleeue, through Iesus Christ our Lord; Amen.

The confirmation of the first question.

The first reason to driue from the sacrament of baptisme.

FOr confirmation of the first question, besides the reasons, which you haue had in disputing the former daies, I will now adde these also. That Christ is trulie giuen vnto vs in baptisme, Paule testified vnto the Galathians when he wrote; So manie of you as are baptised, haue put on Christ. And in the epistle vnto the Romanes he saieth, that by baptisme we are grafted into Christ. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians, he ioineth togither these two sacraments, when he saith, that We be baptised into one bodie, and haue dronke one spirit. And yet do not anie saie, that vnto the true receiuing of Christ in baptisme, we haue need of transubstantiation: therefore it followeth, that the same also in the Eucharist is superfluous. Neither is it an easie thing to be said, that Christ is giuen more excellentlie in the Eucharist, than he is in baptisme, sith by baptisme we are set in him, and by the Eucharist we are fed in him. And there is no man doubteth, but that our generation doth bring more substance to vs than doth the nourishment. I let passe that which Ierom wrote vnto Hedibia, that we in baptisme do eate the bodie and bloud of Christ. And Augustine saith, that by baptisme we be made partakers of the bodie and bloud of Christ, euen before we eate of the Lords bread, and drinke of his cup.

Gal.3,27.

1 Rom.6. verse.4,5.

1.Cor.12,13.

2

1.Cor.12,27

We be more the bodie of Christ than is the bread

3

Luk.24,39.

The second reason. As Christ said; This is my bodie, so likewise he said, by the mouth of Paule; Ye are the bodie of Christ; and yet for the making of vs to be the bodie of Christ, there is no need of transubstantiation. While then shall it not be true as concerning bread, that it is the bodie of Christ, vnlesse transubstantiation happen therein? Yea, and if a man will well consider of the matter, the bodie of Christ is more ioined vnto vs, than it is to the bread: seeing what the bread hath, it therefore hath it, to the intent that by it, Christ may be ioined vnto vs. And the words whereby the bread is brought to become a sacrament, rather belong vnto vs, than vnto the bread, which is altogither without sense and faith. Against it is a perillous matter to delude the senses by transubstantiation; bicause that then doth perish the proofe of the true resurrection of Christ, which he shewed to his apostles, saieng; Feele ye and see, for a spirit hath no flesh and bones. And the Marcionit heretiks would some haue said, that Christ had no true humane bodie, but onelie the accidents and figure thereof; as ye saie of bread, that it is no bread, albeit it seeme so, if ye respect the properties and outward forme thereof. Also the fathers thought, that they did effectuallie proue Christ to be true man, by the humane affections and properties which the scriptures shew of him: namelie, that he did hunger, that he thirsted, that he was wearie, that he sorrowed, that he wondered, and such other like. Which arguments by the example of your transubstantiation might be denied: and the heretiks might saie; Euen as this doth not followe: to wit, in the sacrament of the Eucharist there be properties of bread and wine, therefore the substance of bread and wine is truelie there: so, it followeth not: In Christ, there were properties and affections of a man, therefore he had a verie true humane substance: and thus there shall be a window opened vnto most greeuous errors. Moreouer, by this their vnnecessarie transubstantiation, they peruert the nature of things, sith they pluck awaie the accidents from their substance and proper subiect, which is far more than to separate substance from a quantitie (which before they haue striuen to do, such is their audacitie) for somuch as the accident is a latter thing than is the substance. Neither haue we heard the ancient fathers make anie mention of this so dreadfull a miracle. And seeing they were learned, and verie well vnderstood how a substance is defined, and how an accident, they would not haue passed ouer in silence so great a matter. Nazianzen

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By transubstantiation, is peruerted the nature of things.

song in verse the miracles wrought by Christ. And vnto Augustine is attributed the booke of the miracles of the holie scripture: and yet is no mention there of accidents separated from their subiect. Besides, it must come to passe that the eater, and the meate eaten, must be all one: for Christ communicated with his apostles in the supper. And therefore, as these men will haue it, he ate his owne selfe reallie, and by transubstantiation. Admit also, that in the same supper, which Christ first celebrated with his apostles, some of the reliks remained after the bread was transubstantiated, the which was reserued vnto the morowe, wherein Christ was crucified and died; should not the bodie in that bread haue beene depriued of soule and life? If you denie it, it must needs followe, that the selfe-same bodie was both aliue and dead at one and the selfe-same time. But and if you will saie, that it died also in the bread; then it followeth, that there was made a change, and that a naturall and reall change therein: all which things might haue no place in that bread; to wit, that it should there both be crucified and wounded; sith vnto those matters not onelie a quantitie, but also a measure of quantitie is required, the which from the bodie of Christ in the Eucharist they remoue with great contention. And if so be that much bread & good plentie of wine should be transubstantiated by the Masse-priests; verelie they, which should eate and drinke these things, should be filled and nourished, and their bellie should be stretched out: and all these things do these men attribute vnto the accidents. If the Eucharist be burned, there do appeare ashes; if it putrifie, worms breake forth; & so a subiect commeth of accidents. But yet (as they dare saie anie thing) they imagine that God oftentimes createth new subiects, which do succéed the accidents, or do reuoke by miracle the former substances; and they heape miracles vpon miracles. For if the mice shall gnawe awaie this sacrament that is kept, what will they eate? They saie the accidents. But why not the bodie of Christ, sith they bind the same to the accidents, so long as they remaine sound? Which being corrupted, they also take awaie from thence the bodie of Christ. But whither goeth it when it departeth awaie? Into heauen? But there it is alreadie, and before was. How can it then go thither? If it cease to be, then it is destroied and corrupted: which is far from the nature of a glorified bodie. Sometimes also there happeneth a vomiting after the receiuing of the communion, as Cyprian testifieth of a certeine maid: and he saith, that the drinke being consecrated vnto bloud, brake forth of hir bowels. What then shall become of the bloud of Christ? And when they say that the bread is transubstantiated into the bodie of Christ; and so transubstantiated, as it is not there locallie, we demand of them what doth fill the space or place left by the substance of the bread? For if this be not granted vnto the bodie of Christ, it will remaine void, and be filled vp with no found matter. And besides this, that accidents be without a proper subiect, to the end there may nothing want to strange workers, they attribute vnto them sundrie actions and passions, which they cannot denie: whereas notwithstanding betweene the doing and the suffering is required a communion of one and the selfe-same matter. And whereas there is plainlie séene a breaking in this sacrament, they saie, they breake accidents. Which the Mathematicians durst not pronounce of their quantitie abstract by imagination; to wit, that they can reallie diuide the same. And Platos *Idee* haue lesse absurditie, according to Aristotles disputing against them, than this feigned deuise of transubstantiation bringeth with it. But what? They assoile all by miracles. But to it might be an easie matter for euerie man to be a diuine, if all arguments might be dissolued by miracles. And especiallie when it is a doctrine in religion, that miracles must not be multiplied without necessitie: which they could neuer shew to haue béene in this matter.

5 By transubstantiation Christ must needs eate himselfe.

6

7 By transubstantiation manie absurdities will followe.

8

By affirming transubstantiation they leaue emptie a place of place. 9

That there cannot be a breaking the bread being taken awaie.

The confirmation of the second question.

THe end of eating Christ, and receiuing this sacrament is, that we should liue, that we should haue euerlasting life, that we should die, and that Christ should dwell in vs, and we in him: euen as Christ testified in the first of John. Howbeit, these benefits and commodities map as well be had by admitting a contuncion of the bodie of Christ with bread and wine by a sacramentall signification, as if we should affirme him to lie hidden reallie or substantiallie in the signes: for that will bring vnto vs no grace, or spirit, or renewing, but that we may abundantlie obteine the same of Christ being in heauen, and though a receiuing thereof by faith. For no mightier is he lieng hidden in the signes, than he is reigning in heauen. And yet neuertheless must not the communion be thought superfluous, bicause we can eate Christ without the same: for albeit it be lawfull to do this whereseuer; yet considering our infirmitie, we are furthered by the helpe and comfort of signes: and for the receiuing of them we haue the expresse commandement of Christ.

The benefits of this sacrament are as well had without reall presence as with the same.

2 Christ confuted the carnall eating of his bodie.

Secondlie, we must sée from that eating, which Christ confuted: but he confuted the carnall eating of his bodie, when he dealt with the Capernaites; therefore it must be taken awaie. Neither will it helpe, if you shall saie, that they were therefore reproued, bicause they thought that the bodie of Christ was to be toine and rent in sunder; as though after the maner of wild beasts they should be inuited to the eating of mans fleth, which should be hewen in sunder, and so distributed; as happeneth of meate in the shambles. And for this are you wont to pretend. For it maketh as matter to the bringing in of a carnall eating, whether the bodie of Christ be eaten by little peeces, or all wholelie together. Neither is it true, that it is a spirituall eating if the whole bodie be eaten, and a carnall eating if it be cut into parts: for according to this distinction, the great huge beast of the sea, which deuoured Ionas, should haue eaten him spirituallie, bicause he swallowed him whole at one gulpe. Christ plainlie teacheth, that he vnderstandeth spirituall eating otherwise, when he set forth to them his ascention into heauen. For he shewed therby that he ment of an eating, whereby we may eate by faith a thing that is absent, as concerning place and substance. And euen as he called backe Nicodemus from externall and bodilie generation to a spirituall regeneration, which we obteine in the mind and inward man; and lifted vp the woman of Samaria from the corporall and externall water, to the drinke, whereby our minds be refreshed; the holie Ghost, I meane: so Christ taught the Capernaits, which now thought that his fleshly bloud should be eaten outwardlie and carnallie, he taught them (I saie) that eating, which we receiue with the mind, and imbrace with the faith.

3 We no lesse receiue Christ in his word, than in the Eucharist.

Furthermore, we no lesse receiue the bodie and bloud of Christ in the word of God, than in this sacrament. For what else by the testimonie of Augustine be sacraments, than visible words. Yea and the same Augustine, in the title *De consecratione*, distinction the second, in the chapter *Interrogo vos*, saith; Of no lesse account is the word of God, than is the Eucharist. Also Ierom vpon Ecclesiastes, testifieth; that we in the holie scriptures do eate the fleih of the Lord, and drinke his bloud. In like maner wrote Origin vpon Matthew, treatise 25. and among the number of the homilies 26. And Chrysostome vpon Iohn, homilie 45. And Basil, in his 141. epistle. Yea and reason it selfe persuadeth it: for whatsoeuer fruit or grace the bread hath in the sacrament, it hath it by the word. And besides this, the words do more plainelie both expresse and signifie the nature of a sacrament, than the signes do. Séeing therefore it is not affirmed, that the bodie of Christ doth corporallie and reallie sticke in the words, why shall we rather place the same in bread and wine?

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And herewithall agreeth that, which we haue in the first chapter of Iohn; that we be cleansed and washed with the bloud of Christ: the which in bewrie déed is done, so often as we conuert vnto him, and by faith and repentance do returne vnto him. And yet neuertheless it must it not be, that so often as we be washed, he is corporallie and reallie present with vs; but it is sufficient, that he be caught hold of with a faithfull mind, whereby also the bodie of Christ may be eaten, and his bloud drunken, he being absent; séeing that a reall presence séemeth as well to be required vnto nothing; as vnto eating and drinking, if we shall vnderstand these things to be done spirituallie and grossélie. Howbeit, it must be confessed, when we saie that the bodie and bloud of the Lord is receiued by faith, we do not affirme these things to be altogither absent; for by the power of faith and spiritualtie, they be made present vnto vs. For Paule saith vnto the Ephesians; that We are alreadie set with Christ Ephes.1.20. at the right hand of God in the heauenlie places. And the same apostle vnto the Romans, saith; Rom.8.24. that We by hope are saued. And he saith to the Galathians; To whom Christ before was de- Gal.3.1. scribed in your sight, and among you crucified.

5 The scripture vnelie betweth of two commings of Christ.

Mder this, the holie scripture doth record to vs no more but two commings of Christ: The first, an humble forme to redeeme vs; the other glorious, when he shall come to iudgement. Wherefore we inuent euerie daie infinit commings. For where the faithfull communicate, ye decree that the bodie of Christ is reallie and substantiallie present; whereunto not withstanding ye neither grant an humble forme, nor yet a glorious: but after a certeine middle maner, ye tie the same vnto sacramentall signes, whereof neither the scriptures speake, nor yet is there brought anie effectuall reason.

6 The nature of a sacrament is more kept in signification than in bodilie presence.

Againe, whereas all men agrée, that the supper of the Lord is a sacrament, and the definition of a sacrament is, to be a visible signe of an inuisible grace; it is plaine, that we rather keepe the nature thereof than ye do: for we beléeue that the bodie of Christ is ioined to the elements or signes, by a signification: and yet which affirme a transubstantiation or reall presence, cannot auoid it, but that both the wicked and vnbeléeuers do eate Christ: which, how absurd it is, hath béene alreadie declared. Lastlie, when the holie scripture setteth forth anie thing vnto vs to be beléeued generallie, it is requisite, that we should chose that waie vnto vs, (if anie should be chosen) which is the easier and the readier, and that doth not call men awaie, but ra-

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ther lead them by the hand to faith: and so will fewer and lesse absurdities follow, nor will miracles be multiplied. But this do not ye performe, which haue chosen waies, for the defense whereof there is need of infinit miracles; and absurdities come together without measure. And this shall suffice for confirming of the two propositions which are in hand. Yet before you come to oppose me with anie thing, I will faithfullie performe that which I promised you, when you began to deale against me in an other disputation of ours. In your preface, you take vpon you a certeine matter which was not necessarie for you; euen to shew the diuisions which should haue béene requisite to vse vnto the arguments, which I obiected against Doctour Tresham, with whome I had disputed the daie before; and I had said, were not satisfied. My argument out of Cyprian was this: Euen as in the person of Christ was séene his manhood, and his Godhead late hid; so in the sacrament, the diuine essence did visiblie insuse it selfe, &c. Wherevpon I concluded; that euen as in Christ dwelled the whole humanitie, so must verie bread be reserued in the sacrament. You indeuoured to answer, that Cyprians comparison must not be vnderstood, as touching the entirenesse of the two natures in Christ, but as touching the secret lieng hidden: that is to wit, that euen as the diuinitie lay hidden in the manhood of Christ; so in the accidents, that is, in the shew & forme of bread, lieth hidden the bodie of Christ. This you thinke to be an absoluing of the argument: but in verie déed it is not so; bicause the scope of Cyprian in this comparison, was no secret lieng, as you do seine. But the matter is expounded sufficientlie by him, when he saith; that In religion there might be a deuotion concerning sacraments, and that there might be opened a more perfect accesse vnto the truth, whose bodie the sacraments be.

To the solutions of the arguments which these mē brought in.

Of the argument of Cyprian.

But how much his words make for me, consider you. The diuine essence (saith he) insuseth it selfe in the visible sacrament: but & if the same do insuse it selfe therein, it doth not exclude the nature thereof, as you imagine; naie rather it doth preserue it. For those things that are powred into an other thing, do not annihilate the same. But as for the secret lieng hidden, which you alledge, I also hold with that as well as you. For the bodie of Christ, which is signified in the sacrament, is not séene therein; but it lieth hidden, as in the scriptures the sense is said to lie hidden vnder the letter. So as I likewise appeare the secret hiding that you speake of: but you vtterlie reiect the entirenesse of the natures, which Cyprian expresseth. And as concerning that which you afterward bring in touching Athanasius, I iudge the selfe-same which you do answer; that A similitude must not hold in all matters, but in those onelie which are expressed. Wherefore you may see, that Athanasius saith plainlie, that Christ consisteth of two natures: and he taketh his similitude from man, who is also made of two things. And this far doth the similitude hold, and must not be extended anie further. So doth Cyprian declare, that the diuine essence insuseth it selfe in the sacraments; euen as in the person of Christ was séene his humanitie, and his Godhead late hid. I saie no thing that Cyprian hath not; I take nothing which he himselfe offereth not; I séeke no matter from without: onelie I saie with him, that in the Eucharist are these two things, to wit, the diuine essence which is infused, and the sacraments wherevnto it is infused. But you bring in here other matters touching the separation of the Godhead, which serue not to the purpose. But if the diuine essence do powre into the natures and substances of the sacraments, wherein it is infused, then hath vtterlie the similitude touching Christ, no place. And vnto Gelasius, whom I cited, you answer, that partlie he was a Nestorian heretike, and partlie not. And you said; It followeth not: he was not altogither a Nestorian heretike, therefore in part he was not: and so you added, that it was lawfull to denie him. But yet you denied, that whereas it is written in him; that The substance or nature of bread and wine do not cease to be, those words haue an interpretation with them: bicause it is added; But yet they remaine in the properties of their owne nature, that is, in the accidents, which haue the power of nourishing, and reteine the selfe-same tast, the same figure, and the same colour, &c. Howbeit, this is not to assoile an argument. For first, whereas you accuse Gelasius of Nestorian heresie, it is a matter vnto me rare and vnheard of. This man was not infected with that infamie. Moreover, your exposition which imageth that bread & wine do remaine in the properties of their owne nature, that is, in the accidents, is strange. Séeing by the properties of nature, he vnderstandeth no other thing, but a proper nature, which we call substance. And this I declare, bicause, if your interpretation should be admitted, then is Gelasius argument altogither without force. For he writeth against Eutyches, who would that the bodie of Christ did not remaine, but was changed into the Godhead. And he argueth from the nature of the sacrament of the Eucharist, which he will haue to consist of two parts; namelie, of bread and wine, which be the signes; and the matter of the sacrament, that is, the bodie and bloud of Christ. And he argueth; If these two things remaine entire in the sacrament, then are there also two entire natures in Christ. Wherefore ye, when by

Of the argument out of Gelasius.

transubstantiation ye take awaie bread, and in place thereof put accidents, ye vtterlie ouerthrow the argument. For euen Eutyches would haue granted, that the substance of the bodie of Christ being taken awaie, and changed into the Godhead, the accidents thereof did remaine; so as he might séeme to be man, and yet was none indeed.

To Augustine.

Neither is that against vs, which you cite out of Augustine; that Christ will come in the same forme and substance of flesh, as he was séene go into heauen: as though he vnderstood the substance in that place, to be the properties & accidents. Which in no wise is true, but rather maketh against you. For Augustine in that place meaneth, that Christ shall come with the verie substance of an humane nature: neither did Gelasius after anie other maner vnderstand the substance of bread to remaine. Againe, you indeuoured to shift off the place taken out of the sentences of Prosper; (Euen as the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, séeing Christ himselfe is verie God, and verie man: bicause euerie thing conteineth in it selfe the nature and truth of those things, whereof it is made, &c.) you indeuoured, I saie, to shift off this, by saieng, that the sacrament is that outward thing, which appeareth to the eie; and the matter of the sacrament, the bodie of Christ: for there Augustine calleth it (himselfe, and not himselfe) the answer is profitable. Bicause you haue it againe out of Augustine, which you beard out of Cyprian and Gelasius, euen that the same thing happeneth to this sacrament, that doth vnto Christ; namelie, that it consisteth of two verie natures. And it behoueth, that you diligentlie weigh the words, wherein it is said, that Euerie thing conteineth the nature and truth of those things, whereof it is made. And who doubteth, but that this sacrament is made of bread and wine? Wherefore; if it conteine onlie the accidents of these things, it shall not conteine, as Augustine saith, the nature and truth of those things.

To the epistle vnto Dardanus.

And to the epistle of Augustine vnto Dardanus; that The bodie of Christ ought to be in one certeine place, by reason of the measure of a true bodie, you said, that it must be answered as touching his humane forme; but in an inuisible forme, as he is in the sacrament, he may be in manie places. Here also you answer nothing: séeing you weigh not with me those words [bicause of the measure of a true bodie.] For a substance, which wanteth the measure of a bodie, is no true bodie; and so you will not appoint vnto verie bodie of Christ to be in the Eucharist. Againe, you do not wholie recite my argument out of the epistle to Dardanus: for I said; Séeing Augustine dareth not attribute to the soule of Christ, that it could be together, and at one time both in hell, and in paradise, that is, in heauen with the theefe, how shall we grant this vnto the bodie; that it is not a spirit as well as the soule? This was my argument, the which as yet remaineth strong and vnanswered.

Gennadius giueth a good testimonie of Theodoret.

As touching Theodoret, you affirmed, that he hath the selfe-same meaning, when he saith; that bread doth not change his nature; which sense also the fathers haue, when they saie; that the natures of the bread and wine do remaine. For they meane the properties, that is, the accidents. And how smallie this also maketh for the purpose, I refer you to those things, which we spake of Gelasius. For both of them speak against the same Eutyches; and they should haue concluded nothing, if for substance or the nature of bread, which they saie remaine, they vnderstand accidents. And so do we expound Theodoret, as he agreeth with all the other fathers, by whom vndoubtedlie the bread is reteined in the Eucharist.

To Origin.

You will afterward grant, that those be true matters, which Origin hath in his fragments vpon Matthew, chapter 15. Euen that the matter of this bread goeth into the draught, and you said, that he interpreteth himselfe, while he willeth vs, that we should not haue respect vnto the flesh and bloud, but should receiue the sacrament of the word. And so you inferred, that this signe is turned in euill men into ashes; the holinesse, as Cyprian speaketh, passing away. I marueil that you make a distinction here of good and euill persons; séeing Origin speaketh generallie of the matter of this bread, and meaneth to shew that the words of Christ be true; when he saith; That which entereth into the mouth defileth not man, but is receiued into the bellie, and passeth into the draught. He had indéed moued a question, how that might be true, as touching the bread of the Lord, that it passeth into the draught. His answer is, that this must be vnderstood as touching the matter, but not as touching sanctification. But you séeme to affirme this to be onelie vnderstood concerning euill men: and you make that like vnto it, which Cyprian speaketh of the conuersion into ashes. Where I demand of you what that is, which is turned into ashes; Not the bodie of Christ; for that should be wicked to affirme: not accidents, vnlesse you will haue them to be a substance. I know you will flie vnto miracles; that is, that God should create a new matter, or cause the old to come againe. But such things did Origin neuer imagine, whose full meaning you haue alreadie heard of me. And that, which you alledge out of Cyprian, was a miracle, and of him it might properlie be said, that there was a conuersion into ashes, bicause he reteineth bread, which by a miracle might be turned into ashes. But ye, when ye remoue the substance of

bread haue nothing, which you may saie is conuerted either into ashes, or into excrements. Wherefore if you will haue a new matter to be created, then it must ye not make it a conuersion, but a creation. And finallie, as I haue said: the sentence of Origin is vniuersall, respecting as well the good as the euill.

To Irenæus. Also to Irenæus, when he saith; The bread wherin there is a thankſ-giuing is the Lords bodie. And againe; He tok that which is bread of a creature, and giuing thanks he said, This is my bodie: and likewise the cup, which is of the creature that is among vs, he confessed to be his blood. You answered, that all these things must be referred to bread before consecration, sith then it is a creature, such as is among vs; but that now of that matter, the words being come thervnto, it is made the bodie of Christ, and that the same creature remaineth not in such sort as it was before. In your answer you commit two faults, because first you satisfie not the sense of the words. For Irenæus most plainlie pronounceth, touching that, ouer which thanks are giuen, that both it is bread, and also the bodie of Christ; for in that thanks are giuen, it noteth the time past, and neuerthelesse he calleth it bread as yet. Againe, you palle in silence that similitude, which I most of all vsged: As bread, hauing receiued a calling from the earth, is no more common bread, but is become the Eucharist, consisting of two things, earthlie and heauenlie; so likewise our bodies, receiuing the Eucharist, are no more corruptible. And I concluded; that such a change of the bread there is in the sacrament, as there is of our bodies. Here you saie nothing.

Matt. 26, 26.

Gregorie was obiected in *Registro*, who To Gregorie in Registro. saith; While we receiue as well the swet bread as the leuened bread, we are made one bodie of the Lord. You answer, that he ment nothing else but that the sacrament may be made as well of swet bread as of leuened bread, & not that he ment bread to remaine. And here likewise you run to the accustomed thift of bread before consecration. Howbeit Gregories words forbid you so to do; for he saith: While we receiue as well swet bread, as leuened bread. And the verbe of the present tense doth plainelie betoken, that we in the communion do receiue either swet bread, or leuened bread; and in truth we receiue not the sacrament, but after consecration. The words of Epiphanius, whereof I argued, you thought good to recite all at full length, the which are on this wise; He rose vp in the supper, and when he had giuen thanks, he said: This is mine, and this, and this. And we see that it is not of equalitie nor alike, neither to the image of the flesh, nor to the inuisible Godhead, nor yet to the lineaments of the parts of his bodie: for this is of a round forme, & insensible as touching power; and yet he words of his grace, saie: This is mine, and this, and this; and euerie man doth beleeue it, &c. This do you interpret, that that which is of a round figure, is insensible; and you infer, that by these words it may be vnderstood, that whosoeuer doth not beleeue, that there is the true bodie of Christ, falleth awaie from grace and saluation. By argument was brought in, that the bodie of Christ was by the Lord spoken concerning the bread, the which my aduersarie denied: for he said; It was absurd, either for the bread or the accidents to be called the bodie of Christ. Against him I brought these words of Epiphanius, wherein he plainelie saith, that As touching that which is of round forme, it pleased Christ by his grace to saie: Both this, and this; to wit, Both this, and this is mine, that is, my bodie. And the round thing it selfe, to the intent you may vnderstand that it is bread, he calleth it insensible as concerning power; which may in no wise be vnderstood of the bodie of Christ, for he addeth; But our Lord we knowe to be altogither sensle, and he that altogither perceiueth, &c. And againe, when he saith; For this is of a round forme, can you vnderstand the accidents, for those be roundnesse it selfe, and not of a round forme, in the genetiue case: Neither can it be sheiued to be the bodie of Christ, sith he is not of a round forme. Wherefore that standeth strong, which I inferred thereof, that the bodie of Christ, according to Epiphanius, is spoken of bread. And I marueil at you, that since you haue taken vpon you to dissolue arguments, which were not assoiled, you spake nothing of Basil, Didymus, Cyrill, & Vigilius. And vnderstand you me, that I haue spoken these things, not onelie to stand to my promises: but also to the intent that those things might not be without fruit, which I obiected in the first disputation: whereby you said that you were afraid, least they which heard them should be seduced. And thus was it necessarie, that those things, which I had spoken not to seduce, but to teach, I should confirme after this maner, that they might atteine to their end. And now haue you leaue for anie thing that I knowe to oppose what you will.

D. Chadse. You haue spent a good part of the time, wherein we might haue disputed, in reckoning vp these things; and now you seeme so to handle the matter, as if I should change my person, and of an opposer become an answerer: which fault I committed not at the beginning of the first disputation, when I propounded those solutions which were met for your arguments, seeing I was to answer. And now are they rehersed of you out of time, which you

you should not haue done.

D. Martyr. I haue not done anie thing here amisse. For, one to confirme his questions before he dispute, and to battle them with sure arguments, is the vsuall maner of all disputers. And for so much as the time of opposing was but short, I might not go through with the principall reasons which I had. And for this cause, least I should seeme to affirme false and undoubted matters, they were at the least wise in this place to be explained. In verie truth I promised that I would at this time bring a confutation of your answers, which all men can testifie, which both now are, and then were present. And at that time I shewed good cause, why I then omitted the handling thereof: euen to the intent we should not lose our labour, and that the hearers might not be forced to heare in a maner no other thing that date, saining the arguments which were handled the date before. Neither did it like me, that you would constreine me by that cunning, to dispute with you, not after my mind, but according to your owne liking. For seeing it was then my turne to oppose, I thought good to keepe my selfe free, for the bringing in of those arguments, which I had determined of, and not to handle those which your selfe had proposed. Why yet neuerthelesse, if you had then vrged me and egged me to haue proceeded therein, I would haue yeelded vnto you: but since you make not of it, I thought good by your consent to deferre that matter vntill this daie. Neither must it be so greeuous vnto you, if I now require you like for like: because it is more iust, that I should defend mine owne matters, than it was requisite that you should vndertake to defend other mens.

D. Chadse. Howbeit I constreined you not to change your person, sith you then obiected, and I answered. But what shall I now do? Let there be giuen vs an other daie to dispute.

This did the Visitors denie, that it might be doone, otherwise I had bin content.

D. Chadse.

Then seeing the persons must be changed, now it shall be thought good, I will come thither, and you shall come hither, that I may answer vnto these things, and that you may oppose.

D. Martyr. I shall be content that you do what you will. If an other daie may be granted I shall be glad; but if that maie not be, and that you will performe it now, it is all one to me, do what you will.

The Visitors once againe put it to his free choise, to doo what he would.

D. Chadse.

Sith they haue so thought it good, let vs proceed. What the bread and wine may be transubstantiated into the bodie and bloud of Christ, this I praie. In the first chapter of Iohn there is mention made of two kinds of bread. The first, whereby the multitude was refreshed: whereupon Christ said; Yee seeke me, because ye did eate bread. Iohn. 6, 26. The second bread is faith, whereof it is said; Labour for the meate which perisheth not, but verse. 27. which indureth. They said, What shall we do? And Christ answered; This is the worke of God that ye beleeue. The third bread is Manna, wher- verse. 29. of it is said; Your fathers did eate Manna in the verse. 31. wildernesse, and be dead. The fourth bread is Christ, whereupon he saith; I am the bread of life. verse. 35. The fift bread is not that which the Capernaits vnderstood, that is to wit, a visible bodie, but an inuisible, that is the sacramentall bread. For they strone for this kind of bread. And therefore Christ answereth, The bread which I will giue, verse. 51. is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world. Which is no other bread than that, which was afterward giuen by Christ in his supper, when he said; This is my bodie, not yet anie other than hong vpon the crosse. But if it be flesh, then is it no bread.

D. Martyr. That bread, which is spoken of in the first of Iohn, and which you now make an argument of, is truelie the flesh and bloud of Christ, and is called bread by a metaphor, the which is verie apt and plaine. And the metaphor is this: that Euen as bread doth naturallie nourish and sustaine vs; so the flesh of Christ being eaten spirituallie and by faith, doth sustaine vs both as touching the soule and bodie. And when you argue; In the supper Christ gaue this flesh, which metaphoricallie is called bread; therefore must the naturall substance of bread be taken awaie: I denie the conclusion. For this sacrament, besides that spirituall eating of the flesh of Christ, which metaphoricallie in the first of Iohn he called bread, addeth signes, and an out- The bread spoken of in the first of Iohn, is metaphorically call.

outward eating of the true bread, that the same spirituall eating might be holpen, and be the more effectuall. For what letteth, but that therein is promised the flesh of Christ to be giuen for the life of the world; and yet that it was not simplie & nakedlie giuen afterward, but the signes of bread and wine ioined therewithall?

D.Chadse. That which was giuen in the supper, is the bread, which Christ promised in the first chapter of Iohn; but yet that bread was his flesh. And least anie man should doubt, what maner of bread it might be, he addeth; Which I will giue for the life of the world. It was no bread substantiallie; and no more was this substantiallie bread, which was giuen in the supper.

D.Martyr. That which was giuen in the supper, was not onlie the bread, which is spoken of in the first of Iohn, as you in the antecedent vnderstand it; but it had also, as I haue said, naturall bread ioined therewith for a signe: and that sacramentall bread was the flesh of Christ, to be giuen vnto death for our saluation. And when you demand, how the bread, which was giuen, was flesh: I answer; Not substantiallie, but (as they speake) sacramentallie, that is, by signification. And the sense of Iohn is, that the flesh of Christ to be giuen vpon the crosse for our saluation is bread; that is to saie, spirituall meate, whereby we are sustained through faith: and that meate is offered vnto vs in the communion by the word of God, and by the signes. So as, if he in the first of Iohn had ment a symbolicall or signifieng bread, sith then he gaue it not: he would haue said; The bread, which I will giue, shall be my flesh: but he saith in the present tense; It is my flesh: as if he should saie; My flesh is bread metaphoricallie; which flesh of mine I will giue, euen vnto the crosse for the life of the world.

D.Chadse. Christ, in the first of Iohn, said; The bread, which I will giue, is my flesh: but in the supper he gaue that flesh, which hung vpon the crosse; and therefore by testimonie of the scriptures, he gaue his flesh reallie in the supper. For that, which then he promised, he performed in the supper, in giuing his bodie, which he was to giue for the life of the world. So then we grant, that the signes were vsed in the supper; but the substance of those signes we saie is the flesh of Christ, by reason of the words alledged; The bread, which I will giue, is my flesh. Whereupon it is euident, that here is transubstantiation. Iohn.6, 51.

D.Martyr. That in the supper he gaue his verie bodie, I haue alwaies testified: but yet he ioined therunto the signes of bread and wine, as I haue alreadie said, and you now, as I haue heard, do grant: but in your argument you fall into equiuocation, because you passe from metaphoricall bread, vnto true and naturall bread. For whereas Christ saith; The bread, which I will giue, &c. by bread, he meaneth not a signe; that is to wit, that he will giue naturall bread in the supper; but he expresseth a metaphoricall name attributed to his flesh, because he should be vnto vs in steed of bread, or like bread, of whose propertie that the might be admonished, and vnderstand that the flesh of Christ is bread allegoricallie, he would in the supper giue vs naturall bread, saieng; This is my bodie: that is to saie; My bodie, which shall be giuen for you, if it be eaten of you spirituallie and by faith, it shall be in steed of bread, or like bread, for the nourishing and sustreining of you. By bread in the first of Iohn the Lord vnderstood not a signe of the sacrament, but his owne flesh. Matt.26,26.

D.Chadse. I speake of bread after the selfe-same maner that it is ment in the Gospell: that the first kind may be distinguished from the fourth, which is; I am the bread of life. Wherefore, the first kind must be no allegoricall bread, but that whereof the Lord said; The bread, which I will giue, is my flesh. Other bread then shall it not be, but my flesh, although vnder another name, least ye should be confounded. And this he said to confirme them before hand, least the apostles should contend among themselues about the eating of the Lords bodie. Otherwise Christ should haue promised that, which he did not performe: and therefore (saith he) I will giue: sith as yet the time was not come. Neither is it for you to saie, that the bodie or flesh of Christ should be as it were bread: for the promise made by Christ is not after that maner, but it conteineth flatlie that that bread, which shuld be giuen, is flesh. And euen this doth Cyrill confirme, when he saith; And doubt not whether this be true, sith he manifestlie saith; This is my bodie, &c: but receiue the words of saluation in faith, although thy sense do not teach it thee.

D.Martyr. Your argument is verie long: which that I may satisfie, I reduce it to two principall points; namelie, to the saieng of Christ in the first of Iohn, and vnto the sentence of Cyrill. As touching the first chapter of the euangelist, I denie not, but in that place is intreated of diuers kinds of bread: but that they be well distinguished of you, that I grant not, neither do I much care. But yet that Christ spake of eating of himselfe, and promised that he would giue himselfe to be eaten, I allow of it. For he said that he would giue bread, which is his flesh, that should be giuen for the life of the world. You saie; What bread is this? Christ answereth; It is my flesh. And he addeth; I will giue the same for the life of the world: and to be-ing giuen, he is your bread, if you will receiue him

him by faith. Wherefore he said, that he would giue his flesh vpon the crosse, and to be eaten; and the same he metaphoricallie called bread. And after this maner he taught the Iewes, which were at controuersie, the spirituall sense. And that he might do this the plainlier, he added; The words, which I speake, are spirit and life: to the intent they might vnderstand, that the eating should not be carnall, but spirituall by faith: wherevnto afterward in the last supper, he ioined the sacramentall signes, whereof he now made no mention. But in that he nameth bread, he meaneth his flesh; the which, while we do communicate, it is eaten of vs spiritualie, which is the cheefest matter that ought to be had in receiuing of the sacrament. And this, Iohn vnderstanding, he in his Gospell, where the sacrament is instituted, when he describeth the last supper, made no mention thereof, because he had in this place abundantlie enough spoken of the same. And therefore I grant, that he did that in the institution of the sacrament, which he had before spoken in the first chapter. For he gaue his flesh to be eaten, but yet with sacramentall signes. And whereas you obiect, that Christ said not, that his flesh should be like vnto bread, that maketh no matter, because in such kind of figures as these, the token of a similitude is not alwaies expressed: for in the scriptures, Christ is called a lambe, and not in steed of a lambe. And God is said to be fire, and it is not added; that he is like fire. But whereas it is said in the future tense; I will giue: it is therefore, because the flesh, which we eate in the sacrament, tended to that which suffered and was crucified. Which things as yet happened not, when Christ spake these words, but were to come; yet must they be alwaies before our eies when we communicate. And as concerning the sentence of Cyrill, I answer; that I nothing doubt, but that the same bread, which is giuen vnto vs in the sacrament, is the bodie of Christ; but yet after such a maner as the scripture teacheth. Like Iohn in distributing the supper maketh mention of the flesh and blood of Christ.

D.Chadse. In the supper he stood to his promises. Wherefore that, which he then gaue, was his flesh, which should be giuen for the life of the world: the verie same, I saie, which hung vpon the crosse. And this, as I haue said, doth Cyrill testifie.

D.Martyr. Christ stood to his promises, as you do saie, and gaue his flesh, which in Iohn is metaphoricallie called bread; but yet in giuing his bodie and his flesh, which should be deliuered vpon the crosse, he gaue therewithall true and naturall bread: and no other thing did Cyrill meane.

D.Chadse. So then you will grant this at the least-wise, that it was his verie bodie, and his verie flesh, which he gaue in the supper, but yet together with bread.

D.Martyr. It was his verie bodie and his verie flesh, but yet it was giuen by signification.

D.Chadse. He gaue his flesh, which hung vpon the crosse, and that bodie which was crucified: but it hung not spirituallie vpon the crosse, neither was naturall bread crucified: therefore that bread in the first of Iohn is not vnderstood metaphoricallie, but must be vnderstood to be the reall flesh of Christ.

D.Martyr. You huddle vp manie things, which I must vnfold, that I may denie the false, and grant those that be true. I haue alreadie said, and now I saie againe, that you vse an equiuocation; seeing for a metaphoricall bread, you alwaies oppose vnto me the bread giuen by Christ in the last supper, the which was true and naturall bread, and a signe of this allegoricall bread, that is, of the flesh of Christ. Howbeit, I neuer granted you, nor yet will grant, that Christ in Iohn promised a signifieng bread, but such a bread, as being taken metaphoricallie, is euen all one with flesh. And in the last supper he gaue this allegoricall bread; that is, his flesh to be eaten spirituallie. And he not onelie stood to his promises, but he gaue more than he promised, by adding of the signes. And that, which you would proue in your argument; to wit, that the bodie of Christ hong not vpon the crosse spirituallie, and that naturall bread was not crucified, or giuen for vs, is of no importance. Inasmuch as the words of Christ do sufficientlie beare record, that the bodie of Christ is otherwise eaten of vs, and was otherwise crucified; because the Lord would haue this to be a spirituall eating, seeing that he called the Capernaits from a carnall eating. Wherefore you offend in the argument, by going from the substance to the qualitie, and from the thing it selfe to the maner. So as we grant, that the bodie of Christ is eaten of the communicants, but yet not after the same maner that it hong vpon the crosse. And I marueil that you obiect this, who would not grant, that Christ was so crucified, as you appoint him to be couered vnder your formes. It is shewn in what maner of promise it was that Christ made in the first of Iohn.

D.Chadse. The Lord promised, that he would giue the bread, which was his flesh, that should be giuen for the life of the world. But this bread, as Maister Doctor granteth, he gaue not but in the supper; therfore in the supper he gaue the verie flesh, which should be giuen for the life of the world. And this proposition; The bread is the bodie of Christ, is impossible; vnlesse we vnderstand

derstand it by a figure and signification, therefore it be honed that there should be transubstantiation, for this purpose, that he should giue his true bodie.

D.Martyr. That the Lord gaue in the supper that which he promised, I granted: but that the Lord did not the same else-where than in the supper, I granted not. For how often soeuer, as we beleeue that Christ is fullie crucified for vs, we eate his flesh, which metaphoricallie is called bread. But I confesse that he did this most especiallie in the supper: neither must you vnderstand me to haue said, that it is there onelie done. But what maner of argument is this: Christ gaue his flesh to those that supped with him, and in John, that flesh is called bread metaphoricallie, because vnto vs it is in stead of bread; and therefore he gaue not also true and naturall bread? These things are not repugnant in themselues, naie rather they do verie well agree, and both of them togither are verie true. Neither is this proposition, The bread is the bodie of Christ vnpossible; because it is ment, by signification. And Augustine testifieth that sacraments haue their names of things which they signifie; & that bodie which is offered vnto vs by signification, is a true and no feigned bodie.

This proposition the bread is the bodie of Christ is not vnpossible.

D.Chadse. That which he promised and gaue in the supper, was the verie true flesh of Christ: therefore he gaue true flesh and not bread; and the flesh giuen for the life of the world was not spirituallie true flesh, but true flesh carnallie, and by no meanes naturall bread; wherefore transubstantiation is proued.

D.Martyr. He gaue his verie flesh euen as he promised, but yet to be eaten spirituallie, and therewithall also he gaue a sacramentall signe. How often shall I tell it you? He gaue them both. What maner of conclusion is this? He gaue this; Therefore with this, he also gaue not that? Likewise I do not saie, that the flesh of Christ is flesh spirituallie, but verie flesh, but this word (Spirituallie) I do applie vnto our eating, and vnto the maner of our receiuing.

D.Chadse. This then you grant, that Christ gaue his true flesh in the supper.

D.Martyr. He gaue his verie flesh, to be receiued by faith, and to be eaten spirituallie, but togither with the same, he also gaue the signes.

(.)

Heere the Kings Maiesties Commissioners said that the solution of the argument, which I gaue, was sufficient the vnderstood; and therefore willed him to proceed further.

D.Chadse.

Will you giue credit to one or two witnesses of my opinion.

D.Martyr. Such they may be as credit is not to be giuen them: Whie ble you this preface? Name them, if they be worthie of credit, I will beleeue them.

D.Chadse. Ambrose prooueth transubstantiation, in his booke *De iis qui initiantur mysterijs*, chapter the ninth and last, where in the first part of the chapter he saith; that, It is not bread which nature hath formed, but which blessing hath consecrated. And heere you cannot answer, that the change is made as touching the right: because he addeth afterward that the nature is changed. And he teacheth it by an example: for the rod which Moses held, was a nature turned into a serpent, and not in sight onelie. These be his words; We will proue that this is not it which nature hath framed, but which blessing hath consecrated; and that there is a greater force of blessing than there is of nature, because through blessing, euen nature it selfe is changed. Moses held the rod, he cast downe the same, and it became a serpent. Againe, he tooke the serpent by the taile, and it returned into the nature of a rod. Wherefore you see that by a grace prophetical the nature was twise changed, both of the serpent and of the rod. The riuers of Aegypt ranne with pure streames of waters; and suddenlie out of the veines of the fountcine bloud began to breake forth. There was no drinke in the riuers: againe at the prayers of the prophet, the bloud of the riuers ceased. Heere you see that Ambrose testified the change of the nature, that is, a transubstantiation.

D.Martyr. Verie well; I acknowledge Ambrose words, but proceed on further.

D.Chadse. The people of the Hebrues were closed in round on all parts; on the one side being compassed in with the Aegyptians; on the other side shut vp with the sea. Moses held vp his rod, he diuided the waters, and congealed them in maner of a wall; and betweene the waters there appeared a fort-waie. Iordan turning backward against his owne nature, returneth into the originall of his owne fountcine. Is it not manifest that the nature of the sea waters or course of the riuer was changed? The people of Israel in the fathers time were athirst, Moses touched the rocke, & water flowed out thereof. But hath not grace wrought beyond nature, that the rocke should gush out water, which by nature it had not? Marah was a most bitter riuer, in such sort, that the people being drie, could not drinke of it. Moses threw a tree into the water, and nature laid awaie the bitternesse of his waters, the which was suddenlie sweetened by grace. Vnder Elizæus the prophet, the iron of a hatchet fell from one of the sonnes of the prophets, and was drowned in the water. He that lost the iron, intreated Elizæus; Elizæus threw a peece of wood into the water, and the iron swam. And euen this also we know was done against nature: for heauier is the matter of iron, than the liquor of water. Wherefore we perceiue, that grace is of greater vertue than nature is: and we account that there is yet still remaining a grace of prophetical benediction. And if a mans blessing were of so great strength, that it was of force to change nature; what saie we of the diuine consecration it selfe, where the verie words of the Lord our sauiour do worke? For this sacrament, which thou receiuest, is made by the words of Christ. But if Elias words could so greatlie preuaile, as that it brought downe fire from heauen; shall not Christs speech be of force to change the kinds of the elements? For haue read concerning his works of the whole world; For he spake, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. So then, the word of Christ, which of nothing could make that which was not; can it not change those things which be, into that which they were not? For it is no lesse matter to giue new natures vnto things, than it is to change natures. Hereby also it appeareth, that Ambrose ment that the natures be changed.

Exo.15.ver. 25.

King.6,5.

Psal.32,9.

D.Martyr. Proceed in your reading, the which if you will not, I my selfe will. The verie flesh of Christ vndoubtedly was that which was crucified, which was buried; and therefore the sacrament of his verie flesh. Euen the Lord himselfe pronounced, This is my bodie. Before the blessing of the heauenlie words, an other kind is named; after consecration, the bodie of Christ is signified. He himselfe saith, it is his bloud; before consecration it is called another thing, after consecration it is called bloud, & thou saist; Amen.

Because Christs flesh is verie flesh, therefore it is a verie sacrament of his flesh.

D.Chadse. I will read it out to the end, if you will.

D.Martyr. At the end thus it is written; Neither can we saie how we be regenerated.

What? Are we entred againe into our mothers wombe, and be we borne anew? I do not acknowledge the ordinarie course of nature, but here there is no order of nature, where there is an excellencie of grace. Finallie, the vse of nature doth not alwaies make regeneration. And thus far Ambrose. Now do you see, that we despise not Ambrose, albeit I know there be learned men, which haue in suspicion these Commentaries *De sacramentis*, and thinke them to be none of Ambrose works; which opinion nethelesse I passe not of, but willinglie accept them. And I am not ignorant, that the bishop of Rochester, to shew, that these were verie Ambrose bookes, cited the testimonie of Augustine, in the preface to his booke *De doctrina Christiana*: because he saith there, that Ambrose wrot a booke *De sacramentis*: howbeit, if a man read ouer the place that is cited, he shall find no such matter.

Some haue suspected Ambrose bookes De sacramentis, to be none of Ambrose works.

D.Chadse. It is to be found in Augustine, in the second booke of retractations, when he maketh mention of the bookes *De doctrina Christiana*, where he saith; that Ambrose wrote a booke either of sacraments, or of prophesie. And that chapter is wont to be prefixed in place of the preface, to his bookes *De doctrina Christiana*. Howbeit, I take not now vpon me to defend the bishop of Rochester.

D.Martyr. I remember also besides this, Augustine against Iulianus saith; that Ambrose wrote a booke *De sacramento vel De philosophia*. Albeit, that by those things which be there spoken, it doth not appeare, that he spake of those bookes which we now examined. Yet (as I haue alreadie said) we will not here contend, for I admit that they be Ambrose bookes: and I answer, that he ment to proue nothing else, but the change of bread, which we call a sacramentall change, and ment not that the nature of bread should be taken awaie therin. And that this was his opinion, it appeareth plainlie enough out of his fourth booke *De sacramentis*, the fourth chapter, where he writeth; If then there were to great a power in the word of the Lord Iesu, that the things should begin to be, which were not: of how much more operation should his word be, that they should remaine the same things that they were, & yet be changed into an other thing. Here doth he plainlie set downe two things: first, that the signes [of bread and wine do remaine that which they were before; which must not be vnderstood concerning accidents, as you would haue it,] but as touching the substance: for that doth the relatiue [Which] betoken vnto vs. The second matter is, that they be changed into an other thing: because of common bread it is made a sacrament. And this is no vulgar change,

Augu. contra Iulianum.

change, but is such as goeth beyond nature. And as to that which he said at the beginning of the chapter; I answer, that it maketh not against me, seeing I do grant such a change to be of the natures, as they receiue other conditions, and accord vnto a new degrée: for they become sacraments, and so were they not before. As for the examples which he here put of Ambrose, I answer that they be manifold, and therefore I reduce them vnto two kinds. For he reckoneth by some, where the former nature is vtterlie cast awaie; as it happened in Moses rod, when it was turned into a serpent; and in the waters of Aegypt, when they were changed into bloud. And other things there be, wherein the first substance remaining, there is made onelie an accidentall change. In which kind are the diuision of the red sea, the going backe of the riuer of Iordan, the healing of the waters of Marah; the rocke yeelding water, and the iron swimming. So by such kind of similitudes may this sacramentall change be proued. Seeing if you vnderstand those things, wherein the nature which was before, was vtterlie taken awaie, you shall haue an argument a Maiori. And when you affirme that God made so great a change, as he vtterlie tooke awaie the natures and substances which were before, and brought in others: who shall it be doubted, that he is able of common bread and wine to make a most effectuall sacrament? But by other similitudes, wherein the first substance is kept, and new qualities and conditions brought in, otherwise than nature by vsuall custome, permitteth, euen this sacramentall change is proued, by things done of equall greatnesse, and like power. For it is not to be doubted, but that God, who hath beyond nature printed so marueilous affects and qualities in the things which we haue rehearsed, he can giue a sacramentall power, the natures of bread and wine remaining. And the words, which he hath in this chapter, must not be lightlie passed ouer, when he saith; Verie flesh, without doubt, was that of Christ, which was crucified and was buried, and therefore a sacrament of his verie flesh; for it therby appeareth, that he proued, that Christ had verie flesh, and a verie bodie: the which also we grant, against Martion and Eutyches. Afterward he added, that this is the verie sacrament of his flesh; the which is verie agreeable to our opinion: seeing we saie, that the same is here both effectuallie and trulie signified, and that it is trulie, but yet spirituallie receiued of vs by the communion. Neither must those words be passed ouer, which he writeth a little after: Before the blessing of the heauenlie words, an other kind is named; after consecration, the bodie of Christ is signified. When I do saie, that in the sacrament, the bodie of Christ is

The example of Amb. whose words we reduced to two chiefe parts.

signified; I may séeme vnto you to speake both strange and absurd things: and yet notwithstanding ye heare the same euerie where spoken of the fathers. Now then, when you demand what maner of change this is, whereof Ambrose, or what else he was that so largelie writeth, doth speake; I answer, that such a change it is, whereby the bread and wine are translated from their naturall order, and prophane degrée wherein they were, to a sacramentall state and order, as well by the worke of the holie Ghost, as by the institution of the Lord. Neither is this a hard kind of speech, to saie; that the nature is changed, when it atteineth vnto other conditions, séeing it sustaineth & abideth such a change. You urged that which he wrote at the beginning, to wit; that this is not it which nature framed, but which blessing hath consecrated: as if these words were altogither repugnant vnto our opinion; which is not so: séeing Ambrose speaketh of the sacrament, and speaketh thereof formallie if I may so saie. And which of vs doubteth, that the condition of a sacrament commeth not from nature it selfe, but is caused by consecration? And this ment he to expresse, that holie bread hath it not from nature, that it is a sacrament, but hath gotten that by consecration.

Not nature but the power of God, is it that frameth the sacrament.

D. Chadsie. But yet these things haue I speciallie noted in Ambrose. First I would haue you to tell me this one thing; How do you assure me that I receiue the bodie of Christ? And that remaineth yet for vs to proue. Further let vs proue, that it is not the same which nature framed, but which blessing consecrated; and that there is a greater power of blessing, than there is of nature, sith by blessing, nature it selfe is changed. Moreouer, least you should saie, that the change is sacramentall, to the intent that the bread may be made a signe; the examples which followe do teach, that the substance is changed into an other nature: and therefore Ambrose saith, that the nature is changed; but you denie it.

D. Martyr. I denie not, but I affirme with Ambrose, that sacramentallie it is changed and I saie also with him, that a sacrament is not that which it séemeth to be, if we speake of that which is the cheefe part thereof: for that which is signified, as it is not séene, so is it most specialle sought for of the faithfull, neither is it by nature either framed or fastned in this sacrament; but by blessing it is annexed to the same. Neither will he haue the change here to be such, as shall cast awaie the former nature: and this hath béene alreadie declared sufficientlie by the examples of him alledged.

D. Chadsie. Ambrose saith; that this is not

not that, which nature framed, but with blessing consecrated.

D. Martyr. This did I expound before. For a sacrament is a heauenlie thing, which nature hath not framed, but by consecration it commeth to the bread: yet not so, as it should cast awaie his owne substance. And this should not séeme to be otherwise than Ambrose ment, who, as I haue cited him, in his fourth booke, and fourth chapter *De sacramentis*, saith; Of how much more operation is the words of Christ, that these things should be that they were? This speech sufficientlie sheweth, that he iudgeth not, that the nature of the signes must be cast awaie.

D. Chadsie. If they be as they were, then be they no sacraments, bicause first they were no sacraments. Beside, the said Ambrose in his booke, which I alledged, *De iis, qui initiantur mysteriis*, affirmeth; that the kinds of the elements are changed: for he writeth; If Elias words were of so great force, as they could fetch downe fire from heauen; shall not the saieng of Christ be of as great force to change the kinds of the elements?

D. Martyr. To that, which you first obiect; If they be as they were, then be they no sacraments. I denie the consequence; sith both the one and the other may verie well be. For Ambrose addeth; And are changed into another thing: to the intent you may see, that the nature of bread remaineth, and is changed into a sacrament. And whereas you vrge the matter, that he writeth, that the kinds of the elements are changed; I distinguish, that if by the kinds, you vnderstand the accidents; that is to wit, the forme, figure, taste, and colour of the bread and wine, it is not changed; as the sense doth testifie. But if by the kinds you meane the natures and substances of the signes, to them I grant there happeneth (as I haue often said) a spirituall and heauenlie change. For while this holie rite is in executing, there is brought into the signes, thorough the institution and words of the Lord a sacramentall respect. And that same respect of signifieng as well the mysticall bodie, as the bodie it selfe of Christ is grounded, not in the accidents of bread and wine, but euen in the natures of them, through the comming of the holie Ghost, which vseth them as instruments.

A distinction of Species & kinds.

D. Chadsie. Is the bread changed as concerning the substance, or as concerning the accidents?

Change according to nature two maner of waies.

D. Martyr. Bicause here falleth out an ambiguitie and equiuocation, I will vse a distinction: If you vnderstand change according to the substance, so as the substance it selfe should either perish, or be conuerted into another substance, I agrée not vnto such a change: but if you meane the substance to be so changed, as it should receiue another qualitie and condition than it had before; I grant that the same is changed.

D. Chadsie. You speake of an accidentall change, which is made according to a new decrée and condition; which is to be changed into a sacrament, and accidentallie: but Ambrose speaketh of a change of the element and nature. And therefore I demand of you: what is that that is changed after consecration?

What that is, which is changed in the sacrament.

D. Martyr. I do not differ from Ambrose, but with him I affirme, that there is here made a change of the element and nature, after such a maner as hath béene now declared. And when you demand, what it is that is changed after consecration: I answer, that the change, wherof we now speake, is all one in those things which now by consecration susteine another qualitie, and haue obteined a greater dignitie; to wit, a sacramentall state, the which before they had not. And albeit you indeuour to extenuate such a change, yet is it not small, or to be contemned; séeing both the power and worke of the holie Ghost commeth thereunto.

D. Chadsie. You as yet answer me of an accidentall change; but what change is here in the element?

D. Martyr. A great change vndoubtedlie, whereby the element is made a sacrament, in such sort, as that element by this change, is now called another thing than it was before. And least you should doubt, what I meane by elements; I saie, that by them nothing else is signified, than the signes or tokens: euen as the ceremonies and sacrifices of the old fathers are by Paule called elements. And the substance of these elements; that is to saie, of the signes, is that, which abideth and sustaineth this change that is brought in by consecration: and the verie same haue I oftentimes confessed both in answering and in expounding. When I of blacke am made white, there is no need that my substance or nature should cease: and so iudge you of the bread, when it is made a sacrament.

D. Chadsie. The condition, which commeth thereunto, doth not change the nature, and yet Ambrose saith that it is changed. And the same father, in his fourth booke *De sacramentis*, the fourth chapter; Therefore who is the authour of the sacraments, but the Lord Iesus; from heauen did these sacraments come; for all counsell is from heauen. And in verie deed it is a greate diuine miracle, that God rained downe Manna from heauen for the people; and the people laboured not, and yet did eate. Thou perhaps

wilt saie, that my bread is vnaull bread. Howbeit, this bread is bread before the words of the sacrament; but when consecration commeth, it is made of bread, the flesh of Christ. Wherefore let vs saie this foundation; How can it be, that that which is bread should, by consecration, be the bodie of Christ? And againe; Wherefore that I may answer you, it was not the bodie of Christ before consecration; but I saie vnto you, that it is now the bodie of Christ; Hee spake the word, and it was made; hee commanded, and it was created.

Note that bread is the bodie of Christ, which these men denie.

Pſal.33.9.

D.Martyr. Adde withall, that which is said betweene; How much greater worke is it that they be as they were, and yet be changed into an other thing.

D.Chadſe. These words make nothing against me. Let them be as they were, that is, let them appeare as they were: for they reteine the selfe-same forme, figure, and properties. Also Ambrose meaning is thus expounded; If GOD could make all things of nothing, how much more could he make one thing of another? If of that which is not extant, he could make anie thing, much more could he do it of that which is. And therefore he saith, that they may be as they were; bicause they were first Beings, and they were extant, and not bicause they continue afterward the selfe-same according to substance, but that they may be what they were in respect of their Being, and be changed into an other thing, in respect of their substance. Wherefore he meaneth, that of one nature is made an other; and that is, to be changed into an other thing. And therefore by those words which be at the end of the chapter (to wit; Therefore hast thou learned, that of bread is made the bodie of Christ; and that the wine and water is powred into the cup, but by consecration of the heauenlie word it is made bloud) there appeareth to be a transubstantiation, and that of bread is made the bodie of Christ; and of wine, bloud.

D.Martyr. First will I answer to those things which you your selfe cite out of this chapter: then will I adde that which is omitted by you, and which confirme my opinion. First I grant, that the Lord is the authour of the sacraments: secondlie I agree, that bread before the words of the sacrament is vnaull bread, but that when consecration commeth, it is the bodie of Christ, to wit, sacramentallie. Thus much neither do I denie, nor euer haue I denied. But yet consider you again with me, that he addeth; Let vs therefore laie this foundation. How can that which is bread be made by consecration, the bodie of Christ? Where you see that he pronounceth two things of the signe; that both it is bread and the bodie of Christ withall. And he saith; that We must earnestlie indeuour to haue this to be plainlie declared: and he saith, that this is done by consecration. But who douteth that consecration is a sacramentall thing: Whereby it appeareth, that the signe as touching nature remaineth bread, and yet by consecration it is sacramentallie the bodie of Christ? And Ambrose interpreteth himselfe, when he saith; that They be those things that they were: which words you thus expound and interpret; that they be, that is, That they séeme to be. Whereas notwithstanding Ambrose hath [They be,] which word respecteth not an appearance of a thing, but the verie truth of the thing. And who seeth not, that when it ſerueth your owne turne, figures do exceedinglie please you: so as, when ye thinke good, ye vse them, though they be neuer so far fetcht? Before, in the Euangelist, you would haue the particle, *Quod* [which] to signifie a substance; in Augustine, a qualitie: and here in Ambrose you interpret [They be] that is, they séeme to be. And therefore Ambrose, when hée said; that those things do remaine, he added; that They be changed into an other thing: that is to saie; They be made sacraments. Which words do testifie, that I haue declared the verie true meaning of this father. But how sophisticall that other interpretation is, wherein you saie; They be what they were, that is; They first were, & had beings. As though Ambrose should saie; They be as they were, as touching their being, but they be changed into an other thing as touching their nature: all men vnderstand and perceiue, that this sense is most strange. Which that it may the better appeare, I thinke it not amisse to recite againe the words of Ambrose; How much more effectuall is the word of Christ, that they be the same they were, and are changed into an other thing? There was no heauen, no sea, no earth: but heare him that speketh; He spake the word, and they were made; hee commanded, and they were created. Therefore to answer you; It was not the bodie of Christ before consecration, but after consecration it is the bodie of Christ; He spake and it was made, He commanded, and it was created. Thou thy selfe wast, but yet thou wast an old creature; after that thou art consecrated, &c. thou began nest to be a new creature. Now do you heare by a similitude be declareth the bread to be changed in nature, euen by that, whereby the condition is not cast awaie, but changed. For in these words, he brought forth two maner of reasons to proue a sacramentall change. The first was drawne from the commandement of the Lord, bicause he spake it; the other is from the change which is done in vs, when we be regenerated: but therein we admit not our owne nature to be a doer. And therefore must it not be said of bread,

and the bodie of Christ.

Pſal.33.9.

A similitude of change.

bread that it leaueth his substance. Otherwise an argument from the lesser to the greater affirmatiuelie doth not hold; to wit, that by the lesser change we should proue the greater. And therefore when Ambrose compareth these two together, he will haue them equall. But proceed we vnto those words which are written in the end, where you read; For euen as thou hast receiued the similitude of his death, so likewise dost thou drinke the similitude of his pretious bloud. What could more plainelie be said in these words, to shew a condition or qualitie sacramentall, the which standeth in a similitude & signification?

D.Chadſe. Ambrose, when he had said; that This is not it which nature hath framed, but which blessing hath consecrated, immediatelie, to the intent he might shew what maner of change it was; he added the examples of the rod, and of the water changed into bloud, wherein the former nature is cast awaie; and the examples which two onelie shew a change of the qualities and properties, he placed further off. Why then shall we rather refer the change of the bread and wine, vnto the change of the properties and condition, séeing the other kind of change is put in the first place? And especiallie since Ambrose addeth, that the words of Christ are a working kind of speach, and he saith; that We are become another thing. And that which you bring as touching the change of vs, sith we be made a new creature, I saie; that Therein is need of grace, and it is a spirituall change. But in this place Ambrose speaketh of the change of the element. Read the same father in the fift chapter of the same booke, and in the first chapter of his first booke *De ſacramentis*.

D.Martyr. Why Ambrose putteth in the first place, the change wherein the substance is cast awaie, the reason may be easilie shewed; bicause that change is greater than the other, and therefore is first placed. Againe, where he argueth two maner of waies: partlie from an effect that is greater, and partlie from the like, or that which is equall; he beginneth his argument, as meet it is, from a thing that is greater. And that the second kind of change serueth to the purpose, hereby it appeareth, séeing in the 4. booke of sacraments, where he minded to proue the same matter, but more liuelie, he reciteth onelie those examples, which do shew a change of the properties, and speaketh not of the first kind, wherein nature is done awaie. That the words of Christ are effectuall to worke, I willinglie grant, for thereby the signes, whose nature remaineth, are made another thing; that is to wit, sacraments. And whereas you saie, that our change is made by grace, and is spirituall, I grant it: but that Ambrose speaketh not of that change, I denie it. Neither is it anie let, that he calleth the same a change of the elements, as I haue declared before. Forsomuch as the element is that part of the sacrament which is perceiued; and the same is trulie said to be changed, bicause it hath and executeth another office than before. And that which you inferr of the fift chapter of the first booke, and of the first chapter of the first booke, if you will obiect, we will answer. Now is it shewed sufficientlie, that there is nothing, of the which you haue cited, doth make against vs, but that all things serue for our part.

A plaine declaration of Symboles words.

D.Chadſe. I desire you that you will read these chapters at home by your selues, and yée shall see that they cannot be otherwise vnderstood than of transubstantiation.

Heere the Commissioners commanded that we should proceed to the second question.

The second question.

D.Chadſe.

THat the true & reall bodie of Christ is in the Eucharist, thus I proue. Chrysostome in his 17. homilie vpon the Hebrues; Do we not offer euerie dale? Yes indeed we offer: howbeit we do the same in remembrance of his death; and the sacrifice is one, not manie. How is it one, and not manie? And bicause that sacrifice was once offered, it was offered in the most holie place of all: but this sacrifice is an example of that. Euen this do we offer alwaies; and not now one lambe, and to morowe another; but alwaies the selfe-same: and therefore this sacrifice is one; otherwise by this reason there be manie Christs, bicause it is offered in manie places. God forbid! But one Christ is euerie where, both being here full, and there full one bodie, &c. Out of these words thus I dispute; Our oblation is all one with that which Christ offered, but Christ offered his true and reall bodie; therefore we do offer the same.

D.Martyr. That we haue the selfe-same bodie in the supper of the Lord, which Christ offered vpon the crosse, as touching the substance and truth of nature, I grant; but yet not after the selfe-same maner, bicause we receiue it spirituallie, that is, by faith. But this bodie, in a substantiall and corporall presence did hang

vpon the crosse. And these two things which I affirme, you may gather out of Chrysostome. He saith; It is all one which we offer; to wit, as touching the matter, and bodie of Christ. Howbeit, he addeth alwaies, Remembrance, Example, and Commemoration, the which words do shew a diuerse maner. And this opinion of mine will I euidentlie shew out of the words of Barnard, in his 33. sermon vpon the canticles: But in how great an abundance soeuer these things do war fat, not with the like pleasantnesse is receiued the barke of the sacrament, and the fatnesse of the wheate; saith and the kind, memozie and presence, eternitie and time the face, and the glasse, &c. Where you see that he putteth an Antithesis betweene memozie and presence. And therefoze we confesse with Chrysostome, that we haue the verie same bodie that was offered vpon the crosse. Howbeit, bicause he alwaies interlaceth memozie and mindfulnesse, he theweth that it is no waie of receiuing the same by a bodilie presence, but by the presence of saith, which can make things that be absent, spirituallie present: as Paule to the Galathians saith; that Christ was crucified in them. Againe; that Abraham sawe the daie of the Lord, and was glad. And God made vs now to sit at the right hand, in heauenlie places. How was this? By a carnall presence? No, but by saith, which excludeth not the truth of the thing. And bzeefelie as touching the argument, we haue euen the verie same, but not after the selfe-same maner; that is to wit, in the same kind of presence. And so it followeth not: Christ reallie and cozpozallie gaue himselfe vpon the crosse, and therefoze we haue him after the selfe-same maner in the communion.

Gal.3,1. John.1,56. Eph.1,20.

Faith excludeth not the truth of the thing.

D.Chadse. We offer saith Chrysostome euen the selfe-same that he offered, although he be there after an other maner and after an other fozme: and as this man testifieth, we offer not now one lambe, oz an other lambe to mozowe, but euermoze one and the selfe-same. Otherwise it is confessed, that Christ offered himselfe foz a price, and we foz a mysterie and remembzance.

D.Martyr. They which communicate the selfe-same Christ, and full whole, that is, neither of his natures cut off, oz diminished, do receiue him by faith. For faith doth neither hurt him, noz defile him, noz yet diminish him. Nate rather, it doth suffer him to be as he is, and to remaine in his owne place; and yet doth it spirituallie imbzace euen himselfe full and whole.

D.Chadse. Is there in the sacrament the bodie of Christ oz no?

D.Martyr. I denie not but that in the sacrament is the verie bodie of Christ sacramentallie; that is to saie, by an effectuall signification: and I allwedlie affirme, that he is trulie giuen vs, and receiued of vs, but yet with the mind and with faith; that is, spirituallie oz sacramentallie, to wit, that he is verelie present to our faith. The difference betweene vs, is as touching the maner of the presence. We do imagine and feigne to your selues a certeine hiding of Christ in the bread, oz in the fozmes of bread, the which I denie. That he is present after such a maner as I haue declared, I grant; and I haue proued, after what sort he may be granted to be in the sacrament.

D.Chadse. It is euen the selfe-same saith Chrysostome.

D.Martyr. He affirmeth it to be the selfe-same, but yet he addeth; In remembzance and recozdation; the which words belong to the mind and to faith, not vnto bodilie presence.

D.Chadse. Is it a true and carnall bodie, which is in the sacrament, oz is it a spirituall bodie?

D.Martyr. I haue alreadie granted it to be a true bodie, but yet (that I may so speake) not by a reall presence. It is the selfe-same bodie, as I haue declared, as concerning nature; but yet we receiue the same with the mind and with faith, euen in such wise as we receiue the signe of the same with the hand and with the mouth.

D.Chadse. It is euen the selfe-same saith Chrysostome.

D.Martyr. Both the things which he saith, must be ioined togither, as well that It is euen the selfe-same; as that which he addeth, By commemozation.

D.Chadse. If when we do receiue the sacrament, the selfe-same bodie is giuen, which Christ offered; it followeth, that Christ is reallie and substantiallie in the sacrament.

D.Martyr. I denie the argument; foz you passe from the substance vnto the accident. And you make *Quid*, what, to be *Quale*, after what maner. That it is the verie same bodie as touching nature, I haue granted it almost an hundzed times: but it followeth not as touching the maner of the bodilie presence, either that he is there, oz that he is receiued of vs.

D.Chadse. Is he there?

D.Martyr. He is, but yet sacramentallie, and by signification; as our meaning is in our words, oz in our writings, to wit, that by these it is signified, but it doth not lie hidden vnder them.

D.Chadse.

D.Chadse. Is it the verie bodie oz no?

D.Martyr. How often shall I tell you? It is the verie bodie, but yet it is not there, except by a sacramentall signification.

D.Chadse. I demand what is the substance of that sacrifice, which is offered daie by daie? You saie, that if I shall offer it with the mind & with faith, it is the verie bodie of Christ. Chrysostome, hauing a respect not to my faith, but to the substance of the sacrifice, saith; We offer not an other, but the selfe-same sacrifice: and so it appeareth, that we deuise nothing but that which Chrysostome hath.

D.Martyr. The substance of our sacrifice is a giuing of thanks for the bodie of Christ giuen vpon the crosse. And by reason of this giuing of thanks, faith and confession, the fathers saith, that the bodie of Christ is offered in the supper. Therefoze, as touching the substance, this bodie for the which we giue thanks, differeth not from that which was crucified: but yet to this end, that it should be offered vs, is not required, that he should be present cozpozallie; neither that he should be holy substantiallie in the vsuing of the communicants.

D.Chadse. Chrysostome, vpon Iohn. homilie 46. Paynim offerings gaue their children to deuils: but I no such thing, but I do nourish them with my flesh: my selfe I giue to them, I cannot tell what. I giue all men an excellent kind of thing, a true one, I feed them with mine owne I beseech you haue care of my flesh and blood for euermoze. I haue ingrauen & grauen you those things which I am wont to write vnto you. Here Chrysostome saith, that we be nourished by the verie flesh of Christ. For that is nourished by his nature, which is nourished by the flesh of another. And Christ saith, that he in like maner doth nourish vs with his flesh; and therefoze he meaneth not this by signification: for this thought not be ingrauen vs by his owne, but by another flesh. Wherefoze if it followeth, that the flesh of Christ is present indeed.

D.Martyr. Christ doth giue himselfe vnto vs, and doth nourish & maintaine vs by his flesh, I grant. But see (I pzay you adde) that we cannot be nourished, vnlesse his flesh be present & reallie. I denie it. For this meate and drinke is perfourmed by faith.

D.Chadse. Yea, but he saith; Seeing he hath now giuen himselfe, much more will he giue himselfe hereafter; therefoze is it the selfe-same, which is now giuen, and which hereafter shall be giuen.

D.Martyr. It is the selfe-same, but here it is onelie receiued by faith: and that it may there more effectuallie be receiued, there be signes and sacraments giuen vnto vs.

D.Chadse. Shall not they then, which be without faith, receiue the bodie of Christ?

D.Martyr. They shall not receiue it; foz they want the instrument, whereby the bodie of Christ is receiued, as I haue shewed before. Euill men receiue not the bodie of Christ.

D.Chadse. And is it there, although it be not receiued of them?

D.Martyr. Yea, it is by a sacramentall signification in the elements, bicause they signifie, represent, and giue vnto vs the bodie and bloud of Christ; but yet they are not transubstantiated, oz the bodie lieth not hidden in them substantiallie and reallie, oz cozpozallie and carnallie; to the granting wherof you would seeme to driue me, by so manie your superfluous questions. And when I affirme a sacramentall signification, you must vnderstand such as is effectuall vnto beleeuers, as may further the communicants, and may stir them vp to imbzace Christ by faith, the which can haue no place in them that be destitute of faith. For I shewed that before, when I opposed you, that vnbeleeuers cannot receiue the bodie of Christ.

D.Chadse. What then is a sacrament?

D.Martyr. A sacrament, as the Scholedoctors define it, and is had out of Augustine, is the signe of a holie thing, oz a visible figure of an inuisible grace. And the holie Ghost vseth the sacraments, that he may giue vnto vs Christ spirituallie to be imbraced with the mind and with faith; euen as we are said to receiue saluation by the words of God: not that saluation lieth hidden in those words, oz standeth in reall presence, but is conteined by signification. And this comparison of diuine words is verie agreeable with sacraments; seeing by Augustines iudgement, sacraments be visible words. Wherefoze, by this answer you vnderstand what I meane by a sacrament. What is a sacrament.

D.Chadse. By this means euerie thing may be a signe of the bodie of Christ.

D.Martyr. Foz lomuch as the Lord did not institute all things to this purpose, noz that all things haue the word of God, which in the sacraments is the chiefest part; therfoze all things cannot be called signes of the bodie of Christ, after such a maner as now we take true and effectuall sacraments to be. That euerie thing cannot be a signe of the bodie of Christ, as the Eucharist is.

D.Chadse. Augustine, in his third boke *De trinitate*, the fourth chapter, is of my opinion. Foz when he speaketh of the Eucharist, he saith; It is not sanctified to be so great a sacrament, except the spirit of God do worke inuisiblie. Lo,

here you haue it, that the holie Ghoſt and the worke of God is required to the making of a ſacrament; but there ſhould be no need of ſo manie things, to bring but in a ſignification onelie.

D. Martyr. I wonder that you cite that place of Auguſtine, ſith he there maketh ſpecialle againſt you. Let vs ſee what he ſaith there. The apoſtle Paule might by ſignifieng haue preached the Lord Ieſus, one waie by his tong, another waie by an epiſtle, and another waie by a ſacrament of his bodie and blood. Here you ſee that the Lord Ieſus Chriſt is ſignified by a ſacrament of his bodie & bloud; the which you indeuor now to diſproue. But let vs proceed. Neither in verie deed do we ſaie, that his tong, or parchment, or inke, or the ſignifieng ſounds vttered with the tong, or figures of letters written vpon little skins, is the bodie and bloud of Chriſt; but that onelie, which we do rightlie receiue, being made of the fruits of the earth, and conſecrated by myſticall praiers. Here likewiſe you heare, that that which we receiue of the fruits of the earth, is called the Lords bodie. Where vpon it followeth, that bread doth there remaine, vnleſſe you will ſaie that the earth doth bying forth accidents. And whereas you obiect, that the worke of God and the holy Ghoſt are requiſit for the making of this a ſacrament; I grant it: but that the ſignification of the bodie of Chriſt is not ſo great a matter, as it hath need of thoſe things, that do I denie. You haue oftentimes alreadie heard, that we do not here ſet downe a common or vulgar ſignification; but a ſacramentall, mightie, and effectuall ſignification, whereby the beléeuers are incorporated into Chriſt.

The Lord Ieſus by a ſacrament of his bodie and blood is ſignified.

D. Chadſe. But the bread by his ſubſtance nourritheth, therefore it may ſignifie the bodie of Chriſt before conſecration: alſo it is gathered, and conſiſteth of manie graines before conſecration, therefore it may ſignifie the vnion of the church. Howbeit it is none of Auguſtines mind; that anie thing ſhould be called the bodie and bloud of Chriſt, becauſe of the ſignification; but only in this reſpect, that being taken out of the fruits of the earth, and conſecrated by myſticall praier, we receiue it vnto ſaluation. Neither meaneth he, that the bread taken from the fruits of the earth doth ſo remaine, but after ſuch a ſort as Ambroſe ſaith, that that which nature hath made is by bleſſing changed.

D. Martyr. As touching the firſt: you cannot in verie deed ſaie of water, that wherſoeuer it is, euen out of baptiſme, it ſignifieth the waſhing of the ſoule. But doth it therefore followe, that that ſignification is ſacramentall, when the word of the Lord is abſent, nor yet the inſtitution of Chriſt is exerciſed therein? We ſpeake here (as we haue often ſaid alreadie) of the power and effectuall ſignification of ſacraments, the which we obteine by the word and inſtitution of God. As touching the other, Auguſtine ſaith moſt plainelie, that by thoſe things that is to wit, by the tong, parchements (that is to ſaie writtings) and by the ſacrament, the bodie of Chriſt is ſignified, and then followeth that which you ſaie; to wit, that it is receiued to ſaluation. And of the change, that is to ſaie, the calling a waie of that ſubſtance that is gathered of the fruits of the earth, there is no mention at all: how Ambroſe muſt be vnderſtood, I haue declared before.

D. Chadſe. Chryſoſtome, in the 45. homilie vpon Iohn, in the firſt chapter thus writeth; This bloud being ſhed, ouerflowed all the world, whereof Paule vnto the Hebrues pronounced manie things. This bloud purged the ſecret and holie places. But and if the figure thereof was of ſo great force in the temple of the Hebrues, and then it was ſprinkled vpon the poſts of the houſe in the midſt of Aegypt; of much more force was the truth it ſelfe. This bloud ſignified a golden altar, without this the high prieſt durſt not enter into the innermoſt places. This bloud made the prieſts. This bloud in a figure, purged ſinnes. In the which figure if it were of ſo great force; if death ſo feared the ſhadowe; how greatlie I beſeech you will it be afraid of the truthe &c. He compareth the ſacraments of the old teſtament with the ſacraments of the new teſtament, as one may ſaie; the ſhadowe and figure vnto the truth: and he plainelie & myſteriouſlie ſaith, that the bread doth go there, as he ſaith, ſhould as thers had the ſhadowes, vnto ver that which ſtood vnto the ſacrifice of the Goſpell: that the verie bodie of Chriſt is preſent there in that ſort, if the thing it ſelfe, there is ſignification onelie, there is no need to haue attributed vnto our ſacrifices, thanks the ſacraments of the old lawe.

D. Martyr. Whereas Chryſoſtome ſaith, that the ſacraments of the old fathers being compared vnto ours, be ſhadowes and figures, I grant the ſame. Howbeit, it muſt be vnderſtood, that ſhadowes and figures were there, becauſe the comming of Chriſt was as yet not perfected. Againe, the ſignifications of thoſe ſacraments were more obſcure; both which ſeemeable vnto figures and ſhadowes: for figures do ſet forth vnto vs Chriſt to come, and ſhadowes do want plentie of light. By theſe kind of meanes was Chriſt ſignified in the ſacraments of the old fathers, and by faith was giuen to be receiued of the beléeuers. But now to vs in the ſacraments he is offered, as he that is alredie come, that hath performed his promiſes, and that is crucified

crucified for vs in verie deed. Beſides, the words which we haue in our ſacraments; be far more cleare and plaine than were the words of the old ſacraments in the lawe. But you vnderſtand this word, truth, as though it ſhould ſignifie reall preſence; and therefore you infer, that the bodie of Chriſt is preſent with vs reallie, corporallie, and ſubſtantiallie. But the fathers vnderſtand, truth, to be in our ſacraments, if they be compared to the ſacraments of the old fathers; becauſe they repreſent the thing that is now performed, euen that the kingdome of heauen is opened, and that the benefit of our redemption is, with all euidence and aſſurednelle, alreadie finiſhed and made perfect, and beſtowed on vs, as it were before the eies of faith.

D. Chadſe. Yea, but the ſacraments of the old fathers were euen as much true as ours be; the ſelfe-ſame power was in them that is in ours. Thoſe fathers as well beléeued that Chriſt would come, as we that he is come. For by the teſtimonie of Paule, all our fathers dranke of the ſelfe-ſame ſpirituall rocke, and did eat the ſelfe-ſame ſpirituall meat. 1 Co. 10, 4.

D. Martyr. True it is, that the old fathers, as touching the thing it ſelfe, had the ſelfe-ſame ſacraments that we haue, which were ſignes that Chriſt ſhould come, and offered him vnto the beléeuers: but the difference (as I ſaid) was that Chriſt hath now performed indeed, the price of our ſaluation, but then he was afterward to performe the ſame. And a thing that is alreadie done, if it be compared euen to it ſelfe, which ſhall afterward be done, both it is more aſſured, and may be called a truth: but it is ſaid to haue a ſhadowe and a figure, when it is not yet performed. Ouer this, no man doubteth but that that Chriſt and his death is expreſſed vnto vs, with more plaine and euident words. By theſe things you may gather, that (as Paule teſtifieth) we as touching the ſubſtance haue the ſelfe-ſame ſacraments with the old fathers; but that there be manie differences alſo betweene them, as touching the thing preſent, which I haue rehearſed.

D. Chadſe. The ſacraments of the fathers promiſed but grace, ours giue the ſame: which things you in your leaues did interpret; They ſignifie grace giuen. Wherefore, if thoſe ſacraments ſignified grace to be giuen, and ours ſignifie the ſame alredie giuen, the ſignification is alike, in the one, and in the other; and our ſacraments ſhall haue no more than thoſe of the fathers. And againſt that which you bring that the ſacraments of the old fathers were more obſcure, I will prooue, that they had a more euident ſignification: for the bloud of the lambe offered, did more plainelie repreſent the bodie of Chriſt, than the bread and wine, if bread and wine be there.

D. Martyr. I will anſwer to euerie thing in order. I affirme that which you obiect againſt me; to wit, that the ſacraments of the old lawe ſignified grace that ſhould be giuen; and ours, the ſame alredie giuen and exhibited, that is to wit, Chriſt alreadie incarnate, and which hath ſuffred death. And while I was in my reading, among manie other things which I diſcourſed as touching this matter, I remember that I alſo ſaid this, becauſe I would not admit, that the ſacraments of anie of both, either ours, or theirs of old time, of themſelues do giue grace. For whatſoeuer grace we haue, that do we obteine by faith, and not (as you feigne and ſaie) for the works ſake that is wrought. Neither do we for this cauſe make ſacraments to be the more contemptible: foraſmuch as we determine, that they, while they be rightlie receiued, do helpe, confirme, & increaſe faith, whereby alone we be iuſtified. For the holie Ghoſt, as it vſeth the words of God, and the ſcriptures, as it were inſtruments to change & to ſaue vs; ſo like wiſe doth it vſe the ſacraments. Now you ſee how I haue vnderſtood, that the ſacraments of the lawe ſignified grace to be giuen, & how ours ſignifie the ſame alreadie giuen. Wherevnto you may adde, that faith is more holpen by our ſacraments, than by thoſe of the old fathers; partlie, becauſe the words are plainlier expreſſed, and that our excellent matter, which is the redemption by Chriſt, is more euidentlie ſet forth in theſe. And ſeeing faith is gotten by the word, the more manifeſt that the word is, the more effectlie is faith ſtirred vp, & the more doth it apprehend the thing ſignified; partlie becauſe I eaſilie agree, that a more plentifull ſpirit is granted by our ſacraments, than was giuen by the ſacraments of the old fathers. And that remaineth as a ſure ground, which before I ſpake of, that the thing to be done, being compared to that which is alreadie done, may be called both a ſhadowe and a figure. Againe, whereas you byge, that the lambe & ſlaieng of beaſts for ſacrifice, more manifeſtlie repreſented Chriſt and his death; I anſwer, that the perſpicuitie and plainneſſe of the ſacraments muſt cheeſlie be regarded in the words. Becauſe, if you compare the words with the elements, the words be the life of them; and ſo the old fathers were not giuen to expreſſe and plaine ſpeeches of Chriſt, and his death, as at this daie is vſed in our ſacraments. It is ſaid; This is my bodie, which ſhall be giuen for you. And againe; This is my bloud, which ſhall be ſhed for you vnto the remiſſion of ſinnes. And what can there be more plainlie and euidentlie ſpoken? Matt. 26, 26

D. Chadſe.

D. Chadsē. Where the faith is of more abundance, there is the sacrament more excellent; But the faith of Abraham was greater than ours is: Therefore he held a more excellent sacrament: and so should it follow, that the sacraments of the old fathers were better than ours.

D. Martyr. The first proposition, which you take vpon you to proue, is not altogither true, neither is it of necessitie, that where faith is more abundant, there the sacrament should be more excellent: seeing Abraham both beleeued and was iustified, before he had the sacrament of circumcision. For there may be faith, yea, and it ought to be had before the receiuing of the sacraments. We indeed haue granted, that the same is holpen and confirmed by those sacraments, but not that it should be giuen onelie by them. If you had said, that those sacraments, whereby the faith is more confirmed and increased in the beleeuers, ought to be esteemed the more excellent, you should haue said true; but yet that which you adde as touching Abraham, would not be to the purpose, vnlesse you had proued, that he obteined his faith by the sacrament, which is not true. And againe, whereas you said that Abraham had a greater faith than ours is, that should not be well affirmed, bicause to conclude that which you went about, you should haue proued that Abraham had a greater faith than is had in the new testament; and then should you take for a proofe a thing that were doubtfull. For how do you knowe, but that Paule, Peter, manie of the apostles and martyrs had as much faith as Abraham? Wherefore both the *Maior* and *Minor* propositiō of your argument doth admit exceptions, and you imbrace more in the conclusion than can be found in the whole antecedent.

Here the Kings Maiesties Commissioners made an end of *the disputations, when they had heard eleuen of the clocke strike.* And M.D. Richard Cox Commisioner, and Chancellour *of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, made this oration as followeth.*

YE Students of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, we haue bestowed foure halfe daies in examining of two questions: namelie, of transubstantiation, and of reall presence of the bodie of Christ in the sacrament. Greatlie did this disputation delight vs. And I would to God that the time would haue giuen vs leaue, to heare all those things, which might haue beene said in this matter! That which we wished came to passe, to wit, that the disputation was quiet. The hearers I hope, as they be now quiet, so they will be desirous to learne the truth. They which were the disputers on either side, haue most diligentlie performed their part, and must not be defrauded of their due commendation. Men of our nation and of Oxford, besides that they haue performed that which their conscience perswaded them, they haue brought no small honour vnto this Vniuersitie: for that in so great a cause they haue not shrunke, but that they would openlie testifie, according to the measure of their learning, and gift imparted to them by the benefit of God, both of what mind they were in these controuersies, and by what reasons and authorities they were driuen herevnto. Verie learnedlie doubtlesse, did they performe the charge committed vnto them. Howbeit, the other learned men, which in so great matters haue held their peace, haue I know not how by their silence procured to themselues the blemish of deniall. But Peter, who is worthilie called Peter, for his affired stedfastnes; Martyr, and worthilie called Martyr, for the innumerable testimonies which he manie times vttereth of the truth, ought to haue great thanks at this time, both of vs and of all the godlie: first, bicause hee hath taken exceeding great paines in susteining the burthen of the disputations. For if Hercules was not to deale against twaine, what say we of Peter alone against all commers? Againe, whereas he vndertooke to dispute, he disprooued the vaine saiengs of vaine men, which spread enuious and odious things against him; namelie, that he would not or durst not defend his doctrine. Finallie, that he

he so singularlie well answered the expectation of the great magistrates, yea, and of the Kings maiestie, while he not onelie hath deliuered vnto the Vniuersitie the doctrine of Christ, out of the liuelie fountaines of the word of God, but (so far as laie in him) hath not suffered anie man either to trouble or stop the fountaines. Wee haue heard this christian contention, the which was taken in hand for the trieng and searching out of the truth. The verie which maner of proceeding ought to bee as the onelie marke, whervnto all men doo bend their eie in euerie disputation. This ought all men to search out which haue a loue to sincere religion. For what else meaneth that saieng; *Search the scriptures*, but diligentlie to search the truth out of the scriptures? Howbeit, wee are not now minded to giue iudgement of these controuersies, and vtterlie to breake the stife. But then shall it be determined, when it shall seeme good vnto the Kings Maiestie, and the Estates of the church of England. Neuertheless, if I, whome you of your courtesie haue chosen to be your Chancellor, did not now supplie the place of an other person (for the Kings authoritie hath now otherwise appointed mee) I would most gladlie yeeld an account of my faith in these propositions. For I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, nor yet of the truth which shineth vnto all men out of his word: and this doubtlesse will I be readie to doo at an other time, when oportunitie shall be offered. And now in the meane time, I exhort you that be strangers and forrenners, if now there be anie, that ye will returne to your owne home. I would not haue you continuallie to wander in the fathers and Councels, as in your countrie; doo not you suppose that those be your principles; I would not haue you to be deceiued in the probable words of mans wisedome. What principles had the fathers? What Councels had they? How shamefullie did the fathers fall in manie things? How fowlie did the Councels erre? I will not here rehearse their errours. I will not here stir this puddle. And yet for all this, shall the fathers and the Councels be the grounds of disputations? There haue beene heretofore heretikes which denied either a part of the scripture, or else the whole. And at this daie there be Libertines, which be infected with the selfe-same madnesse: those doo denie and tread vnder foote the cheefe principles of our christianitie; who place the word of God in the highest watchtower, and haue it in verie great reuerence; and from hence onelie doo seeke for life and saluation: holding principles which bee most assured, sound, and holie. And yet in the meane time, not reiecting the most holsome testimonies of godlie fathers: naie rather imbracing and reuerencing them as bright beames of the holie Ghost, which after some sort doo lighten the darknesse of our eies. Wherefore I beseech you for your saluation sake, and for the mercie of GOD, as well you that be yoong as old, that you will performe two things. First, that you will now at the last laie awaie those controuersies, which haue disquieted and rent in sunder the church of Christ, these manie ages, as touching transubstantiation, and I wot not what reall presence. There is no end of quarelling, these be the diuels snares, wherein he perpetuallie wrappeth vs, and letteth vs from true godlinesse. But it behoooeth vs that be godlie christians, cheeflie, yea, & generally to regard what Christ did, and what he hath commanded vs to do. Let vs consider those be the most holie and dreadfull mysteries of Christ. Let vs vse them verie oftentimes vnto our saluation; let vs come vnto them with feare and trembling, least we at anie time come vnworthilie, and receiue the same to our iudgement and condemnation. Secondlie, that ye betake your selues to the studie of the word of God. Vnto this marke direct all your darts: herevnto refer all your studies. Whether they be philosophicall, or mathematicall, or matters physicall, or whatsoeuer else they be, let them be as it were the waiting maids of this Queene. From hence seeke all your faith. From hence let your religion be established and made perfect. *Heauen and earth shall passe, but my word shall not passe.* By this, as it were by a certeine rule, let all controuersies be examined, and defined. Besides this, there is one thing, wherof we must admonish you all: namelie, that ye abandoning all papisticall vanities, superstitious & feined worshipping of God, you giue diligent indeuour to search out the truth: or at the least wise that ye be no impediment, but that they which be desirous of the truth, may proceed in the worke of godlinesse. For wee knowe, and bee certeinlie assured, that there be some vnquiet and troublesome persons; mooued of a preposte-

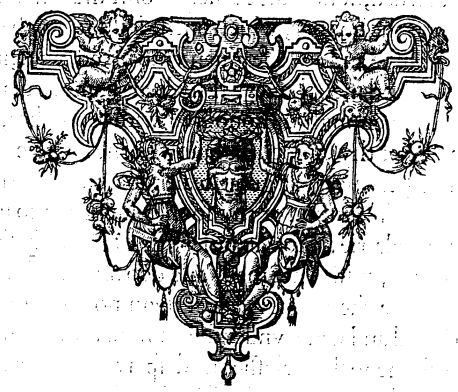
prepoſterous zeale, to hinder the proceeding of the truth. We knowe there bee ſome which doo perniciouſlie follow the example of their father, while they ſpread euerie where the ſeed of diſcord, and doo inuent lies. I knowe there be falſe and enuious rumors carried about. We knowe that vaine men, when they cannot by true meanes further their cauſe, they woorke by ſlanderous ſpeeches: ſo eaſilie intreated is an euill cuſtome to worke againſt the truth. Howbeit to make an end, if yee bee indued with anie loue of the truth, ſeeke out the ſame with patient minds; require it with feruent praiers of almightie God. Atteine to the knowledge thereof by a ſincere comparing of places togither. Let chriſtian charitie wax hot in you. Hee that is weake in faith, receiue him. For the ſtronger (ſaith Paule) ought to ſuſteine the imbecillities of the weake ones, and not pleaſe themſelues: let euerie man pleaſe his neighbour vnto good edifieng. Beware of the wilineſſe of Satan, which lieth in wait for you, leaſt you ſhould yeeld to the words of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; that you may dote about queſtions and differences, and ſtrifes of words, whereof ariſe enuies, contentions, blaſphemies, ill ſuſpicion, &c. We may by our authoritie command you, and threaten the obſtinate with due puniſhment; yet we had rather for the loue we beare you, deſire and exhort you. Wherefore, if there be anie conſolation in Chriſt, if anie comfort of loue, if anie fellowſhip of the ſpirit, if anie bowels of compaſſion, fulfill you our ioie. And our ioie is, that we ſee manie in this Vniuerſitie to grow vp notablie in good learning and godlineſſe. Our ioie is, that wee ſee you ſo modeſt and readie to obeie. Fulfill you therefore our ioie, that is, ſearch ye the truth, which hath now manie ages lien hidden, as it were in a darke dungion: when yee haue found it out, receiue it with a ſincere faith; and beeing receiued, beautifie the ſame with good maners. So ſhall your light ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works, and glorifie your father which is in heauen, to whome be all glorie, for euer and euer; Amen.

A praier of D. Peter Martyr againſt falſe worſhipping of God, and all maner of ſuperſtition.

COme (we beſeech thee) at the length, O heauenlie father, & illuminate the harts and minds of all thy Chriſtians with the ſpirit of Ieſus Chriſt thy Sonne, that they forſaking idols and ſuperſtitions, may conuert to thee alone, who oughteſt to be purelie & ſincerelie ſerued, honored, & called vpon. And ſuffer thou no longer the honour, which onelie is due vnto thee, to be impiouſlie and lewdlie giuen vnto bread, wine, images, and dead mens bones. Thy holie name hath now beene long enough diſhonoured with reproches, the pureneſſe of thy Goſpell hath now beene long enough polluted; enough & a great deale too much haue men abuſed the inſtitution of thy ſonnes ſupper vnto moſt vnpure idolatrie. Stop at the length, O Lord, theſe furies of men, which are mad, and doo moſt miſerablie ouerthrowe themſelues. Let them not anie longer with bread and wine, vnder the name of the ſacrament of thy ſonne, ſo ſhameleſſlie and deſperatelie vpon euerie hill, vnder euerie tree, in all high waies, ſtreets, temples, and chappels, commit fornication, and ſo horriblie

and

and deteſtablie defile thy holie religion. Vnleſſe thou, O omnipotent God, by thy mightie hand doo rid and turne awaie theſe things, there is no more hope of mans ſaluation, and cleanſing againe of thy church. Helpe, O God, helpe thy people, whom thou haſt redeemed with the bloud of thy ſonne. And thou Ieſus Chriſt, the true and eternall God, confirme this worke, which thou haſt begun, and bring the ſame to a deſired end: or elſe, if there be no hope of recouerie, and that there ſhall be no more in thy church anie publike and open place for thy truth, come quicklie and haſten thy iudgement, and for the glorie of thy name turne awaie ſo ſhamefull contumelie from thy holie ſupper, which thou, of thine incredible mercie and ſingular goodneſſe haſt inſtituted: who, with the Father and the holie Ghoſt, liueſt and reigneſt world without end, *Amen.*



A SERMON OF CHRISTES DEATH
out of the ſecond Chapter of Saint Paul to the Philippians.

THey (dearely beloued in Chriſt) which behold the powers of the minde, and they which haue witte any thing of the ſame, doo for this cauſe commende and extoll memorie, that it is an incomparable treaſure of things that be paſt, and a moſt faithfull preſeruer of the ſame. Further becauſe great heede muſt bee taken leſt thoſe excellent things giuen vnto men by nature be not violated through our default, therefore muſt not euerie thing, but thoſe things which bee moſt excellent and moſt profitable, be committed vnto memorie. And among the workes of almightie God there is nothing in the worlde that doth either profite vs more, or is worthie of greater admiration. Wherefore he that moſt of all loueth vs and all thinges belonging to vs, hath often commanded vs by his lawes that we ſhould continually without ceaſing beare in minde the wonderfull acts which he hath wrought for our ſaluation. He not onelie would haue the people to beare in mind that he euen at the beginning made the workemanſhip of the worlde for our profite, but he alſo commaunded ſtraitlie that by obſeruation of the Sabbaoth among them, the ſame ſhould be perpetuallie remembred. He commanded thoſe which were brought into freedome, to ſhewe continually how he had deliuered the Iſraelites from the tyrannie of Pharao: and that the remembrance might be helped by an outward ſigne he take order to renewe euerie yeare the feaſt and ſacrifice of the Paſſouer. And he doth not take it in good part that at any time his Church ſhoulde forget, that in the laſt age of the worlde he deliuered his onely begotten ſonne to the death and to the Croſſe for the redemption of the worlde. Wherefore he not only prouided that the death of Chriſt ſhould bee recorded in the bookes of the holie ſcriptures both of the new and olde teſtament, but alſo when he ſhould goe out of the worlde vnto the father, hee left vnto his diſciples an inſtitution of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt to be continuallie exerciſed among the faithfull. Now then ſeing this is the chiefe and principall benefite which euer God beſtowed vpon mankinde, let vs neuer ſuffer oblition to blot the ſame out of our remembrance. And that this may not happen, the yearely reuolution of the dayes of the worlde which haue nowe paſſed ſince the time wherin we beleeue that Chriſt was crucified, doe perſwade me to expounde vnto you in ſuch ſort as I can his infinite loue, whereby he refuſed not for our ſakes to ſuffer death. But becauſe there is laide before me a huge heape of thinges to ſpeake of, leaſt my ſpeech through the violence of the waues and heape of the floods ſhould either ſtray from the right courſe, or fall into the depth of confuſion: we muſt chuſe ſome place of the ſcriptures, which as a certaine and ſtedfaſt loadſtone may direct both you in your hearing and me in my ſpeaking. And this we will take out of the ſecond chapter to the Philippians.

Exod.20.8

Exod.12.1. & 16.

Iſa.53. &c.

Matt.26.

Let the ſame minde be in you that was in Chriſt Ieſu, who being in the forme of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, but made himſelfe of no reputation, taking vpon him the forme of a ſeruant, and made in the likeneſſe of men, and was found in habite as a man. He humbled himſelfe, being made obedient vnto the death, euē the death of the croſſe: for the which alſo God exalted him, and gaue him a name, which is aboue euerie name, that in the name of Ieſus euerie knee ſhould bowe, both of things in heauen, and things in earth, & things vnder the earth: and that euerie tongue ſhoulde confeſſe that the Lord is Ieſus Chriſt to the glorie of God the father. Phil.2.5.

And that God may further the purpoſe which we haue begun, let vs according to the accuſtomed manner craue his aſſiſtance by prayer.

A ſimilitude

They which iudge of the nature of the waters, doe by taſte make a triall of their ſweetenelle, by ſight do trie their clearenelle, they diligently examine their weight, and finally they mark from what fountaine they ſpring. Euen ſo in expounding the ſentences of the ſcriptures, not onely the ſignification of the words, the ſenſe of the ſentences, the things that went before and the things which followe muſt be conſidered, but alſo with a ſpeciall heede taking we muſt ſee with what minde or to what purpoſe are ſpoken thoſe things which were ſet forth. Remember at the beginning of this Chapter the words of the Apoſtle. His minde is to exhort

vnto charitie and vnto vnitie one with another. The two plagues of these vertues are contention and vainegloie. The two rootes of them, submission and the indeuour of helping our neighbours. Vnto whiche he not onely exhorteth vs, but setteth vs with Christ for an example vnto vs: For hee is the image of God whereunto we are made. Amongst men there is no fit example, it must be taken out of heauen: The example of the Decii is set before the eies of souldiers in whom are two worthy polities. They, to the intent the armie might follow them, were carried with a courage against their enimies, and pacified God by their death. The first doth Cicero in his booke *de Natura Deorum*, graunt: the other he denyeth: We as touching the death of Christ doe acknowledge al well the one as the other, both that it is to be followed, and also that it hath made God merciful vnto vs.

Rom.8.9. Paul would that the same minde should be in vs: for if we be lead by the spirite of Christ, & doe liue in him, we ought to haue the selfe same minde with him. By this, as by a generall thing, all that followeth must be considered of. When he declareth that Christ must be followed, he farteth not from his commaundements. Learne of me, for I am

Mat.11.29. meeke and lowlie of heart. I haue giuen you
Joh.13.15. an example, that euen as I &c. The disciple is
Mat.10.24. not aboue his master. So haue they doone vn-
Luke.6.23. Matt.5.12. to the Prophets which were before you. If
they haue persecuted me, they will also per-
Mar.13.20. Luk.14.27. secute you. Hee that taketh not vp his crosse and followeth mee, cannot bee my disciple.

First therefore he sheweth, who this is that we ought to follow, to wit God & man. Secondly wherein he was obedient, namely vnto death, euen the death of the crosse. Thirdlie what he obtained for these things,

Phil.2.9. euen a name which is aboue euerie name.
The godhead and manhode of Christ.

He extolleth the worthinesse of Christ: that since he humbled himselfe from so great a maiestie, we that are but wormes, should not puffe vp our selues and be proude, yea let vs depart from our owne right, which if we could abase our selues lower thã Christ did, yet are we not to be compared vnto him, which in comparisõ of him are but wormes, being in the forme of God, that is to wit, in maiestie, in liuelyhe, in comlinesse, in dignitie, in glorie, &c. From these things he seuered himselfe for a time: euen as a prince which bearing good will to a maide of meane calling, goeth like a priuate man to her house. In his kingly maiestie, hee declareth his power, but he concealeth his loue: in the habit of a commoner he hideth his maiestie, but

thetweth his burning desire. First did the power of the worde of God shine by his creation and prouidence, nowe is his charitie shewed. He that seeth not the diuinitie of Christ, seeth nothing. Some say, that The forme dooth not signifie his nature or essence, but his ornament, maiestie and glorie, as wee haue saide. Howbeit these were no lyes nor fained things, and therefore they Esa.42.8. declare him to be God. I will not giue mine honour to anie other: But if hee giue vnto him his maiestie, glorie, comlinesse &c. he is not another from him but is God. Paul vseth the worde (Forme) both wayes, as well touching a seruant as touching God, that thou maist knowe that neither nature is changed into other. It is not the propertie of forme to marre but to preserue. If Christ had bene a creature as Arrius would, he shoulde haue beene a seruant, for euerie creature serueth God: and he should not haue taken the forme of a seruant. We receiue not that which we haue, but that which we haue not. Further thou beareſt a pluralitie of persons, and an equalitie. He thought it no robberie to be equall with God. These things hath Chrysostome in his Homily *De consubstãtialitate Trinitatis*. The same father saith: Arrius confesseth Christ to be verie man: but there is the worde Forme. He tooke vpon him the forme of a seruant, therefore when he saieth, The forme of God, he vnderstandeth God. The fourme of any thing suffereth no varietie of being from that thing whose fourme it is. A man hath not the fourme of an Angel, because he cannot be an Angel: a byute beast hath not the fourme of a man, because he can not be a man. The same Chrysostome reasoneth from the ende which the Apostle maketh, hee exhorted the Philippians being equall, that one should giue place to the other, he perswaded not that the seruants shoulde obey their masters. Wherefore the argument must bee taken from equals. If the sonne were vnequall to the father, he would not haue vsed perswasion to these men of that thing which hee would: hee was equall to the father and obeyed him, he was equall vnto other men in nature, and gaue place vnto them. The sense is; He was in the forme of God. But there is added an other particle for the better explaning thereof: he perceiued, he knew and he indged himselfe to be equall vnto God, and not according to robberie, and yet did he giue place to the empyre of his father. He boasted not of his dignitie, which he might haue done: but he humbled himselfe and toke vpon him the fourme of a seruaunt. Wee be seruants and take

take vpon vs the fourme of God. Woe be vnto vs. He put not off the Godhead, he cannot denie himselfe, and he which is the cause that all things be, ceaseth not himselfe to be: onely he hidde himselfe vnder man, and the same most abiect. He abased himselfe as touching both the natures: For hee hid his diuinitie and submitted his humanitie: yet did he not so put off the diuinitie, but that he shewed it after a sort. The father gaue out a voice,

Luke.3.22. the Angels sang, the heauens opened,
Luke.3.14. a Doone came downe, the aire was
Luke.3.21. darkened, the windes ceased, the Sea be-
Ibid.22. came calme, it was made firme vnder his
Mat.15.33 Mark.4.39. feete and the feete of his Apostle, the earth
Ibidem. trembled, the Rockes riued in sunder, the
Mat.14.5. vaile of the temple byake, the graues opened,
Mat.27.51. the earth yeelded out her deade, the water
Ibidem. was turned into wine, the bread and the fishes were increased, the figge tree was withered, the diseases of men departed, Simeon,
John.2.9. Mat.14.& Anna, the theefe, and Iohn, the diuell, and the
Marke.6. wife of Pilate confessed, and he himselfe pro-
Luke.21.27. phesied and saw the cogitations of the heart. So much as was sufficient to those which are predestinate, he shewed the glorie of the diuine nature, and others had nothing to accuse him of, yet did he put the vaile of humanitie betweene, whereby he was hidden. So was he obscured as we see the sunne, when there is a cloud betweene vs and it. Whereupon he prayeth: Glorifie me oh father, God

John.17.5. thou wast hidden and we knew it not. Paul saith: After the resurrection he was declared

Rom.1.4. to be the Sonne of God. These things did he wel mingle & temper. He being made a seruant would not be in his owne power. He was a faithfull seruant, for he toke not counsell of the flesh nor yet of men. God had commaunded that hee should redeeme vs by the crosse: the flesh shunneth it and giueth no hede thereunto. Peter dissuadeth him and is reprooued. The Iewes woulde make him king: The flesh liketh it, he woulde not haue it so. Compare the ill seruaunt with him which was the first man: he seeth that which liketh him, he taketh it: he desireth the fourme of God, he giueth eare to the diuell and to his wife, not vnto God: therefore he & endes contrarie. He cast away himselfe & vs: Christ

Rom.5.19. profited himselfe & vs. By the disobedience of one, manie are made sinners: by the obedience of one, manie are made righteous. Therefore we will iudge of actions according to ỹ word of God, not according to mans sense. Let the same mind be in vs ỹ was in Christ: the serued God, he serued men, he was the minister of the circumcisiõ; he came not to be ministred vnto, but to minister. He was founde in the similitude of men and in the figure, &c. Here doe the Marcionites triumph: they say, he seemed to be man, but he was not. So the transubstantiatours: It seemeth to be bread, yet it is not: it seemeth to be wine, yet it is not. But they erre, for Paul speaketh of the conuersation that was like vnto other men. He did eate, he dranke, he slept, hee walked, he hungred, he thirsted, &c. He shewed that his diuine nature did not confounde his humane, neither as touching the essence, nor yet as touching the conuersation. Moreouer (as saith Chrysost.) he was not in all respects as other men be: he was not borne of the seed of man, neither was he borne wt sinne: he was not a mere man, for he was God. In the 22. Verse.7.
Psalme, A worme and no man. In ỹ Hebrewe it is not Adam but Ish, ỹ is a man: wherefore he denieth not the humane nature, but the glorie of it. But he humbled himselfe, hee was like the young brauncheina drie lande (as Esaie saith) without leaues and flowers: such there be in drie places. Many would not beleeue, they expected a mightie Monarche. There commeth one which hath not where to rest his head, which rideth vppon an Asse, lieueth of Almes, is hated of the high Priests and Princes, is vpbrayded to be the sonne of a Carpenter, that he is a Galilean, that he is one of Nazareth, that he is a friend of sinners and a drinker of wine, a Samaritan that hath the diuell, a sorcerer, a furious and mad fellowe, a seducer, and one that desireth the kingdome. He is a Priest, not of the flocke of Leuie, he sacrificeth not, he putteth not on the high Priests garment, he entereth not into the innermost sanctuarie, who will acknowledge him for his? He is a king, he hath no Scepter, no Diademe, no Garde, therefore is he not receiued for Messias. We sawe him, and there was no beautie in him, and wee thought him to haue bin smitten of God. Be- Note.
holde now the Church erreth, yea and that in Esa.53.2.
matters necessarie to saluation, because it excludeth the true Messias. Some fewe holy men imbrace Christ: the Church of the Scribes, Bishops and Priests doe not receiue him. Therefore the Gospell which condemneth the flesh, repelleth free will, reason, mans strength, the doing of that which is in vs to doe, saieth that the workes of the vnfaithfull are sinnes, denieth a regeneration by good workes, is refused, as being hidden with these follies. But we which haue the spirit of faith doe receiue Christ in this ignominie: yea and we see that he by his afflictions sanctified all aduersities. I will blesse Gen.12.3.
thy curses. By his bodie, he sanctified the waters vnto Baptisme when he descended

into Iordan: why did he not by the touching of the Crosse, sanctifie all the aduersities of death and scourges: These be his reliques. This remained vnto vs of his Cuppe. These reliques many woulde not haue, they flie from them. Many seeke for the Crosse to adore the same: when it toucheth them, they flie from it. Manie kisse the same very willingly, but when they be pressed thereby they reiect it, and they shun and detest them that be afflicted. But let not vs so say, but rather
Gal.6.14. & 17. say with Paul: God forbid that I should glorie but in the crosse of my Lorde Iesus Christ, I will glorie in my infirmities, bearing the markes of my Lord in my flesh. All the things which we suffer be the reliques of Christ, for being compared vnto them they are nothing. If the paines of sickneſſe be compared with his thornes and nayles, it is nothing. If thou be compelled to doe that thou wouldest not, or to leaue those thinges which thou wouldest: it is nothing if thou compare it with Christ being bounde, and tolled to and fro. Art thou railed vppon, what is this to the mockings of Christ? Was he not accounted among the wicked? Thou oughtest to withstande thy lustes: but the flesh of Christ was wounded, torne and beaten. Doe they hate thee? Beholde Christ which prayed for them that crucified him. Be there heauie things laide vpon thee? Behold Christ which did sweate in the Garden. It is a wicked thing that the seruaunt should take his pleasure, and be so straitely handled. Thou art guiltie, and he is most innocent. As the birds called Alcyones in the middeſt of Winter are quiet, so thou if thou consider of these things wilt shewe thy selfe ioyfull in the middeſt of tribulations: and thou shalt see farre more vnworthie things done against Christ than against thy selfe: there shalt thou see godlines in stead of vngodlines, punished; wisedome in stead of foolishneſse, mocked; trueth in stead of a lie, denied: righteousneſse in stead of vnrighteousneſse, ouerthrowen: mercie for cruelties, miserably intreated: blessednes for miserie, spunged with Vinegar: and that which is most sweete, for the bitternesse of sinne to be fedde with gall: innocencie to be condemned for guiltinesse: and life to die for the dead. If thou perceiue not these thinges, thou art more senseleſſe than all creatures, which in the death of the Lorde shewed a feeling of this indignitie. These things perfourmed he, that he might profite vs: if the selfe same sense coulde take place in vs, which did in Christ, wee also shoulde beare the infirmities of the weake, &c. Doeſt thou iudge thy selfe to bee strong, because thou wilt vse thy strength to oppression, that thy selfe mightest be bone? Why doeſt thou not rather beare and suppoꝛt the infirmitie of others? [Thou saiest] he hateth me, be thou then reconciled. Thou wilt helpe a part of thy bodie when it is cut from the bodie: straight waie thou runnest to the Phisition that it may be ioyned to the reſt of the bodie, why doeſt thou not the selfe same to thy brother? He is sicke. Wilt thou forsake him in his sickneſſe? His charitie wareth colde, then doe thou kindle him againe with thy charitie. They that be whole néede not the phisition, but they that be sicke. Thou despiseſt him, yet was he so beloued of Christ, as when he was his enemie, he would die for him. Now hath he Christ for his head, for his garment, for his table, for his spouſe, for his light, for his life. If thou hate him, thou art as Caine. How shalt thou stand before the face of God? Thou art harder than a stone, and more darke than hell, vnleſſe this seruitude which Christ take vpon him for thee, doe induce thee to be of the selfesame minde towardes thy neighbour, and to be affected in the selfesame sort towardes him.

Plato in his second booke of a Commonweale, would haue children brought vnto the Campe, that through beholding of the battaile, they might be incouraged: euen so ought we to come to the crosse of Christ: He was made obedient to the death, euen to the death of the Crosse. Here are reckoned vp all the mysteries of our saluation. We muſt obey in the selfesame sort that Christ obeyed, He obeyed with all the heart, & withall the minde. But how did he it with all the heart, since in the garden he did stirre against it, and did sweate water and bloud, and said: Not my will be doone, but thine? Sinne in respect of vs is considered two waies. First we are ledde by pleasure, and doe transgresse the lawe: we sinne, but we delight our selues, and perceiue not the destruction: so is death blind, and the crosse insensible, yet are we in verie deede crucified and destroyed. Secondlie, the lawe is giuen: there doe we now feele the crosse and our owne euill, our conscience tormenteth vs, the wrath of God hangeth ouer vs, we see our selues to be in death and in damnation. Sinne after the first manner had no place in Christ, but onelie in the second manner. For he felt the wrath of God, and he sorowed, and suffered, as if he had committed all sinnes. But yet is there still a difference betweene him and vs: because we through sinne suffer those euils with some ill affection of minde. We iudge that

that God dealeth ouer rigorouslie with vs, we would haue no such lawes to be made against vs, we complaine of our fortune, which thinges are not done without sinne. Christ sinned not after this manner, he had all good affections: Onelie he stroue against death, in that respect that it is an enemie vnto nature and destroyeth the same. So he might be delighted with sweete and delicate meates, because they were agreeable to nature, without anie selfe loue for the loue of pleasure, seeking his owne: and therefore there was not anie ill affection therein, as Adam might haue done the like in his first state: but so cannot we doe seeing we be corrupted with ill affections. So although we doe thinges like as Christ did, yet doe we sinne: whereas he did no sinne. Wherefore
1.Pet.2.22. Verse.15. it is said vnto the Hebrewes the 4. Chapter: He was tempted in all thinges like vnto vs, and yet without sinne. So lawe of God forbiddeth to sorowe for death if it be offered. God would that he should sorowe, and he layd it vppon him as a punishment. Now then that sadneſse was no hinderance, but that he loued with all the heart and with all the strength. To suffer such kinde of death being innocent is beyond mans power, but our power is leuened with the corruption of originall sinne: therefore whatsoeuer it toucheth, it doth defile. A cleane hand if it touch fine linnen, doth not defile the same: but an vncleane hand doth make it foule. To the
Tit.1.15. Ro.14.14. cleane all thinges are cleane, because the vncleanesse is all onelie not imputed. The verie same may we say as touching that which
Psal.21.9. Mat.27.46. Christ said: My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? This did Christ crie out without sinne, but we might not doe it without imperfection and fault. So then he was true-lie obedient with all the heart, with all the soule, &c. He declared the cheefeſt mysterie of
Mat.26.& Marke.14. obedience, that euen as a sheepe, he was led vnto death, he cryed not out, he resisted not, insomuch as the president did maruell at his silence. Yet did he not forsake his cause by holding his peace: For so manifeſt was his innocencie, as it had no néede of defence: The president knewe it, his wife knewe it, Iudas knewe it, which said that he had betrayed the innocent bloud. Also the Iewes knewe
Matt.27.6. it, which would not put vp the price into the Treasurie as an vncleane thing. The same did the Theefe vppon the Crosse, & the Centurion testifie: Wherefore there néeded
Gen.3.12. & 13. not manie woꝛdes for his defence. Eue and Adam would defend themselues in an euill cause, and made the same worse by their excuse. But Christ presented himselfe to the Magistrate, and was obedient vnto him, & in obedience sought to winne him euen to
Ioh.12.18. the death. Exceeding great therefore was his obedience, and it came of his owne accord: because no man could take away his life from him, he himselfe layd it downe. Yet in this obaying he became not lesse than his father as touching the Godhead: he obeyed as a friend toward a friend, not as an inferiour, vnto the death. The Lord of life submitted himselfe vnto death, and being immoꝛtall he dyed. For a king ought to die for his people: a shepheard plaieth his life for his sheepe, and the sacrifice is slaine for sinne. It was méete he should be a sacrifice. Where a sacrifice is, there God is reconciled, and sinne is destroyed: by reason therein consisted our iustification.

But how is it applyed vnto vs? Some thinke that Christ sitteth as a Iudge, and that to the which helt runne and worke, he giueth this righteousneſse. Howbeit, It is
Rom.9.16. neither in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that taketh mercie: & we are not iustified by woorkes, and those thinges that be done before regeneration, are sinnes. Others say that this iustification is applied vnto vs by Masses, but the Masse is a inuention of man, and so farre is it off, that it offereth Christes benefites vnto vs, as it supplieth the same: for it hideth the principall woꝛdes by mumbling, and it saith all in Latine, and as it is sed, it is *opus operatum*, that is to say, a worke wrought. Others say that Christ freelie dyed, and freelie giueth grace, faith, hope, and charitie, and all good woꝛkes, and for them giueth righteousneſse. But these good woꝛkes, hope and charitie, doe follow iustification, they goe not before it, and are vnperfect with sinne. Herein standeth the trueth, that righteousneſse is set before vs by the woꝛd of God, it is also manifested and signified by the Sacramentes, which be visible woꝛdes of God. Therewithall comes faith, which is the gift of God, and by it we doe apprehend the righteousneſse that is shewed. Wherefore Christ sent his Apostles, saying: Preach ye
Mar.16.15 the Gospell to all creatures: and he added, He that beleeueth, and is baptised, shall be saued. In Esai the 53. Chapter is said, that
Verse.11. with his knowledge he shall iustifie manie. This is the life eternall, that they may know
Iohn.17.3. thee the onelie God, and whome thou hast sent Iesus Christ: The death of the Crosse is
Col.2.14. a new kinde of sacrifice, and therefore a new altar. He fastened to his crosse the handwriting of ordinances that was against vs, and he triumphed ouer his enemies. This

is the triumphant chariot of Chriſt. The croſſe was the cuppe wherein the bloud of Chriſt was hanged vp. It was giuen a price for the whole worlde: and vnleſſe it had bin better than the whole worlde, it had not redemed the worlde. Here it ſhould behoue vs to runne through all the greſſes which the Lord ſuffered vppon the Croſſe for vs, but that is impoſſible. For euen as wiſe painters doe ſhewe vnto the worlde more than they paint, ſo doth there here remaine more to be conſidered of than can be ſpoken, euen of thoſe that ſhould haue an iron voyce, an hundreth tongues, and an hundreth mouthes. But yet wil I diſtribute the griefes of Chriſt into certaine principall partes: otherwiſe as mercies did abound ſo it ſhould be neceſſarie that miſeries ſhould abound, but vnleſſe that mercies had conquered the miſeries, we ſhould ſtill haue bin in miſerie. The firſt calamitie is, to loſe eſtimation. The

Mat.27.16. theefe was preferred aboue Chriſt, Barrabas was diſmiſſed, Chriſt was accounted among the wicked. An other calamitie; As touching bodilie deliuerance, he was left deſtitute of Gods helpe: My God, my God,

Ibid.46. why haſt thou forſaken me? Auguſtine vnto Honoratus maketh a difference betweene the new and olde Teſtament. In the new Teſtament, the holie men doe not receaue redemption that they may haue a better reſurrection, therefore are they left in death, that they may haue eternall life: But in the olde Teſtament they were in ieopardie as touching their goods, & as touching ſ life of their bodie: but they were deliuered, a hundreth fould was reſtored them, there were Iudges giuen for ſ deliuerie of them, &c. Not ſ there were ſome in ſ olde time which were not left in death, as Abel, Nabaoth, Eſay, &c. they had the portion of the new Teſtament, and manie alſo in the new Teſtament are ſometime deliuered: But Auguſtine ſpeaketh as in the moſt part, and of the publike ſtate, and of the promiſes. And therefore Chriſt the head of the new Teſtament was forſaken, and truelie cryed: My God thou haſt forſaken me. And that the contrarie may be knowen, it is ſaid in the 22. pſalme: The fa-

Verſe.5. thers cryed and were deliuered, they cryed

Ibid.6. and were not confounded: But I am a worme and no man, and the wordes of my faultes are farre from my ſaluation. The third griefe was ſuffered at the handes of ill miniſters; Namelie of the Iewes, of Iudas, and of the prieſtes, and alſo for many euil and vngratefull perſons vnto whome that death ſhould bring no commoditie. The fourth: He was forſaken of his owne. Moſes when he ſawe his rodde turned into a Serpent, fled from it. Exod.4.3. Chriſt deliuered manie from ſundrie diſeaſes: None ſtepped forth amongeſt his perſecutors and ſaid. Abſtaine ye from this man, for he is holie: this or that hath he done for me. The fifth calamitie: They which remained, and were preſent to behold, increaſed his temptation, they mocked him, they thought him to be vnlult, and with whome God was angrie. So did Eliphas the Themanite thinke of Iob, that he was an enemie of God. So the Apoſtles thought of him Iohn.9.3. that was borne blinde. So the inhabitantes of Melitum iudged of Paul becauſe of the viper. But an extreme temptation was that Acts.28.3. when they ſaid: He truſted in God, let him Mat.27.43. deliuer him, let him ſaue him if he will haue him. They doubted whether God loued him and predeſtinated him. [We ſay] O Chriſt deliuer vs from this temptation at our death, but when it cōmeth let vs hold our peace: let vs imitate Chriſt & ſay vnto ſ father: Into thy handes I commend my ſpirit. Alſo let vs imitate the theefe ſ had to great a faith, who when all men denied him, confeſſed him: Re- Luk.23.42. member me when thou commeſt into thy kingdome. He aunſwered him: This daie ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe. O good Ieſu, thou wert faſtened to the croſſe, and yet thou wilt bring this man vnto heauen. Howe-with what kay wilt thou open? vndoubtedly great was the faith of this theefe, which hoped in ſo miſerable a Chriſt. Let others wonder at the darkeneſſe of the Sunne, at the ſhaking of the earth, at the renting of the Rockes, &c. This doe I marueil at, that the theefes heart could be in ſuch wiſe inflamed with ſo great a faith. Peter denied him vppon the earth; this man confeſſed him vpon the croſſe. He had not ſeene the miracles of Chriſt: Chriſt had not ſaide vnto him: I will make thee a ſiſher of men, I will make Mark.1.17. thee ſit vppon the twelft throne: and yet hee not onelie beleeued, but he alſo confeſſed, he opened his ſinne, and had a care of the ſaluation of his neighbour. There is no king, that aſſoone as he commeth into his kingdome, faſheth a theefe to be his companion. Chriſt did this and did not defile Paradiſe, but rather made it more honourable, becauſe it had ſuch a Lorde that could ſtraightwaie ſo purifie theues and harlats, as they ſhould be mete for the kingdome of heauen. The firſt affliction of Chriſt was, that his bodie was on euerie ſide tormented. God in verie deede did cauſe Eſa.53.6. to fall vppon him all our iniquities and pu- Pſal.22.1. & 15. niſhmentes. In the Prophet we it is ſaid Hiphgibat. Theſe be waters which Dauid ſaide did paſſe through euen vnto the ſoule: a moſt

deep mire wherin there was no ſtedy groūd. Howbeit if we will fruitfully behold theſe things, euerie one of vs will ſay: My ſinnes ſtreneth ſ thornes to chriſts head, my conſcience hi his nailes, my lealwines openeth his hart as a launce, the vniuerſal corruption of all my ſins doth diſquiet all his whole bodie. When we behold all theſe things, I beſeech you let vs with the eies of faith looke into the moſt ſacred ſelf of the Lorde, and we ſhall ſee the incredible flame of charitie, and inſtimable fire of his loue, whereby the whole worlde might be kindled, if it were acknowledged with one worde. As he made ſ worlde he might haue redemed vs, but he would not to the intent we might vnderſtande his loue. He forgetteth the euils which were done vnto him, prayed for them that crucified him, that is, he prayeth for vs, which through our ſinnes crucified him. Forgiue them, for they Luk.23.34. knowe not what they doe. Without doubt this is an vnſpeakeable loue. But therewithall the will of his ſonne ſtrang of the will of the father: he in ſo louing vs obeyed his Father. Now may we be ſure ſ the father loueth vs: For he ſo loued the worlde that hee gaue Ioh.3.16. his onelie begotten ſonne. This is, to be drawen vnto the father by the ſonne. This is to ſe the ſunne, not in the Eaſt but in the Weſt when it ſhineth vppon the vales. In the death of Chriſt the loue of the father ſhineth vppon vs. He that in beholding of theſe thinges, entereth into the bath of his heate and charitie, ſooth afterwards greatlie abhorre colde, and doth not raſhlie abide to ſinne. He ſeeth Chriſt to haue died for him, and the father to haue deliuered him [to death,] not that ſ father is bitter or cruel: he delighteth not in euil as it is euil. He deliuered one mēber for all the reſt. Further he ſo deliuered ſ ſame, as it ſhoulde not periſh for enermore, but that it ſhould be in excellent ſtate, ſ therbypoint might followe a pacification, and that we, when we ſhoulde be made ſure of ſaluation, ſhould then haue examples of all vertues. Here there was made a great ſocietie betweene Chriſt and vs. He vnto vs gaue his righteouſnes and take vpon him our ſinnes. He in verie truethe ſuffered our infirmities, & he himſelf bare our griefes. He put in him al our offences: For the ſins of the people haue I ſtriken him. He became ſubiect to the lawe, that he might deliuer vs from the law: He became accurſed, that he might deliuer vs from the curſe. Moze are we beholding vnto him than vnto the Phiſition: For he cureth the ſickeneſſe without taking the diſeaſe vppon him; but Chriſt ſo healed vs, as he take our euils vpon him. Vnleſſe wee ſhall make ſo

treat an account of this benefit ſ the ſame be perceiued in vs that is in Chriſt, we ſhall be repꝛoued as guiltie of his bloud and death, as hauing troden vnder fote the bloode of the ſonne of God. Chriſt gaue a great price for vs, I beſeech you with how great ſtudie and paine will he require the ſame againe at our handes? Since he hath bought vs ſo deere, let vs deale I beſeech you to bee vile in our owne ſight, and let vs ſerue ſins no longer. We haue heard of the death and paſſion and bitter ſoꝛꝛowes of Chriſt, but doe we thinke that the ſame is finiſhed? No verilie: he euen at this daie ſuffereth the ſelfe ſame thinges in his members and in his Church. For he is there forſaken becauſe faith faileth, and when the ſonne of man commeth, do ye thinke that hee ſhall finde faith? The charitie of manie waxeth colde, the dangerous times are at hande, and men be louers of them ſelues. Chriſt in ſome of his members that remaine is called a ſeducer, an heretike, is communicated, and caſt out of the ſynagogue. About him there ſtandes dogges, calues, fat Bulls, Lions, and Elephantes, as it is deſcribed in the 27. Pſalme. Popes, Cardinals, falſe Biſhops, our Maiſters: theſe be they which af- Verſe.13. flict him as much as they can. The bones and members of Chriſt are vexed, bloode is ſhed like water, the boiles almoſt in no place are healed. The tongue of Chriſt waxeth dzie in a manner like a potſharde, for few doe preach his goſpell purelie, and the trueth is not taught. Great is the number of Dogges which neither can nor will barke, and theſe be moſt impudent and vnſtiable. The head is pricked with thornes: For the Prelates of the Church being loaden with riches & ſuch kinde of cares, doe preſſe Chriſt, but further him not: They line to their bellie and to their glozie, they onelie giue their minde to the cares of this life, and are vnmete to handle diuine things. He is clothed in purple becauſe in their great powers he is marueilouſly beloued. A rode is ginen him in his handes, the vanitie of the doctors and diuines, ſubtil ſhifts of ſophiſters which ſauoꝛ moze of Ariſtotle than of the holy Scripture. They kneele, they perpetually inuent fained woꝛſhipings: For they builde huge Temples, within there is nothing but Idols, ſignes, perfumes, ware lights, bleating, and ſuch like; ſo that the Altar of Damaſcus is tranſlated into ſ temple of God. There is no ende of perelle obites and of maſſes. They ſinite Chriſt on the head, for they make beeres that one kind doth ſuffice, that tranſubſtantiation ſhould be beleeued, that matrimonie ſhould be plucked away from

clergie men, and other things of like sort. They crucifie Christ among theues, when they account all professors of the Gospell among theues: They torment him in his whole bodie, when by their wicked decrees, they straiten, binde and rent in sunder the consciences, they would haue men to haue no part in the kingdome of heauen, vnlesse he will confesse all his sinnes. The garments of Christ, that is, the Scriptures wherein he is cladde, they diuide into many senses, historicall, allegoricall, tropologicall, and *anagogicall, so that they now contemne the literall sense, and the people of God is deceaued by mens dreames: and through the libertie of glossing and diuiding, they go rent in sunder and dismember all things, as there is nothing whole remaining. They cast lots vpon Christs garment, for the Popes answere must bee attended before the matter be defined: a determination must bee expected from the secretie of his brest: neither is it lawfull for the Councell of Trent to decree without the Pope. Is not this to deale by lot, for the answeres of a diuelish brest doe disagree. Hereof it comes that in the Schooles, and in the Vniuersities nothing is suffered to be intreated of but by the way of question, for disputation sake, and after the manner of the maister of the Sentences, but not definitiuely nor determinately. They all protest that they will say nothing against the Church: which is that Church? The Romish Church: which Romish Church? The Pope. Oh god Christ, when shall thy people bee deliuered out of their handes? Oh God, art thou angrie for euer? We be the sheepe of thy pasture, we be the worke of thy handes: wilt thou haue thy Church thus to liue vnder the Crosse till the ende of the world? Oh howsoeuer it be, giue it constancie, and in death forsake it not.

* High and of litterle vnderstanding.

For the which also God exalted him. The Crosse of Christ was a triumphant chariot wherein he was caried vnto the Capitol of Gods kingdome. He being God, take the forme of a seruaunt. Tyrantes dare neuer laie aside their kingly pompe, and principall garde of their body. For they bee afraide of themselues, least if they should once laie it awaie, they shall not be able to resume it againe. Whereuppon Dionysius the Tyrant trusted no man, he issued not out of his Castle without his garde. But those which be borne kings doe sometimes liue like priuate men, neither doe they seeme to haue their kingdome taken from them: so did Christ, and so ought we to doe, to giue place willingly vnto our neighbours, and to humble our selues, euen as Christ gaue place: For wee shal be exalted, and that greatly exalted: For the passions of this life are not worthie of the glorie to come which shall be reuealed in vs. Rom.8.18.

And, If we shall suffer together with him, we shall also raigne together with him. If behoued him to suffer, and so to enter into his glorie, and so doeth it behoue vs: For he hath quickened vs together with him, and made vs sit in the heauenly places. He exalted him, that he might sit at his right hand, and he put all things vnder his feete. Seeing he cast him downe vnder all mortall men, he aduaunced him aboue all creatures: from the Crosse vnto the throne of his diuinitie. This exaltation must be vnderstoode according to his humanitie: for his diuine nature was neuer diminished. Onely in respect of mans iudgement it may be saide to be exalted: for it did not declare it selfe. He gaue him a name which is aboue euerie name, that is to wit, dignitie, power, and degree. Vnto the Ephesians it it written: Aboue euerie name that is named in this worlde or in the worlde to come, Christ is made the head of the Church, that in the name of Iesus euerie knee shoulde bow. A place taken out of Esaie and cited in the 14. Chapter to the Romanes: The Lorde liueth, to mee shall euerie knee bow. There is meant adoration, and that such as is due vnto God, not vnto a name or syllables, as fooles doe, which hearing the name of Iesus, doe vncouer their head, and thinke nothing of the thing it selfe. So doe they also behaue themselues towards the outward elements of the sacrament, e giue little heede vnto the thing signified. Kneeling is an outward signification of the inward worshipping. Whether is this adoration giuen to the humanitie or to the diuinitie? Vnto whole Christ, the natures are not separated. Neither when we honour a king doe wee bid him put off his purple robe: albeit that the reason of worshipping him is taken from his diuinitie. But Paul vnto the Romanes seemeth to say, that it will come to passe in the day of iudgement, that euery knee shall bowe. True it is, but nowe that honour is begun, then it shall be perfect when all his enemies shall be put vnder his footestoole. Hereby also appeareth the diuinitie of Christ, since adoration is attributed vnto him. Some babble certaine things of Purgatorie, because the knees of things that are belowe shall bowe. But what shall be done in the time of iudgement, when they shall bee no longer in Purgatorie? Shall the honour of Christ then cease? Doe not the Diuels beleeue and tremble, and while Christ was in the

2.Tim.2. verse.12.

Luk.24.26.

Ephe.2.6.

Ephe.1.20. &22.

Ephe.1.21.

Esa.46.23. Ro.14.11.

Iames.2.19

the worlde, they did confesse and worship, and desired him that he would not torment them. Were there not many of the dead raised vp by the Apostles and other holy men in the name of Christ, and hell obeyed the name of the Lorde: Also the diuels at this day cannot tempt any more than Christ willeth and sufereth. Doe they not perceiue the figurative kinde of speeche? Angels haue no knees. The meaning is, that he shall be the Lorde of all, and shall be worshipped of all and in euerie place. Euerie tongue shall confesse him to be Christ, and that vnto the praise and glorie of God. This triumph laide before our eyes is in Christ, that we may vnderstande wee shall be partakers of him, if we will humble our selues with him. Let no man therefore be ashamed to be humbled, and suffer afflictions. If we be not mortified with Christ, we shall die euerlastingly with the Diuell. Better therefore it is to suffer with Christ: for what are these sufferings in comparison of hell? What are they in comparison of vnquenchable fire, what are they to the worme that dieth not, what are they to the gnashing of teeth, and what, to the vttermost darkenesse? Without doubt it is better nowe to suffer easily, than to indure those extremities. Againe, compare these things with the eternall glorie: Is not that to great, as wee ought for the same to leade all the time of this life in torment and vexation? Wherfore as vnto the Corinthians it is saide: This momentanie and easie affliction, shall procure vnto vs a great weight of glorie. But I am wide, if I require sufferings that should be like vnto the passions of Christ, since we cā not despise money, since we cannot chose but make much thereof as though it should neuer perish, as if we our selues should neuer die. We cannot be content with things that be necessarie: vnlesse we maintaine multitudes of seruaunts, we recken it nothing: vnlesse all be of silke and siluer, all is nothing worth. Vndoubtedly this is not the crosse of Christ. Christ sheweth that ye should goe one waie, but ye goe another. Vnlesse ye take this key, how shall heauen be opened vnto you? If thy Crosse seeme to be heauie and grieuous, take thou the wood which was throwen into the waters of Marah, I meane the death of Christ, and thereby thy afflictions will bee seasoned. The Crosse of Christ maketh all things sauourie, so it be take vp by faith. By it are our sinnes forgiuen vs, our concupiscence is broken, and is not imputed vnto vs: the Diuill is vanquished: we be deliuered from the lawe, from death and condemnation. By it is the wall broken which

1.Cor.4.17

made diuision betweene vs and the Iewes, we be reconciled vnto the heauenly things, thereby God shewed what account he made of vs, and on the other side there is kindled in vs a loue towardes him. By it is the iustice of God satisfied, God (who otherwise is angrie for our sinnes) is well pleased with vs, right couinesse being freely giuen vs. By it, are shewed all examples of liuing well. Christ hath drawen all things vnto him. He is remembred in all the Sacraments, and is comprehended by faith. By it is hell conquered. Therefore let vs not disdaine to vndergoe the Crosse with Christ, otherwise we are crucified for sinne. Thereby we are broken in peces vnder the wrath of God and damnation, except wee be with Christ: but we feele not our Crosse of sinne, vntill the lawe be brought thereunto: Where doe wee perceiue our wickednesse. By this we being stirred vp doe come vnto Christ, and doe offer our selues with a willing minde to suffer those things which he would haue vs to suffer. Christ hauing suffered in the flesh, arme your selues with the selfe same minde: especially since he, as it is said vnto the Hebrues, suffered such gainesaying of sinners. And againe Peter said, Christ suffered for vs, leauing an example that ye shoulde followe his steppes.

An Oration concerning the Resurrection of Christ.

CHrist in the Prophets is called the Sunne, not onely because it lighteneth, but because it setteth & afterward riseth againe: So Christ died and rose againe. Ioh.12.24.

He called himselfe a wheate corne which sufficeth not to be sowen, for vnlesse it be corrupted and deade, it bringeth forth no fruite: so was it not ynough for Christ to be borne, but he would die, that he might bring forth fruite. We haue made mention of his death: now will we speake of his resurrection. First we shall see that Christ is risen: Secondlie that we are risen together with him: Thirdlie what we must now doe being raised vp.

As touching the first, Matthew saith that the women came earlie in the morning. They say that vnto women was first shewed the resurrection, to the intent that they which first brought death into the worlde, might first bring tidings of the resurrection: because they be weake, and Christ vseth the ministerie of fable things. Leauing these allegations, The resurrection of Christ Matt.28.1.

legations, we muſt rather ſay, that they had earneſtly ſorrowed at his death, and for a certaine recompence it was good right that they ſhould firſt reioyce. So do the penitent with ſorrow for the death of Chriſt, eſpecially becauſe they crucified him, receiue comfort. Further they ſought Chriſt, and they which ſeeke him, loſe not their labour. Wherefore if we do not finde Chriſt, it is for that we do not repent, and becauſe we ſeeke him not. Theſe women worſhipped him while he liued: alſo they meant to do him the laſt honours, when he was deade. They did not as doth the world, which firſt killeth the ſaintes, and afterwarde worſhippeth them when they be deade. Howbeit if we ſhall ſpeake the trueth, the zeale and feruencie of theſe women was without faith and without a iuſt knowledge. They had heard Chriſt tell them as touching his reſurrection, euen as the Angell tolde them nowe: and yet they carried ointments & confections, as though he ſhoulde not riſe againe: either they beléeued verie little, or elſe they were forgetfull. They were onely moued of a certaine affection, but not of faith. Therefore they dealt vnwiſely in their iourney. At the length
Mark.16.3. came to their minde the rowling away of the graue ſtone: which if they had conſidered of before, they might haue brought one or two men with them. So doth it happen, where
Mat.26.51. the wiſedome of faith is not. So did Peter thinke that hee had done worthily when drawing out his ſwoorde, he cut off the eare of the high Prieſts ſeruant. When we deale without faith, manie thinges are folliſhlie committed, and oftentimes is giuen to God that which he requireth not: as theſe women which vainely carried theſe ſweete ointments with them: and as many at this day vſe maſſes, and choiſe of meates, and ſuch other kinde of thinges. An Angel deſcended from heauen, the teſtimonies of men wanted, an Angell was preſent to ſhewe the reſurrection. By one and the ſame worke in the ſelfe ſame thing is ſhewed the ſtate of the life to come. Wee ſhalbe as the Angels of God, and ſhining as the ſunne: Wherefore the Angel did ſhine marueilouſly. There was made an earthquake, becauſe in the reſurrection is inuerted the nature of things. And it behoued that the kéepers were terrified. The women at the ſight of the Angell were afraide, by reaſon of the diſorde which through ſinne ſprung vp betweene our nature and the nature of Angels, with whom neuertheleſſe we ought to be familiar, for they be our kéepers. This diſſention will indure vntill we haue put off our bodie. The kéepers became as it were deade men, they meant to haue kept downe Chriſt in the graue. So woulde princes at this day by armes and councels haue the goſpell to be buried. Let mans counſell breake out, it can preuaile nothing againſt God, nay rather all things do happen quite otherwiſe. They meant to terriſie all ſuch as came, and they themſelues were made afraid. They intended to let Chriſt from comming forth, and they themſelues were let, and became as deade men. The Angell comforteth the women: Feare ye not. The Godly after feare, doe receiue comfort by Angels, becauſe they ſpeake the words of God, and the worde of God doth comfort vs. The kéepers are not comforted, becauſe they be enimies of God, and in enmitie doe perſeuere. He is riſen, he is not heere. The bodie of Chriſt is not eue- Againſt the vbiquame of Chriſts bodie.
rie where. Tydings is brought vnto the diſciples. When we haue obtained any good thing we muſt communicate it with others. He ſhall goe before into Galile. Yet appeared he vnto them the viij. dayes together where in they were to tarry at Ieruſalem by reaſon of the feaſt. They were to returne into Galile, becauſe from thence they came. The Lord was oftentimes conuerſant with them in that place. Vntill the time of Pentecoſt it Acts.14.
behoued them to returne to Ieruſalem: then &c.
vpon mount Oliuet they ſaw him aſcend into heauen, and they were commaunded to tarrie at Ieruſalem, vntill they ſhould be indued with power from heauen. Nowe that the Lord is riſen againe, it appeareth by the teſtimonie of the Angel, of the women, and of the Euangeliſt. But in the olde teſtament whereſoeuer we read that Chriſt ſhal reigne for euer, there is ſhewed his reſurrection. In the oppreſſion and deliuerance of the godly, which is read in the olde Teſtament, we haue the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, not in a figure but truely, becauſe Chriſt truelie ſuffereth in his members: As for example, Saule Saule, whie dooſt thou perſecute me? Acts.9.4.
Ionas ſhewed both, as Chriſts faith. And Da- Mat.12.40
uid ſaith: Thou ſhalt not leaue my Soule in Pſal.16.10
hel, nor ſuffer thy holie one to ſee corruption. Chriſt foreſhewed the ſame: Deſtroy this
temple, and in three dayes I will builde it vp Iohn.2.19.
againe. And in other places he oftentimes Mat.17.22.
ſpake of betraying the ſonne of man. He proued his reſurrection by appearing the
ſpace of foortie daies. He ſaith to his diſciples Acts.1.3.
in Emaus, that Moſes, the Prophets, and the Luk.24.26.
Pſalmes doe beare witneſſe that it behooued Chriſt ſhould ſuffer and ſo enter into his glorie. Vnto the Corin. If Chriſt be not riſen 1.Co.15.14
againe, vaine is our preaching and vaine is your faith. We are founde falſe witneſſes: They that bee deade in Chriſt are periſhed. Neither ſhould Chriſt haue beene the Lorde of the liuing and of the deade. And vnto the Romans it is ſaide vnto this ende he is riſen againe. This much for the firſt point.

We are riſen vp together with him. For
Mat.27.52 to the intent he might ſhewe this: when hee roſe vp, he had manie bodies of the ſaintes with him which appeared vnto others. Further he roſe not to himſelfe but vnto others, vnto vs I meane, ſeeing hee is our head. If he himſelf be riſen, the members alſo are raiſed vp with him. Example of thoſe that bee
Rom.8.32. drowned in the waters. To the Rom. Seeing he hath giuen his ſonne, howe ſhall hee not with him giue all thinges? But and if he haue giuen all thinges, hee hath alſo giuen reſur-
Ephe.2.1. rection. Vnto the Epheſians: When ye were dead in your ſinnes he quickened you together with him, and not onelie quickened you, but alſo made you to ſit together on the right hand in the heauenlie places. And in the ſame
Ephe.1.19. Epiſtle to the Epheſians, What is the exceeding greatnes of his power towards vs which beleue according to ỹ working of his mightie power, which he wrought in Chriſt when he raiſed him from the deade, &c. Furthermore he is riſen vp vnto vs, and ſitteth at the right hande of the father and obtaineth for vs the ſpirite, which was in him the beginning of the reſurrection. For vnto the Romanes it is ſaide: If the ſpirite of him which raiſed vp
Rom.8.11. Chriſt from the deade doe dwell in you, hee will quicken alſo your mortall bodies, becauſe of the ſpirit that dwelleth in you. Alſo
Verſe.11. vnto the Romanes the firſt Chapter. Likewiſe thinke yee alſo that ye are deade to ſinne, but are aliue to God in Chriſt Ieſus. Weare all deade through Adam, and doe preſentlie taſte of death. Wherefore if we will not make Chriſt to bee woorſe than Adam, let vs faie that he alſo gaue a newe life which we maie now preſentlie taſt. Chriſt is the firſt fruits
1.Co.15.20 of them that riſe againe, as it is ſaide vnto the Corinthians. Firſt fruites doe not ſo goe before other fruites, but that they be together with them, indeede they be not ripe, but yet they are nowe ertant: ſo likewiſe our reſurrection, although it be not ripe, yet is it. And as Chriſt by Baptiſme hath drawen vs with him into his death and buriall, ſo hath he drawen vs out vnto life. This doeth the dipping into the water and the iſſuing forth againe ſignifie, when we are baptiſed. It is
Rom.10.9. ſaide vnto the Romanes: But and if wee confeſſe the Lorde Ieſus to haue riſen from the dead, wee ſhall be ſaued. Wherefore the reſurrection of Chriſt pertaineth to our reſurrection. For we cannot be ſaued, vnleſſe we be partakers of the ſame. Hee was deliuered to death for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our iuſtification &c. If ye bee riſen together Rom.4.25.
with Chriſt, ſeeke ye thoſe thinges which are aboue, &c. The minor propoſition muſt bee added. But ye are riſen together with Chriſt, Col.3.1.
therefore ye ought to ſeeke thoſe things that Iohn.3.36.
be aboue. He that beleeueth in the ſonne hath Rom.8.24.
eternall life. By hope wee are ſaued. Howbeit we are yet ſtill after a ſort vnder death. Neither doe we faie, as doe the Libertines, that the reſurrection is alreadie paſt: wee onelie affirme that it is begunne. For God bringeth not by and by vnto the high and perfect degree, he firſt giueth certaine entrances and beginninges. Before that Moſes colde be declared captaine of the people of God, if we ſhall giue credite to Ioſephus, he caſt vppon the ground the diademe of Pharao, and rode it vnder his feete, he ſlewe an Egyptian, and made peace betweene the Iſraelites: whereby is declared that hee was partaker of his vocation, although it were not as yet fullie reuealed. Alſo Dauid being a childe ſlew Lyons and Beares, and being a young man killed Goliath; whereby he beganne nowe to 1.Sa.17.34
bée a partaker of the gouernment of the Iſ- ib.ver.49
raelites, although he were not declared king. So wee, although we haue not as yet obteyned a perfect reſurrection, yet are we conuerſant therein.

Now muſt we ſée wherein this reſurrection of ours ſtandeth. Firſt in god worckes, which are nothing elſe but enterances and beginninges of eternall life. They are degrees whereby God draweth vs vnto a perfect life. They are no merites but pathes
and imperfect beginninges. We are debters Rom.8.12.
not to liue after the fleſhe, but after the ſpirite: for if according to the ſpirite yee mortifie the deedes of the fleſhe, yee ſhall liue. Mortifie your members which bee vppon the Col.3.5.
earth. And thoſe doeth Paul expreſſe to bee Fornication, couetouſneſſe, and Idolatrie, &c. And our olde man the more he is deſtroied, the more hee is euerie daie renewed. Alſo in the ſeconde Epiſtle to the Corinthians: 2.Cor.5.15
He died for all men, that hee which nowe liueth maie not liue to himſelfe, but vnto him which died for vs. Whereuppon Paul: I liue, yet not I nowe, but Chriſt liueth in mee. We muſt take héede that not onelie we teſtifie in wordes that Chriſt is riſen againe, but to ſhewe that hee is alſo riſen againe in vs. Chriſt when he was riſen againe, entered into the glorie of the father, that we in this reſurrection begun, might prowe our ſelues to be the children of God, as we bée. Where-

Rom. 1. 4. foꝛe it is saide vnto the Romanes: Christ is defined oꝛ rather declared to bee the sonne of God, by his rising againe from the dead. All things are subdued vnto Christ: so ought we to ouercome all thinges and to faint in nothing. Let vs stande out in temptations and triumph ouer our tribulations. Christ Col. 3. 1. is aboue, and let our conuersation be in heauen. Finallie let vs persseuere: Foꝛ in that Rom. 6. 10. Christ dyed, he died once and death hath no more dominion ouer him, &c.

An Oration or Sermon of

D. P. Martyr, out of the 1. Chapter of the Prophet Hagge.

THe most royall Temple (dearelie beloued) which was created vnto God almightie at Ierusalem, & which in euerie mans mouth was called, The house of God: we reade was not foꝛ one cause alone either defiled oꝛ burned. Foꝛ by ỹ armie of ỹ Caldeãs, it was burned, by the Macedonians, it was defiled by an Image of Iupiter Olympus; finallie, the couetous nation of the Iewes abused the same foꝛ a Market to buy and sell in, to satisfie their greedinesse. Howbeit, God who suffereth not that which belongeth to him to be perpetuallie trodden vnder foote, pꝛocured by Nehemias, Esdras, Zorobabel, Iheſus the sonne of Iosadeck, Hagge, Zacharie, and Malachie, that his holie house which had long time lien ouerthꝛowen, should be againe reſtoꝛed. And he in like manner did so pꝛosper the valiant indeuours of Iudas Machabæus & his warlike pꝛowesse, as the Temple which the wicked licentiousnesse of the Gꝛetians did defile, was againe cleansed by the godlie and famous stock of the Assamonites. Also Christ Iesus our Lord inflamed with a godlie wrath, made a whippe of coꝛdes, whereby he not onelie ouerthꝛewe the chaires of them that soulde Doues, and the tables of the monie changers, but with an incredible authoꝛitie cast out of his fathers Temple the shamefull Marchantes. Wherefoꝛe since the Church of Christ, which is the true house of God hath a long while lien broken downe, and almost subuerted, thꝛough the doctrine of erternall thinges and idolatrous superstition, and hath bin foulie abused by the filthie gaine of couetous Ministers, it is without controuerſie the part of godlie men, together with Christ, Iudas Machabæus, Nehemias, Esdras, Aggeus, and Malachie, the same house being famous and holie, to build it vp againe. Which that it may be done oꝛ vs the moꝛe readilie, and with greater diligence, seeing I am appointed this day to pꝛeach, I haue determined by the fauour of God to handle before you the first Chapter of the Pꝛophet Hagge. And that such fruite may succeed hereof as is to be desiꝛed, I think it good that before we beginne with the doctrine which we haue in hand, we repaire vnto ỹ Lord with our pꝛayers. First we giue thee most hearlie thankes O most gratious and almightie God, that thou hast giuen vs leaue safelie and without danger to assemble together in thy name within this holy place: We iointlie desire thee, that thou wilt inspire our hearts with the holie ghost, that as well I may vtter thy holy mylleries, as also that the bꝛethꝛen which be here present, may faithfullie receaue those thinges which shall be spoken, to the glozie of thy name, and saluation of their owne soules, thꝛough our Lord Iesus Christ thy most deare beloued sonne, Amen.

I haue noted foure speciall things which we finde in the distinguishing of this Chapter. First, that the sinne of them which were returned out of Babylon whē they neglected to build vp the house of the Lord, is foꝛ iust cause blamed. Secondlie are reckoned vp the punishmentes which GOD laid vppon the people foꝛ such an haynous sinne. Moꝛeouer, the holie ghost theweth by his Pꝛophet what was needefull to be done. Fourthlie & laslie is shewed howe pꝛofitable and fruitfull was the Sermon of our Pꝛophet. As concerning ỹ first art of building, who so will call it to minde from the offꝛing and first originall, shall perceaue it to haue had this manner of beginning. In the olde time, men after a bꝛutish and wilde manner dwelled here and there abꝛoad in the fieldes: And to auoid the heate of the sunne, stoꝛmes, and other distemperatures of the heauens, they digged the ground, and by woꝛkmanship made to themselues Caues and Dennes, others made couerings of leaues, vnder which they saued themselues from the heate of the sunne, and from stoꝛmes, others were moꝛe ingenious, who set vp foꝛkes, and wounde in redes, daubed them with claie, to the intent that the walles might be the stronger. Finallie was applyed the aduise of wise men, whereby the foꝛme of those walles being dꝛawen, they ioyned their habitations together, they compassed them about with a trench, and thereof beganne Townes and Cities. And when they dwelled together, wisedome increased, Counsels and

and imitations beganne to haue place, and there increased a marueilous plentie of goods, riches, and other helpes. Whereupon houses beganne to be builded, partlie of stone, and partlie of timber, which although they had no glozious shewe, and trimme decking, yet had they frugalitie with great pꝛofit ioyned therewith. And to conclude, they, to our great harme, woꝛed puisant with innasions, ouer great power, excesse, arrogancie, and intollerable pꝛide, and men being pꝛicked foꝛeward by these pestilent thinges, beganne to waxe madde in building: They rayſed exceeding great Piramides, Theaters, wonderfull circuites, arches tꝛiumphant of infinite woꝛke. All which buildings since they bꝛought berie small pꝛofit oꝛ none at all, they onelie made the beholders to wonder & be amazed; and yet was it so farre from making the Cities of the longer continuance, as we reade alwayes in the Hiſtoꝛies, that these monsterous buildinges were most manifeſt signes of the ruines nere at hand. After this manner doth it happen in ỹ Church before the calling of God commeth, by reason of the sinne which came by Adam: Men liue together being instꝛucted after a woꝛldlie manner and by ciuill wisedome. Then commeth the wisedome of Christ, and doctrine of the Apostles and Pꝛophets, whereby, they being called vnto Christ, are gathered into one congregation of the Church, wherein ỹ first fathers at ỹ berie beginning were contented with meane and moderate building: foꝛ they were onelie ledde by the rule of the holy scriptures. Which kinde of building though it wanted oꝛnamentes, and was farre from ostentation, yet did it bring vnto the Christian Citizens, a rich and plentifull fruite of the spirit. After this manner did the foꝛefathers line a long while. But in pꝛocesse of time, peace was giuen vnto the Churches, in a great time of quietnesse mens deuises were added vnto them. Whereupon pꝛide, banitie, ambition, & such kinde of pestilent vices crept in by little little. And then the building beganne no longer to be made of the diuine oꝛacles, but of mens tradditions, decrees of Councels, and Decretals of Popes: & in pꝛocesse of time, these thinges were gathered together into so great a heap, that they bane oppressed euen the woꝛd of GOD, and the foꝛme of the Church, and due comlinesse in all things fell away, and such a pompe of outward rites and ceremonies haue so farre foꝛth pꝛeuailed at the last, as while they haue made ostentation of humane thinges, diuine thinges haue beene vtterlie obscured. Wherefoꝛe the iust and godlie buildinges being fallen downe, all men by the Pꝛophet are called to the Lord, to ỹ building againe of the Church of Christ, with a sound and lawfull building. But least we doe amisse in this woꝛke, I thinke it meete first of all that by a rude and plaine definitiō it should be laid before our eyes, that we be not ignoꝛant what is to be reedified. Moꝛeouer it shall be berie good to determine in what thinges the generall consideration of our building must be placed. The newe repairing of the house is a spirituall building, whereby the liuelie stones are ioyned together vppon Christ the foundation, to receaue the testimonie of God, and to confesse his name. Since this building of ours is called spirituall, it is distinguished aswell from the outward temple which is builded of stones and timber, as also from euerie societie of this woꝛld. That we be liuelie stones, Peter testifieth in his first Epistle the 2. Chapter. And that Christ is the foundation, the Apostle taught in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. And that we be the Temple of God, he taught most aptlie in the selfesame Epistle. The liuelie stones are dꝛawen into this building, by faith, which spꝛingeth from the woꝛd of God, and are compact together by the power of the holie ghost which holdeth moꝛe surelie than anie lime oꝛ pitch. And why they be vnited, two causes may be yelded: First that they should receaue the testimonie of God, and the other is, that they should confesse his name. The testimonie of God we haue not elsewhere, than out of the scriptures of God: foꝛ in them God testifieth how much he hath loued vs, which hath chosen vs before the foundations of the woꝛld, and hath giuen his sonne into the crosse foꝛ our sake. He testifieth moꝛeouer what he would haue vs to doe, when he teacheth vs his comfoꝛtable pꝛeceptes as touching manners, and godlie life. Finallie he testifieth what he hath determined to doe with vs, if we please him and obey his sayinges. He is minded to bleſſe vs euerlastinglie: but if we shall be obstinate and rebellious, he will destroy vs with the euerlasting destruction of hell fire. Wherefoꝛe these testimonies are perpetuallie exercised betweene the pꝛeacher, and them that be hearers. Which, when they be heard & perceaued, it straight-way followeth that we confesse the name of God: foꝛ we acknowledge these to be the benefites of God, and that exceeding great benefites, and, as meete it is, doe giue him thankes. And further we doe then chieflie perswade our selues, that these be the true testimonies of God, when we receiue the

Sacramentes, Seales and holy bondes of them: And it is a noble kinde of confession to communicate often in the Sacramentes of Chriſt. Alſo we confeſſe the ſtrength and power of God, when we acknowledge our owne weakeneſſe, and that thoſe thinges which the Lord would haue vs to doe are ſo hard, as vnleſſe he beſtowe the gift, we are not able to perfoꝛme ꝓ ſame. And hereof ariſeth inuocation, whereby we labour in verie dæde that our actions may be conformable to the will of God. And we confeſſe the teſtimonie of God to be true, when we willinglie helpe the poꝛe with our ſubſtance, and doe liue a pure and godlie life. And that the congregation is gathered together to this ende, Dauid in the 122. Pſalme teſtifieth, when he ſaith: Thither went vp the tribes of the Lord, for a teſtimonie vnto Iſrael, to confeſſe vnto the name of the Lord. Now of building of the houſe, we haue ſaid enough.

Now the manner of the building we finde in Vetruuius, namely that in building twoe muſt regard the ſtrength, ꝓfiſte and comelineſſe. If we will make Chriſt to be the foundation as the Apoſtle commandeth vs, there ſhall want no ſtrength: alſo the walles will be ſounde, thicke, and well compact together, when wee indeuour to bring thereunto a great abundance of liuely ſtones. But herein ſtandeth the ꝓfiſte of building, that wee beſtowe not the time in diſputations, ſuch I meane as be light and of no importance: foꝛ it is a foliſh thing to contende foꝛ trifling matters. Let vs teache moſt rightly of iuſtification, and of the Sacramentes, and that purelie and aptly. This doe they chiefely at this day, to the intent that the Church may be cleanſed from her filthineſſe. Alſo there muſt be vſed comelineſſe, that aſwel in maners as in Ceremonies, ſuch decenſie and blameleſſe converſatiō may be vſed, as none but by his owne fault may be offended therwith. Vnto this holie building of the temple of God doeth the Prophet ſtirre vs vp: and ſince he repꝛoueth the Iewes, that they ceaſed from ſo godlie a woꝛke, it ſhall be neceſſarie to ſee what cauſes they were that ſtayed them. The firſt is, that they alleaged that the time was not yet come wherein the houſe of God ſhould be builded. Wherin they bewayed their negligence, and vnſkilfulneſſe of the Scriptures. The Lord had decreed by Ieremie, that after ſeuentie yeres, his temple ſhould be reedified: which yeres being paſſed ouer, they ſhewed themſelues to be vnmindfull of this Oracle. But by the ſame reaſon the Scribes and Phariſes receaued not Chriſt: foꝛ if they had diligentlie made a computation of Danielles woꝛkes, and had conſidered the propheſie of Iacob, who foꝛetolde that the Scepter ſhould not be taken away from the Iewes except Meſſias were come, they might eaſilie haue knowen that the Sauiour of the woꝛld was euen at the doꝛe. And therefoꝛe Chriſt bewailed them, that they knewe not the time of their viſitation. And we alſo at this day, if we would apply our minde to the Scriptures, ſhould not be ignoꝛaunt, that the Church muſt be perpetuallie builded. Chriſt ſaith, that it muſt not be builded, as the foles build vpon the ſande, but as wiſe men build, vppon the founde rocke. Paule ſaith that vppon the foundation which is Chriſt, we muſt not build chaffe, noꝛ heye, noꝛ ſtubble, but golde, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. Vnto the Romanes it is ſaide: Let euerie man pleaſe his neighbour, in that which is good & to edification. Verily the Apoſtle ſaith vnto the Corinthians, that power is giuen, not for deſtruction but for edification. And in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, he writeth that we are Gods building. And Peter ſheweth, that euerie one of vs, as liuelie ſtones are builded into the houſe of God. And this doth the Scripture euerie where teach: but our dull hearts will not be perſuaded. Another cauſe ſtayed the Iewes from the holie building, that they beheld not the verie fitte occaſions, which the Lord had giuen, to the intent his houſe ſhoulde be reſtoꝛed. King Cyrus had giuen leaue to the people to depart into Turie, & he reſtoꝛed vnto the Iewes the ꝓcious veſſels, which Nabuchad-nezer had taken awaie: and commaunded that the houſe of God ſhould be builded againe at Ieruſalem. At the ſame time flouriſhed Edras, Nehemias, Zoꝛobabel, Ieſus the ſonne of Ioſadec, Hagge and Zacharie the Pꝛophetes: All which things were of great moment to repaire the Temple: but ſince the Iewes did not conſider of them, they did ꝓfiſte nothing at all. In like manner Chriſt, when he came, woꝛought great miꝛacles, ſignes and wonders innumerable, which ſhoulde haue moued euerie man to imbꝛace Chriſt. Moꝛeouer he ſpread abꝛode the woꝛld moſt wholſome and ſweete doctrine: but yet ſuch as in all reſpects is agreeable to the foꝛethewings of the Pꝛophets, and to thoſe things which are contained in the Lawe touching Meſſias: wherewithall the Lorde ioyned an innocent life, pure and holy manners, which fully did become the Lorde Chriſt. But they omitting all theſe thinges, perſiſted in the ignorance of their darkeneſſe. There happen alſo at this day many thinges, which ſhould ſtirre vp

Rom. 15.4.

2. Cor. 10.8

1. Cor. 3.9.

1. Pet. 2.5.

1. Eſd. 4. & 5.

vp our mindes to reſtoꝛe the temple of God. Firſt of al, ꝑ face of the Church is ſo to be lamented and pitied, as it may mouue any hard heart to take pitie thereof. There was neuer ſo great a light of ꝑ ſcriptures ſince the Apoſtles time as is at this day. There be verie many ſkilfull in languages and good Artes, which, if they would, they might exceedingly further this reſtauration. The kings Maieſtie deſireth nothing moꝛe: the Magiſtrates pretend a great good wil hereunto: the tyꝛannie of the Romane Antichriſt which might haue letted, is taken away: And to ſpeake of our ſtudents in Oxford, we haue here many noble wittes, and ſuch as be exerciſed in no meane learnings: many Colledges are builded which be well indued, wherein meate & dꝛinke and things neceſſarie foꝛ ſcholers are ꝓuided, ſo ꝑ they want nothing to a happie ſtate. Al which commodities being neglected and contemned, the houſe of God lyeth fallen doꝛne flat. Thirdly, ꝑ Iewes were hindered from building of the Temple, by the lets and threatenings of ꝑ Pꝛinces neere adioyning, as we may gather out of the bookes of Eſdras & Nehemias. The Thathanai, the Tharpelai, Sthaꝛbuſanai, & others, partly Samaritans, & partly Ionmeans did perpetually reſiſt them that builded, and woꝛke againſt them to the king of Perſians. In like maner of Chriſt, ꝑ feare of the Romanes was a hinderaunce that he could not be receiued of the Iewes: foꝛ the high Pꝛieſts feared leaſt they and all that they had ſhould periſh, if they receiued an other king beſides Cæſar. And our people doe at this day ſay, that the Goſpell muſt not bee receiued, becauſe that Fraunce being ſo great a kingdome doeth reſiſt it, Spaine conſenteth not vnto it, Italie repugneth againſt it: and will we alone be wiſer than all Chriſtendome beſides? But O my bꝛethꝛen, if this were a good reaſon, it ſhoulde haue behoued the Apoſtles to ceaſe from pꝛeaching: foꝛ the whole woꝛld ſpake againſt them. The Ethnicks (no doubt) confeſſed God to be the Lorde of heauen, but they committed Idolatrie with the Idols and Images receiued of their Fathers. The Iewes contended that their fathers lawes were to be retained, and would not ſuffer, that the Lawes of Moſes ſhould be changed. Since the Apoſtles were aſſured of the matter, they contemned the iudgement of the woꝛld: and it is not mæte that Religion ſhould be ſubiect to the ſlaunders of men, and to haue her confirmation by the conſent of mans reaſon. Otherwiſe if this Argument were of any great foꝛce, wee might bid Chriſt farewell, ſince a great part of the woꝛld doe at this day reſiſt him. The Turkiſh vncleanneſſe at this day occupieth many regions, infinite is the heape of the Iewes, the Epicures & Atheiſtes are without number: therefoꝛe we which woꝛſhip after a right maner, are alwayes but a ſmall & weake companie. Fourthly the Pꝛophet remembꝛeth our cauſe when the building of the Iewiſh Temple ſhould be differred: namely, becauſe euery mā regarded his owne houſes, decked them and ſeeled them, as alſo becauſe they were occupied in thoſe thinges ꝑ were their owne pꝛoper: but the houſe of GOD was neglected. In like manner the Scribes and high Pꝛieſts of the Iewes, becauſe they would haue their owne place and their owne honour ſaued, reiected Chriſt who was nowe come. After the ſelfe ſame manner doe ours thinke: if the Goſpel ſhall be publiſhed, there will be a conſideration had of diſcipline, it ſhall not be lawfull foꝛ euerie man to doe what he liſt, and they which ſhall be founde meete and apt foꝛ teaching, ſhall be thruſt forth into labour: vnto the flockes which be deſtitute of Paſtors and teachers, ſhall their paſtoꝛs be reſtoꝛed which are ſo farre off and haue beene ſo long from them: ſome meane and meaſure would be appointed of pleaſures, delightes, riches, pꝛyde, pompe, and idleneſſe. Theſe thinges doe they ponder which are affected to their owne commodities, and doe wholy giue themſelues to pleaſures. Then doe they incline to their owne wit: They ſay, that the time of building is not yet come: and when there can bee no other reaſon pꝛetended, they take holde of this which is dayly ſpoken euerie where, that in very dæde the ſeeking is not to reſtoꝛe Religion, but that this is the onely indeuour of noble men, to make a ſpoile of the Eccleſiaſticall goods. An ill cogitatiō doubtleſſe & an vngodly counſell: and I would neuer ſay, it were well done, ꝑ thoſe things which were appointed foꝛ maintenance of the Eccleſiaſticall miniſterie, ſhoulde be conuerted to other vſes. Howbeit we muſt not thinke it a mæte cauſe to flie from the vocation laide vppon vs, becauſe the Church goods and riches are diminiſhed: foꝛ it were great ſhame that godlineſſe wherein ſtandeth the cheefe kay of mans ſaluation, ſhould depend of the things of this woꝛld. What elſe is this than to ꝓferre riches beꝛoze Chriſt, and that twee will not receiue him, vnleſſe he come loaden with gold & ſiluer? If we were wiſe, we ſhuld ſay with Iob: The Lord hath giuen and the Lord hath taken away: as it hath pleaſed the Lord, euen ſo is it done. The counſels of God (beleeue me) are great dæpes & vnſearchable, perhaps he hateth theſe riches as gods ill

Mich.1.7. gotten. Micheas the Prophet saith: They are of the hire of an harlot, and to an harlots hire shall they be returned againe. It hath béene thought that the Palle is of great moment to salvation, and hence haue sprung so many Altars and béene made so many foundations. It was beléeued a great while, that by masses the soules of the deade are redéemed from the paines of Purgatorie: for which cause, they, which would haue their parents or friends to be deliuered from the torments of Purgatorie, did exceedinglie enrich the Church. Wherefore since in oblations the Lord doth chiefely consider the will, purpose and ende, it displeased him that men shoulde be so deceaued, as to thinke that whatsoeuer they themselues should offer vnto God were it lawfull or vnlawfull, should be acceptable vnto him: since in all our actions God hath a regarde how right and syncere a faith wée haue. But yet I would not haue it to be thought that I speake this, as though I maintained the spoile and auarice of some: onely this I admonish and haue regarde vnto, that our minds be not so offended by these spoyles, that either we shoulde flie from the ministerie, or doubt but that they be done by the great wisedome of God. He promised to his Apostles that there should neuer be anie want to them which labour in the Gospell. Heauen and earth shall perish before any iot of the promises of God shalbe left vnperformed. What should we feare? Christ hath opened vnto vs the barnes, houses, and treasuries of al rich men, yea and of al the world. For of him it is saide: He that leaueth father or mother, house or land for my sake, and for the Gospell, shall receiue a hundreth folde in this life, and euerlasting felicitie in the worlde to come. When the good man of the house thrusteth forth labourers into his vineyeard, he forsaketh them not, but rewardeth them with a pennie a day, and that so liberally, as he withdraweth not the same from them that labour least: which rewarde, if thou interpret, Eternall life, I denie it not: but I thinke it may be gathered, He vouchsafeth heauenly rewardes to his seruaunts. Neither will he take away from them that be of little faith, the small helps of this life. Beholde the birdes of the aire and lyllies of the fielde, which though they be idle and labour not in the Church, are not forsaken of the father: and shall the ministers of the Church be destitute of thinges necessarie to
Matt.6.33. their liuing? First seeke the kingdome of god, and then al these things shalbe ministred vnto you. Let not your heauenly mindes (my deare brethren) be troubled for these vile and base gods: all these things doe the Gentiles seeke after. If they do not so largely abound euerie where as the fleth desireth, shall the Church therefore be forsaken? Certainlie thus haue not the seruaunts of God vsed to doe, but the false Prophets which alwayes prophecied for meate and money. They powred cold things vpon colde, they corrupted diuine things with humane. The least points they laide were matters of saluation. This one thing they regarded and with great care prouided, to wit, that they might speake that which was plausible. When meate seemed in mans reason to faile, Helias was fedde by the ministerie of a Rauen. Wherefore giuing ouer this care, let vs be moued with compassion towards the Church, on euerie side troubled, and miserablie afflicted. I speak not nowe of outwarde temples which are made of wood and stone, but of the Church which is our mother, the spouse of Jesus Christ, and for the which the sonne of God gaue his life and shed his bloude vpon the crosse. O god God, O bring thou to passe in thy heauenly good will, that the walles of Ierusalem may be builded vp: The time commeth to take pitie vpon her: O God the time is come, she is torne in sunder, and scattered, so that no one bone cleaueth to another, neither is one sinow knit with another. Truely it is needefull that thou sende a most wise Phisitian vnto her, such a one as the Poets feigne Esculapius to haue béene, who may restore againe the bodie hewen in péces and rent in sunder. But it is more needefull that thou thy selfe come, for vnlesse the Lord builde the house, they labour in vaine which build it. Stir vp (we beséech thée) the indeuour of godly men, that they may mete with all inconueniences, and further thy holy temple, and helpe Bezeleel, Salamon, Esdras, Nehemias, and such like, which in these daungerous dayes indeuour with all their might to builde. This doe I desire of God that we may sée in our selues this so great slouth and idleneste, that we can finde opportunities in all things except it be to the building of Gods house: time to eate, to drinke, to dine, to suppe, to slepe, to marrie, to buy and sell, and finally to all manner of actions: but onely to the building of the Church of God, we can applie no time at al. Neither is our heart perced being frosen and benummed on euerie side with frost and colde, nor yet are our bowels moued: and if at any time some man doe promise that one day the house of God shalbe erected, there appeareth no effect of mans promises. Wherefore except the Lord helpe from aboue, we are no lesse

lesse to be accused than the Iewes were now blamed by the Prophet Hagge, because intending to their owne priuate buildings, they left the holie building neglected. But now how great the wrath of God is in this kinde of offence, it may be learned by the second proposition of this Prophet, when we shall heare the causes whereby the people of Israel was withdrawen from the Lordes worke.

Consider your owne waies in your heart.

The Iewes liued in great distresse of things: The holie Ghost saith that this came, because they suffered the temple of God to lie ruinated, and that vnlesse they would indeuour them selues to a godlie building thereof, he threateneth that hee would yet bring most grieuous plagues vppon them. Yée first of all warneth them that they shoulde not bee vnconstant. Weigh ye diligentlie with your selues (saith hee) what miserie tunes haue oftentimes happened vnto you, and inquire & search out the causes thereof. Doe not thinke that these things haue béene done by chance. For since that this life is maintained in the worlde by a perpetual and stedfast order, wée must not thinke that mens affaires are by God committed vnto Fortune and happe hazarde. If anie man perswade himselfe that this is the course of the world, let him weigh with himselfe, that nature is lead by a guide and Captaine. And against them which affirme that the motion of the starres do beare a way herein, let him affirme that there is a God, which vseth the power of the starres, and motions of heauen at his owne will and pleasure: wherefore these men must finde other causes of the present euils. The harueste is small: Are the husbande men in fault thereof? No verilie, they sowed a great deale. Bodies are feéble and weak: the number, varietie, and naughtinesse of diseases increase: doeth this come because litle meate is eaten? Or rather doe we not eate till our gorge be full? Men goe perpetuallie sadde, heauie and carefull. Perhappes they neuer chére by themselues with drinke: Oh they drinke & that very largely, but they shake not off their sadnesse. They rather become drunke, and are brought aslepe, than put off their sorrowe and care. They séeme perpetuallie to be a colde, and the naturall heate is daielie more and more weakened. Whence commeth so great a change of the naturall heat? Truelie there is no want of garmentes, but when they be put on and doubled, they auaile not. Artificers, craftes men, all they that be nédie doe labour, doe get monie, and doe set to sale. What a mysterie is this? They which in a broken bagge doe laie vp monie or wages that they haue gotten, doe gaine much indeede, but the expenses bee chargeable, the monie is not pure, and it hath lost his first goodnesse. Besides this, they be giuen to riot, to gluttonie, to dice and to harlots: all which things are worthilie called broken vessels. Finallie, so great is their lust and couetousnesse, as they are neuer satisfied: & albeit they gaine much, yet as though they had gotten nothing, they neuer saie ho: and it is all one as if their monie were put into a broken bagge. Againe thou must consider with thy selfe that the nature of things created is so ordered, that what soener profite or vtilitie they bring vnto men, all that commeth by the power of the worde of GOD, which lieth hidden within them: so as if thou withdrawe that from them, thou shalt not inioy them. Yee looke for much, but beholde it commeth to little. It oftentimes happeneth in the time of harueste, that husbandmen make account of aboundance of fruite, which then euen in the gathering together séemeth to perishe. They thinke they haue gathered much into the barne, little do they sée what will befall in baking and brewing. Whereof shall wee thinke that these thinges come? The Lorde auntsereth the Prophet, I, euen I, I saie, do blowe vpon these things. The weapons of God, wherewith he reuengeth the contumely done vnto him, and our negligence of diuine things be grieuous: and he which is wont to be a most milde father, a most louing husbande, and like a tender and gentle mother, when he is angrie with sinnes and wickednesse, becommeth a Lion, a Beare, a Libarde, a serpent, as Ieremie, Amos, and Osee doe testifie. Oh the vnhappy and miserable condition of men, when they haue God to be their enemie! The God of Sabboth is the God of hostes: All the creatures obaie him, as their captayne and parent. I will forbid heauen (saith he) that it shall not raine. A grieuous punishment (truelie) when heauen is shutte vp, which then we see commeth to passe, when raine and faire weather are not giuen in due time, when the gratious influences gathered together be kept backe, and when in recompence of drith the morning dewe is withholden, whereas the corne, grasse, and fruites shoulde be refreshed thereby. But because that husbande men when the raine & dewe faileth, and that the heate burneth vp the thinges which growe vppon the earth, are wont with great labours to carie water or to digge riuers whereby they maie water the medowes and fieldes: therefore

the Lorde saith, I will call a drith vppon the lande, whereby the want of moisture shall euerie where be felt, and no lesse shall the fountaines and riuers denie their flowing, than the heauen shall drawe vnto it both the dew and raine. Wherefore since the Lorde is the Iudge, distributer and gouernour of all these afflictions both of the earth and of heauen, no industrie of husband men shall auaile, but all the fruite of corne will be destroyed by the wrath of God. Neither doeth Gods reuenge here staie it selfe: but from the fruites of the fielde, it proceedeth to the flockes and herdes: and afterwarde followeth a great dearth of cattel: and vnles that which hath beene done amisse be amended, a grieuous plague will light vpon men themselues. The wrath of God groweth by little and little, that there maie bee giuen a time of repentaunce. First of all are destroyed the fruites of the fielde, then the cattell and brute beastes are made awaie, and last of all men (from whome sprang the originall of the euils) are destroyed by a generall plague. Homer also in his Iliads, saith that the plague was not at the first sent vpon men, but both fable ỹ the same began first at the brute beastes. Nowe lastlie why the Lorde bringeth these euils, let vs see in the
Verse.17. booke of Ieremie the 44. Chapter. When the Iewes were reprooued by the Prophet, because they sacrificed to the hoast of the Queene of heauen, they aunswered verie obstinatelie and proudly, that when before time they offered sacrifices to the queene of heauen they were filled with bread and they liued in peace and quietnesse: but ỹ when they ceased from those sacrifices, all maner of euils & misfortunes fell vpon them: wherefore they determined to stande to their accustomed Idolatrie.

After the same manner the Romanes, when they had nowe receaued Christianitie, and perceiued the common weale to growe weake, and the Empire to fall awaie, they sorrowed for the losse of their former felicitie, and accursed Christ. And they thought that the Gods did punish the neglecting of their worshippe, and the forsaking of their Altars. Hereof Augustine in his booke *De Ciuitate Dei* was constrained to write, and before him Cyprian against Demetrianus, verie wel beStowed his labour in the selfe same Argument, and first of all declared that it might seeme no maruell, if all thinges become euerie daie worse, insomuch as the worlde waxeth older and older: and that the Sunne in his setting, thineth not with that force that it doth at noontide, when it is mounted ouer our heade. Also the Moone is of much lesse strength when it waneth, than when it wexeth his globe on euerie side filled with light. In like manner a tree, when it is ouer much spent with bearing, it ceaseth to bring forth fruite. And fountaines otherwhile dried vp through long continuance, do flowe more sparinglie than they did before. And such is the condition of other things, that when they be sprung vp, and growen by dailie increases, at the last do waxe olde, be diminished, and do fall awaie. And it is a maruell also (saith he) but that olde man shoulde in like manner complaine of the Religion of Christ, because they haue lesse strength by reason of it, than whē they flourished in their young age. In which place it is added, that Christ foretolde vs that there shoulde bee great calamities when the last daie of iudgement shall come. Since therefore we drawe nerer and nerer vnto him, we ought not to complaine if we see all thinges fall to the worse: For since Christ shewed vs before hande that they shoulde come to passe, it must of necessitie be so. Last of all hee writeth: that these so grieuous thinges doe not here mankinde because the worshipping of Christ is brought into the worlde, but because he is not receaued as he shoulde be, and that Idolaters are still detained in their vnfaithfulnesse. But nowe they crie out that we are commonlie afflicted, because the pestiferous masse is abolished, the images plucked downe, pilgrimages forbidden, Monasteries ouerthrowen, inuocation of saintes and an infinite of such other euils taken awaie. But that this is not the cause, let vs heare what our Prophete saith, Euerie one of you flyeth vnto your owne house, & my house remaineth desolate. But is it so grieuous a crime to neglect the house of God? If thou shalt marke what we saide in the definition thereof at the beginning, and wilt diligently weigh those things, thou shalt perceiue that it proceedeth in cruelties whatsoeuer the Poetes haue feigned of Thyestes, Atreus, of the Cyclopes and Gentiles. Dh my brethren, my brethren, is it not horrible to be spoken, ỹ the fieldes are tilled, the Cities fortified, magnificent Colleges builded, chambers appeare as they were Temples, & the house of the Lorde lieth forsaken? O slothfull and wicked men that we be, what godlie man can forbeare from weeping and teares? Princes doe sooner pryuatelie build their owne houses: and Magistrates doe altogether vote in building not of houses but Pallaces and Castles, who oftentimes build in bloud: and as Abacuck said in 2.

Chap.

Verse.11. Chapter. The stone cryeth out of the wall, and the beame out of the timber against his Maister giueth a testimonie. Manie build vpon the teares of the poore, with the oppression of warres and spoile of Orphans, but the house of the Lord remaineth desert and in ruine, and is contemned in a maner of all sortes of men. The poore which ought to set their hope in God, doe despise prayers, they curse men, they blaspheme God, and doe proudlie and obstinatelie rebell: they obey not the lawes, and they followe idlenesse beyond measure. Is this to build the house of the Lord? If was the souldiers condition to defend their countrie, to defend religion, to be content with their pay, to beate no man: when warre was finished, to returne to the artes of peace and to labour. But now contrariwise they robbe, they set vppon men in the highway, they exercise theuerie, they perpetuallie complaine of their wages, it grieueth them to cease from warre, and they refuse to returne to their former labours: and this is not to put their helpe to the holy building, but marueilouslie to contemne and hinder the same. Princes and Magistrates which are bound to take care for the making and defending of gods lawes, to condemne the guiltie, & to set free ỹ innocent, are euerie where accused that they doe otherwise; they are ill reported of, to be like the birdes called Harpii, which deuoure the labours & liuing of the people, that they take rewardes, & that in all thinges they seeke their owne profit, not the commoditie of the people. By which kinde of dealinges, verilie they may ouerthrowe the house of God, but not build it vp being fallen downe. The Ministers of Churches should haue beene our Promethei in fetching fire out of heauen, our Ieremies and our Mercuries, by whome we should knowe the aunsweres of God, and as Christ
Matt.5.13. said, The light of the worlde, and the Salt
Ibid.13. of the earth, that all their workes might shine and be seasoned of salt, and might not wither away with rottennesse. It was their part moreouer, to haue a god vnderstanding of the holy scriptures, wherby they might instruct others with great indeuour and painfull diligence; and that their doctrine might be more gratious and better accepted, to line purelie and innocentlie, and houle by houle to seeke the saluation of all the soules committed to their charge. But a lamentable case it is: They liue in idlenesse, like slowbellies and dissolute creatures, they fraught themselues, they marueilouslie swell in arrogancie and pride, they are miserablie possessed with ignorance, the shepe which they haue the charge of, are shamefullie neglected of them: and since they edifie none, they offend innumerable with their vnpure and filthie life. Wherefore euen they also are most farre from the building which we call vpon. Also young men doe exceedinglie slie from this worke. For they earnestlie complaine that the rewards of vertues are now taken away: when I shall continuallie (say they) giue my trauel to learning, and in a manner kill my selfe with studie, what reward shall I reape? I shall be a Proctor of xv. pound a yeare, at the most. Away with diuinitie: giue me the lawes, giue me physick, giue me Astrologie or anie thing else rather than ỹ holy scriptures, I am poore ynough of my selfe, & haue no neede of diuinitie to make me more beggarlie. And on the other part the Maisters, teachers and heades, whose part should be to exhort them to the building, doe charge them by threatninges and faire speeches to keepe still their olde errors, that they should flie from these ordinances, and that they should not take away those thinges which they were brought vp in euen from their childhood. Moreouer there be of the elder sort which runne about the fieldes, enter into houses, frequent shoppes and tauernes, and with all their indeuour perswade that no reformation of godlinesse should be receaued, that this newe reformation would not long continue, that the olde state of thinges shall returne within a yeare or twaine: and on this wise doe all men build after the worst manner. So then we complaine, that God afflicteth vs with vnaccustomed oppressions, and with a penurie of all thinges, when as we perish, not through his ouergreat seuerity, but through our owne mere follie. The building of the house of God must either not be medled with all; or else we must with all diligence take care of the same. The cause why we be disquieted, is not the removing of the Masse, the taking away of superstitions, but it is the leauing of the house of God ruinous and desert. Superstitions haue no power to deliuer from calamities. Consider I beseech you how it fareth with Hungarie, which was earnestlie inclined to Masses and superstitions. Behold Italie, especiallie the countrie of Milaine, whence nothing at all is gone from the papisticall abuses. Let vs behold other partes of Christendome, where the Masse priestes doe still reigne: and finallie let Rome it selfe be in our eye, which is the ringleader of all corrupt ceremonies and erronious opinions: vndoubtedlie they be all oppressed and disquieted with most grieuous

calamities and troubles. These are but light burdens, therefore when banishmentes and stripes will prevaile but little, more grieuous thinges are to be feared. But they say: Nothing is yet firmelie and stronglie proued. For those thinges which we haue recited maie aswell agree to the olde forsaken religion, as to the newe coldlie restored. What Iudge now shall be had of this controuersie? Euen our Prophet, who saith, Ascend ye to the mountaine, and there cut ye downe timber for the house of the Lord: And the mountaine which he would haue to be ascended vnto sheweth vs those things which we haue from aboue, I meane the diuine Oracles. Wherefore he commaundeth that we seeke our building from the holy scriptures, being the wisedome of religion: as the Poets feigne of Minerua that she sprang out of the head of Iupiter. For we haue receaued from aboue, that which is necessarie vnto religion, therefore we must not alter our owne imagination, feigne vnto our selues a religion. The timber for building is sought from the mountaine: For the decrees of men are nothing but subtiltie, pride, concupiscence, and curiositie. Euen as those which be the institutions of God, doe stirre vp a man vnto God: so the religion deuised by men (euen as Circe did) transformeth men into beastes. Then say it is great safetie for them that slepe abroad in summer to lie in the thick leafe grasse, because no Serpent at anie time throweth therein: Euen so to rest our selues in the holy scriptures is a safest way of all other: for in them is offered vs no poyson nor perill. Some men complaine that they be so hard that by them the house of God can be builded of sew. Howbeit these men ought to know that those thinges which be necessarie vnto saluation, are easilie vnderstood of all men. God no lesse prouideth for men in this behalfe, than he doth in the nature of thinges, where vndoubtedlie we see that those thinges which are necessarie for life, are not hard to be gotten. Then it is but a feigning of vs, to say that those thinges which helpe vnto saluation are verie intricate and obscure vnto vs in the holie scriptures. Let the places be diligentlie conferred one with an other, and we shall often finde it that that which in some one place seemeth to be intricate and obscure vnto vs, is else where declared after a manifest manner. The opinion of iustification which the aduersaries defend, compared with ours: if we goe to the meaning of the scriptures, it will sone appeare to be erroneous. They would haue vs to vse a strange tongue in our seruice: But Paul iudgeth farre otherwise. Images are allowed of them: The mountaine of the scripture altogether forbidden them to be vsed in Religion. They iudge it good that in the communion one should receaue the Sacrament for the multitude: In the mountaine of the scriptures, Christ saith: Eate and drinke ye all of this. Neither shalt thou finde it otherwise as touching the inuocation of Saintes, and infinite other things, which the wicked Pope without the holie scriptures thrusteth vppon the Church. But why doe so fewe ascend vnto this mountaine, that they may prouide for themselues rules to build withall? The marueil is not so great, since they be not openlie handled as they ought to be and of priuate men in their houses, and are not read in the Churches. Now is the doctrine of Christ by the commaundement of the kinges sacred maiestie set forth in the mother tongue, but men walke by e downe, neither doe they which be in the Temple, giue anie hede thereunto: the Ministers remaine shut vp in the Quire: they say the diuine seruice hastilie and rashlie, as though they should speake it to themselues onelie. Neither doe they prouide, that others may vnderstād it. Vpon Sundaies are verie profitable Homilies read, but yet with a lowe voyce, and with spitting and cofking, so as it may sufficientlie appeare that manie of those which reade them, doe neither attend to that they say, nor yet suffer that those which stand by maie receaue anie profit of the same. In old time there were Ecclesiasticall meetinges, wherein it was lawfull to heare, to aske questions, & to aunswere: & there men dealt not onelie as concerning the trueth of doctrine, but also of discipline: And of those thinges Paul vnto the Corinthians, and Ambrose interpreting his wordes maketh mention that they were vsed among the Hebrewes. We haue it much in Luke, when the child Iesus in the middest of the doctors, both asked questions and aunswered: but at this day this so comfortable custome is left, to the great detriment of the Church: and how coldlie we deale in Catechising, the thing it selfe declareth. They thinke, they haue wrought a great matter, when they haue had him once at the board: but the indeuour and attentiuenesse of children is not such, that they can in so short space put off their naturall ignorance and bashfulnesse.

When the Prophet had now warned what is needefull to be done, namelie to ascende vnto the hill, and from thence to bring timber

Hag. 1. 8. ber to the building: If this worke be done he loyneth promises therewithall, It shall be acceptable vnto me and I will be glorified therin. If the congregation of the faithfull be both well instituted and rightlie assembled, the Lord promiseth that it shall be to his wel liking: for he himselfe promiseth that he will be in the middest of them that helpe, and will heare the petitions and vowes of them that pray. Those things are alwaies acceptable vnto God, and receaue the fruites of the promises, which are doone according to the rule of Gods word: when as contrariwise, whatsoeuer men shall bring to passe without it, is not onelie vnprofitable and vaine, but the Lord now reproueth vs thereof by Esaie: Who hath required these things at your hands in that house which was to be builded? God promiseth that he would become glorious: which assuredlie was brought to passe, when his name was there published openlie by the Psalmes and the Apostles. Then also at this day ought so to preach in the Church, as they should abound in good workes, which others seeing might glorifie the father which is in heauen. Furthermore the glorie of God doth not shine more in any other congregation, than it doth in a Church well and godlie ordained. Whereuppon Paule to the Cor. saith: If an vnbeleeuing or vnlearned man come into the Church, and see all things doone well as touching the administration of doctrine, he will fall downe on his face and worship the Lorde, and shall bee constrained to confesse that God is in vs. 1.Cor.14. 19.

But alas for pitie, they haue now transferred this honour of the Church to incense, to lights, to stoles, to vestments of gold and silke, to golden vessels, and vessels set with pretious stones, and infinite such other more than worldly deckings. Wherfore we ȳ will do an acceptable thing vnto God, and would haue God to be glorified in vs, let vs edifie our neighbors when we perceiue them to be sicke of pride, enuie, lust, wrath, weakenesse of faith, and coldnesse of charitie, and with other diseases of the minde: and this we are accustomed to doe in the sicknesse of the bodie. Let vs call Physitians vnto vs, not of euerie sort, but (as Chrysostom hath taught vs in a certaine homilie vnto the people of Antioch) Mathew, Luke, Iohn, Marke, and the rest of the Apostles and Prophets, and from thence let vs seeke to get medicines and wholesome remedies for our brethren. Such Physitians as these are most skilfull, and there is no kinde of infirmities of our soules hidden from them, vpon them is bestowed no expense of monie: and they shewe not themselues hard to helpe, but if the sicke wil, they be conuersant with them day and night: neither shall we finde them at contention one with an other, in such sort as by their Emulation they would the soner bring to death those whom they should heale. This is to fetch timber, as the Prophet saith, from the mountaine to the building of the Lordes house. This worke belongeth vnto all them which are called Christians, as the Prophet Ezechiell saide, They which builde the Citie of Ierusalem, shall bee of all the tribes. And our Hagge here maketh mention of Zorobabell, to whom being the Ciuill Magistrate was alligned Iesus the sonne Iosadeck the high Priest. Also the Prophets themselues did helpe: as did Zachary, Hagge, and Malachie, and finallie all the people are reckoned with them: whereby we are taught that from euerie place are to be gathered the builders of the Temple. But at this day the Popes Ministers take it in ill part, if they perceiue a lay man, (as they say) to haue the holie Scriptures, as though this building belonged not vnto them. But they themselues, whereas they challenge vnto themselues the Ministerie of the Church, and are inriched with many fatte and godly benefices, doe vtterly neglect to edifie by their doctrine: when notwithstanding Paul vnto the Ephesians reckoning vp Apostles, Prophets, and Euangelistes, as it were diuerse giftes graunted to the Church, afterwarde ioyned therewithall Pastors, and Teachers. Which saying when Ierom interpreteth, he noteth it diligently: and among other things, thus he wrote: Neither let any man in the Church, although he be holy, take to himselfe the name of a Pastor, vnlesse both he can and will teach them whom he feedeth. And a litle after: But doth it not seeme to you ȳ there be false Pastors in the Church, which feede not the sheepe with doctrine, but, as it were byrelings, do thinke nothing at all of ȳ saluation of their flocke: not correcting that which went astraie, nor yet seeking ȳ which was lost: but all onely taking of the sheepe milke, and woll, that is to wit, meate and garments. Wherefore the Ministers of the Church, and the Princes haue their part in building: and without doubt, if at any time these kindes of men doe erre, this neuer happeneth without a common losse: euen in like manner as the Eclipsies of the Sunne drawe therewith many inconueniences vppon the world. When the Lorde would builde the Church of Ierusalem, he specially adorned the Prince and Priest Moses and Aron, whose conduct and authoritie they should vse in all Ephe.4.11. Ezc.48. verse.19.

things. Albeit as the holy hiſtorie doth not ſuppreſſe in ſilence the infirmities of them both, ſo was the people more eaſily giuen to followe their offences, than readie to vſe the benefite of their good gouernment. And it muſt not be paſſed ouer, that the building of this ſecond houſe was to bee perfourmed of the people after ſeuentie yeares. The number of ſeuen is wont to bee reckoned with the Sabboth. He teacheth plainely that it behoued the builders to reſt from all their labour. Neither are we ignorant, that they be our workes, which haue proceded from nature corrupted without the guiding of the holy ſpirit. For no man ought to be lead either for gaine, or ambition, or any couetouſneſſe, or elſe by any reaſons of man to reſtore the Temple of the Lorde. Further, as Paule hath taught vs, we ought to builde onely vpon Chriſt which is the foundation: and we muſt take heede with all our indeuour that
1.Cor.3.12 we builde not haie or ſtubble or timber, that is to ſay, fond trifles and humane reaſons: Golde, ſiluer and precious ſtones muſt bee vſed in this building. Neither is knowledge ſufficient for the building of the Common wealth of Chriſt, which in verie deede is oftentimes fearefull when it is taken by it ſelfe: wherefore charitie muſt needes be ioyned therewith, which Paul ſhewes doth edifie. And no man muſt maruell, if ſo notable inſtruments are required to this worke, ſince it is a matter of great moment to change men from that they were.

I woulde to God the Romiſh Prieſts would alſo conſider this, and woulde not account all their honour to conſiſt herein, that they haue tranſubſtantiated or chaunged the nature of breade (which is but a legerdemaine and a vaine deuiſe:) but that they finally vnderſtoode themſelues to be called by God vnto this ende, that by the worde and doctrine as alſo by good manners and examples, they ſhould tranſubſtantiate men into Chriſt, and make them his liuely members. This change haue men perpetually before their eyes, when they handle the holy myſteries. The ſame do the ſcriptures of God vrge in euerie place, which then lyeth contemned and neglected, when they with all their power contende for an Altar which is none at all.

Now haue we heard of the prophet what is needefull to be done: namely, that the Church of God, according to Gods appointment ſhould be builded. Now fourthly is taught what fruit this ſermon of our Hagge obtained. Zorobabel (ſaith he) heard, and Ieſus (ſaith he) the ſonne of Ioſadeck, and all the people heard the worde of the Lorde. They not onely heard with their eares, as the Scribes and Phariſes heard Chriſt, but their hearts by the power of the holy ſpirite were open, and they feared. This is the proper effect of the holy ſcriptures. Firſt we are remoued by the authoritie of Gods lawe: For the hearts of thoſe hearers are ſtirred vp by repentance, which is deſcribed in feare. But it followeth not heere that the Prophet is heard, and that they which heard him, doe feare, vnleſſe he be receiued as the meſſenger of the Lord. For ſo long as we thinke of him that buildeth, that he dealeth by mans reaſon, we wilbe moued nothing at all. Perhaps we will maruell at the wiſedome and prudence of his doctrine, but doe turne neuer a whit the more vnto God. But when faith comes therewithall, and that we thinke it is the worde of God which is propoſed: by and by feare & repentance enter into our hearts. They that feare and tremble, ſtraightway the voyce of the Lorde comforteth them, wherein he ſaith: I am with you. God is with them, not which be magnificall, mightie and proude men of this world, but with the broken and contrite of heart, whoſe lot muſt not be counted vile & abiect: but ſince they haue God with them, there can bee no want of good. This was ſaid to the bleſſed virgin and to many of the ſaincts when any harde matter was to be taken in hand, that they ſhould ponder it in their mind, and that they ſhould not doubt of their ſucceſſe. If God ſhall be with vs, who can either hinder vs or ſtay vs from the building? O ye that be the heades of this Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, I would to God that I alſo might truely and faithfullie ſay: God is with you. Aſſuredly I ſhoulde then preach vnto you a moſt profitable, and vnto me moſt acceptable glad tidings of the Goſpel. And the Lord ſtirred vp the ſpirite of Zorobabel, and the ſpirite of Ieſus the ſonne of Ioſadeck, and the ſpirite of the people, that in comming they ſhould do the worke of their God. If is the Lord that ſtirreth vs vp to do well, not onely in calling vs by the outward worde, but alſo by chaunging of our minde. For by the moſt comfortable feele of perſwaſion, hee of vnwilling maketh vs willing. Then is the outwarde preaching fruitfull, becauſe the heart of the hearers is inwardly mollified by God. This is to ſtirre vp the ſpirite of the Prophet. Nowe do we alſo perceiue by this place that the building belongeth to all ſorts of men, which are ſo deſcribed ſeuerally. Not onely the magiſtrate and highprieſt, but together with al is the whole people ioyned. We muſt vnderſtand that the order

order and placing of things is not negligently ſet downe vnto vs by the prophet. In which place is ſhewed the worde of God: the faith of them that heare the Lords worde is mingled therewith, feare and repentance is ſtirred vp: The Lorde is in them and dwelleth in them, and moueth them to take good workes in hande. Laſt of all are placed thoſe workes which do not pleaſe God vnleſſe we be iuſtified by faith, replenished with the grace of God, and moued by the inſpiration of the holie Ghoſt to doe them. O miſerable city, which hath ſo long beene without the word of God and holie ſermons: No marueil if, being deſtitute of the ſpirite of God, thou haſt ſo much neglected to builde vp his Church. Cruelie I cannot well tell, whether I ſhould here blame the minde of miniſters, or the ſloth of the people, or faintneſſe of the magiſtrate: ſince they haue all ſinned verie greeuouſly. The Paſtors teach not, vnleſſe they be driuen thereunto by threatnings and ſtatutes: and the people which daily bewayleth the dereneſſe of thinges and the ſcarcitie of corne, complaineth nothing at all of want of the holy worde. Thoſe being kindled and ſtirred vp with the words of the Prophet came and did the worke of God. Make ye haſt alſo my moſt deare brethren, and builde ye quicklie the houſe of God: For the byrds of heauen haue their nells, and the fores haue their holes: but the ſonne of man hath not where to lay his heade. The houſe of Ieruſalem lay ruinated onely 70. yeares, and yet God made ſo great ſhewe of his indignation: And how doe ye thinke his furie is nowe kindled when he ſeeth his Church to be caſt downe, defiled and waſted ſo manie ages together? Let ſo great a matter moue you, and differ you no longer this holy building. But & if your mindes inuouring to come vnto God, haue beene any thing kindled by this ſermon, I deſire you hartely that ye will not extinguiſh this ſame, but that ye will with holie communications and talke of the ſcriptures nourriſh it. Now that the ſin of negligence hath beene blamed out of the worde of God, and hath beene made manifeſt by the Prophet after what manner and faſhion we ought to builde, and laſtlie that we haue vnderſtode what vtilitie ſuch exhortations hath brought vnto the hearers: I might ſeeme to haue perfourmed thoſe things which I promiſed at the beginning. But ſince we are minded to more earneſtly by examples, I haue determined before I make an ende to bring forth a good and diligent builder, whereby ye may haue an example, whereunto if ye regard, ye ſhal at the length perfourme the worke which ye haue taken in hand. And becauſe ſuch is the miſerie of the time preſent, as of them that be aliue there is no example extant, therefore am I compelled whether I will or no to flie vnto writings. Let Paul the moſt choſen veſſell of God ſhewe himſelfe vnto vs. He, as he hath written in the 2. Epiſtle to the Corinthians 11. Chapter, attempteth all manner of wayes Verſe.2. to adorne thoſe that were his to bee as a chaſt and pure ſpouſe vnto our huſbande Chriſt, he ſought not for himſelfe that which he diligentlie builded by doctrine, he lead them thereby vnto Chriſt as a faithfull ſeruant. Neither did he onely indeuour to conuert them, but with carefull trauell he prouided, that they in a ſound faith and certaine maidenly religion might cleaue vnto their ſpouſe. I am afraide (ſaith he) leaſt as the ſerpent deceiued Eue, ſo ye ſhould be deceiued by euill and falſe teachers. Now verily was the Apoſtle Paul in feare, wherein he was vigilant, not about his owne commodities, but about the ſaluation of many. Ye ſee the end of the Church, which a good builder muſt ſet before his eyes: namely that to bring mante vnto Chriſt, and ſo perpetually to take care of them and inſtruct them, that they ſtie not from building of the Church. But when they ſhal labour in this building, it ſhalbe good to heare Paul himſelf what and how great things hee indured: In labours, more abundant: In ſtripes, aboue meaſure: In 2.Cor.11. priſon, more plenteouſlie: In perils of death, 23. often. Of the Iewes receiued I fiue times forty ſtripes ſaue one; I was thriſe beaten with rods: I was once ſtoned: I ſuffered thriſe ſhipwarke: I liued night and day in the deepe ſea. In iourneying I was often in perils of waters: In perils of robbers; in perils of mine owne nation; in perils among the Gentiles: In perils in the citie; in perils in the wildernes: in perils in the ſea: in perils among falſe brethren; in labour and in painefulneſſe: in watching often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſtings often, in cold and nakedneſſe: beſides the things which happened outwardly, I am cumbred daily with the care of all the Churches: who is weake, and I am not weake? who is offended, and I burne not? All which things to remember my moſt deare brethren, haue in them a verie large ſea of temptations. He liued in continual carefulnes, we would be ridde of all care and thought, whereby we inioy our welth and quietneſſe. He was exerciſed in continuall labours and perils, and we will not put our liues in any hasinger for religion: And yet do they ſay at this day: although thoſe things which be ſpoke in this

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Euangelicall reformation be true, yet will I expect a yeare or two. Thou wilt keepe thy selfe sake, that if the state alter, thou be not so incumbered, but that thou maist easily be at libertie. Ye if any were weake wouldst bee weake together with them, and did burne because of offenses. But we though that manie be offended, doe eate and drinke, and ioe threaten others, we play and laugh. What marueil then if the Church lie in ruines? O happie builder is he, that can say with Paul:

2.Cor.12.5 I haue fought a good fight, I haue runne my course, I haue kept the faith. So carefull was this Paul of the holie building that he would most willingly both spende and be spent for these members of Christ, & for their soules: but we suffer all to perish rather than any profite and commoditie of ours should perish. He saide, I seeke not those things that be

Verse.14. yours, but you. Neither ought the children to lay vp for the parents, but the parents for the children. But we can do the contrarie: We seeke not you, but those things that bee yours: nothing is loked for at our handes.

1.Cor.9.22 He was made all things to all men, that he might winne some to Christ. But wee are made all things vnto all men, that we may alienate our selues and all others with vs from Christ. Paul had manie whom he edified, as the signes of his Apostleship: but wee many whom we haue grieuously displeased and offended, which are manifest signes of our office and calling forsaken. Wherefore I pray and beseech you that by conuerting and changing your indeuours, ye will imitate this noble artificer and chiefe maker builder. Which that it may be graunted vnto you of almightie God, let vs call vppon him with our prayers after this manner:

WE beseech the O heauenlie father for thine infinite & gratious mercy, sith thou hast vouchsafed to make choice of thy spouse the Church vppon the earth, and to honour it with all kinde of spirituall ornamentes, despise not the same now being deformed, defiled, and in a manner ouerthrowen. Stirre vp, (I beseech thee) and kindle with thy holie spirite the Princes, Pastors, Teachers, and all them that be here present to a restitution thereof, and giue them patience, diligence and strength while they bee doing the worke, to the ende that they may prepare a place for thee, where thou liuest and raignest together with the sonne and the holie Ghost: To thee be glorie for euer, world without end, Amen.

A Sermon out of the xx.

Chapter of Iohn vpon this place:

Christ the first daie of the Sabboth (that is vppon the Lordes daie) at the euening tide appeared to his disciples, being gathered together, the doores being shut, and shewed vnto them his handes and side, saying, Peace be with you. When they had seene the Lord, they reioyced. Afterward he added: As my father hath sent mee, so sende I you. And when he had thus saide, hee breathed vppon them and saide vnto them: Receaue yee the holie Ghost. Whose sinnes soeuer yee remit, they are remitted: and whose sinnes soeuer yee retaine, they are retained.

CHRIST in one action performed three thinges. First by his appearing he proued his resurrection. Secondlie he comforted them by the gift of peace. Thirdlie he sent them away to comfort others, giuing vnto them the power of the keyes. As touching the first which is of the appearing of Christ, thou shalt note that it was done vppon the Lordes daie: For it is saide, In the first of the Sabbothes. The Apostles were assembled together secretlie and were sadde: and no marueil. For sadnesse commeth either of the feare of some euill hanging ouer our heades, or else of an euill that is present. The present euill was, that they wanted their beloued Master. They had lost him being put to a shamefull death. Further it seemed to thē, that they were now become infamous as though they had beene the Disciples of one that was a seducer and an euil man. They feared also least it would come to passe that such examples should bee shewed vpon them: For it seemed that the Iewes would rage against them also. They were gathered together, and were sadde because of these thinges. Perhappes they consulted together what they should doo: howbeit the counsels of men were but weake. Beholde Christ is present: For hee neuer faileth the that be his, euen in the greatest perils. The doores were close shut: perhappes they gaue place, perhappes Christ came in at the windowes, or at the rose of the house: or if he did pearce the doores, it was a miracle, which will be granted by the holie scriptures. Howbeit the Translubstantiators must not here inferre that the bodie of Christ is in manie places [at once:] for the scripture doeth not say that it was so, neither doth it affirme the substance of bread & wine doth depart.

Such sadde persons are wee verie often-times

times, as well for our ill conscience sake, as also for the darkenesse of the minde and infirmitie of the will. Therewithall comes the feare of hell fire, and manie other calamities allaile vs, and vnlesse Christ be present, it fareth verie euill with vs. But Christ commeth: and if we by faith dos imbrace him, then all thinges are quiet and wee be made ioyful as the Apostles were at the sight of the Lord. For the gospel is a glad tidings: thereby Christ commeth vnto vs, and maketh vs glad. Christ our Lord is not as be the Lords of this world, for if they come, they oppresse vs, they exact Tributes, they greeue vs and take away from vs. But Christ commeth not to doe hurt, but he bringeth his giftes, and bee neuer commeth emptie. Let vs see what he hath brought: He hath brought peace, and ioye, and certeintie of the resurrection. But nowe passing ouer the proofe of the resurrection, let vs speake of peace.

Peace, Order. Peace is a quietnesse of order: and order is a disposition of things like and vnlike, giuing to euerie one that which belongeth thereunto. But peace is of two sortes: one remoueth those thinges which trouble and bréede disquietnesse: The other suffereth those thinges which doe afflict, to remaine still, but it comforteth and strengtheneth the mindes, to be strong and not to yelde, but to be glad and reioyce. The first peace is of the world, and the other is of God.

Similitude. As for example: if a citie be besieged, it maie haue peace if the seige be removed: or else if the seige continue, the towne hauing victuals enough within, and that the Captaines bée good and the fortifications very strong. Moreouer it is called the peace of the world, because the world maketh it. For pouertie may easily be driuen away by riches: sickenes by medicines: & base estate by ye fauor of the prince. Besides, it is called the peace of the world because the world knoweth it only. The other [is that] which is present when tribulations remaine. But thou wilt demaund: Haue not the Philosophers sometime not weighed the outwarde troubles? I aunswere: They came somewhat neere with their morall vertues, but they attained not to the peace which we speake of. Shadowes & similitudes those were of vertues: but no true & perfect vertues: & therefore whē they come to most grieuous euils, they yeld. Cato, Brutus & Cassius killed themselues, but ye Martyrs of Christ indure it mānfully. Moreouer a valiant morall man, when he for his countrie sake either dieth or entereth into grieuous perils, hath his felicitie obscured through the greatnesse of the paine and la-

The Scripture beeing. bors, onelie he feeleth some light taste thereof. When he hath respect to the ende: but in martyrs the spirite doeth then most of all shine and is of force. Nowe then the peace of Christ doth not remoue outward things, but it appeaseth the minde and reconcileth it vnto God: It lighteneth the vnderstanding, strengtheneth the will, and pacifieth the conscience, and maketh sure the hope, that these thinges shall once haue an ende, and that they can neuer do vs hurt. In the midst of tribulatiōs it maketh vs quiet and calme. It changeth not the things but the men, and that by faith. For we perceaue that Christ our mediator is with vs, and that by him we please God: wherefore it doeth no hurt. This is the peace of God, because onelie God maketh it, and they which be not spirituall do not know the same. The peace of the world doeth remoue outward troubles, but changeth not men: for they remaine in their desperation, darkenesse, euill conscience, and sinnes. Wherefore the peace of God is more effectuall, the which protecteth and chaungeth vs, when the contrarie is yet present and displeaseth vs. For of faint hearts it maketh vs hardie: of fearefull, it maketh vs valiaunt: of weake ones, it maketh vs strong. For when we apprehende Christ by faith, nothing can hurt vs that be toyned to him, but we saie: The Lorde is my strength, I will not be afraide what man can do vnto me: Psal.27.3. If there rise vp warre against me, I will not despaire. Psal.118. The world accounteth this peace and tranquillitie of the godlie to bée but foolishnesse: because they se not the inwarde originall thereof. Euen as he which thoulde se men in dauncing a farre off, yet heareth not their sounde woulde thinke them to bée madde: but if he approch and heare with his eares the musicall tunes, nowe will he also be stirred vp vnto the same motions: so the world, when it feleth not Christ in it selfe and hath no experience of his ioye and peace, thinketh it but a madnesse to reioyce in tribulations. The Disciples reioyced because they sawe the Lorde. For if we beholde the worlde or our owne selues, there is no where anie matter of reioycing, nay rather they minister teares vnto vs. Wherefore if wee will reioyce, we had néede to behold Christ: There shall we be glad. But when we our selues be at quiet and reioyced, it is néedfull that we communicate with others the good which we haue receiued. Wherefore Christ saith: As my father hath sent mee, so sende I you. Christ came not for himselfe, but hée came to saue others: euen so must wee also séeke the saluation of others. And that this

John.20. verse.21,

maie be profitable done, Christ gaue the holie Ghost by breathing, not that the breath was the holie Ghost, but it was a signe whereby the holie ghost was signified.

There is a Metaphor in the word Keyes: for euen as some things are shut vp and opened with keyes: so in sinnes the mindes are otherwhile shut and detained, and otherwhile loosed. Certainly we are no other way dispatched of our sinnes, than by knowledge through the faith of Christ. We are bounde in sinnes, when we are left in vnbeliefe and obstinacie. And that the matter may be well vnderstoode, we must consider that the selfe same thing is here taught by Iohn which is done by Matthew and Marke, when it is said: Mat.28.19. Mar.16.15 Goe and preach yee vnto euerie creature, for hee that beleeueth and is Baptized, shall be saued: He that beleeueth not, shall bee damned. But Iohn speaketh more fully, and saieth, That the holie Ghost was giuen: for by him is vnderstoode the Scripture that it should be preached, and when it is preached, it is by the same holy Ghost beleeued of the hearers. Therefore he addeth: Whose sinnes ye remit they are remitted, &c. When Luke had spoken the selfe same thing at the ende of his Gospell, he saieth: that Christ opened Luk.24.47. their vnderstanding, that they might vnderstand the Scriptures, which was done by this breathing of the holy Ghost vpon them. This is to consecrate Ministers & Bishops, not with a Bishops Myter, a Crosier, and Unction, &c. Wherefore the key is two manner of wayes vnderstoode: one is of preaching the word of God: the other is, of beleeuing when it is heard. The one without the other doeth not open, nor yet release sinnes. The Popes ministers thinke, that to them is giuen by God the authoritie of loosing and binding whom they will with the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. But that key is in very deede nothing else but the word of God communicated no more to the Priest than to others, and vnto all Christians. And this worde of God is inspired by the holy Ghost, and is partly preached, and partly beleeued: and by this meanes the sinnes be forgiuen: but they be retained when men are vnbeleeuing, and are left in their incredulitie: and then GOD bindeth them in Heauen. For Mat.10.15 & 11.24. It shall be more easier for Sodom than for that people, &c.

But they say: If it be so, then * we neither binde nor loose, but God by his worde. Howbeit the actions of God are many times by his godnesse communicated with men. For the elect are said to giue light to the blinde, to cure the lame, to raise vp them that be dead: whereas these things be the works of God. So, they are said, to binde and loose, in respect that they vse the instrument of GOD, wherewith he himselfe loseth and bindeth. When the keyes were promised vnto Peter, they were not giuen him, but if they had bin giuen him, he alone should not haue had them, but with him all the other Apostles vnder whose person he aunswered: Thou Mat.16.16. art Christ the son of the liuing God. For he spake this in the person of others, as before in the 6. of Iohn, when he said: To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternall Verse.68. life: For wee knowe that thou art the sonne of the liuing God, &c. Where thou seest that he in the plurall number speaketh for them all. Neither did he attribute this vnto him selfe that he should be aboue the rest. Nay rather in his first Epistle the 5. Chapter; He himselfe being an Elder, exhorted the Elders. He himselfe as saith Ierom Verse.5. differeth not from an Elder. And of the same mind was Chrysost. vpō the Epistle to Titus.

Well then, there the keyes were promised, but where were they giuen? Some saie that they were then giuen, when it was said vnto Peter: I haue prayed for thee Peter that Luk.23.32. thy faith might not faile thee, and that thou being once conuerted mightest confirme thy brethren. Howbeit this was nothing else but to comfort Peter, that he should not dispaire after sinne: and it is saide that he was restored to his former degree. Here is nothing of the keyes. But and if they will vrge the word of Confirming, then will they iudge as we doe. For neither Peter nor any of the Apostles confirmed the brethren but by the word of GOD: Wherefore the keyes shall be the word of God. Others say that then the keyes were giuen to Peter, when he was thrise demanded, whether he loued more than the rest: and it was answered him: Feede my Lambes. But Augustine and Cyrill write that these wordes were therefore spoken, that by thrise confessing he might make amendes for the blemish which he had for the thrise denying: but of the keyes there is no mention made. Howbeit if we should graunt them that the keyes in Ioh.21.15. this place were giuen, what should they haue more than that which wee graunt? They should consist in Feeding: but this is done (as we haue saide) by the word of God. Wherefore let them vnderstand it as they will, The keyes be the worde of God: For the soule is not feede any other way but by the word of God.

Indeede there is also a keye, as concerning excommunication and reconciliation, yet

yet those keyes be not generall, but concerne onelie heynous sinnes, which be now publike and conuicted. And the keyes be generall things as touching all men which are to be brought vnto the Church, whose sinnes are to be forgiuen or retained. But yet must we vnderstand, that that key also of excommunicating or reconciling, is not any other than the word of God. For when an open sinner is either excluded or reconciled, this is not done but by the worde of God. So that which way soener thou turne thee, that which we teach doth alwaies followe. The keyes are the worde of God. Wherefore there is no such great cause for the Massemakers to glorie. For there be two keyes: the one is of teaching and the other of beleeuing. They vse their key: but that is not ynough for opening the kingdome of heauen, vnleste that he which heareth doe vse his key, and doe beleeue. The holy Ghost is author of both, for neither doe men preach well nor yet beleeue rightly, vnlesse he doe assist them. Yea and in truethe, when Christ himselfe preached, heauen was not opened vnto all men by his preaching, neyther were sinnes forgiuen vnto all men, but to those onely which vsed his key and beleeued. Wee confesse in deede that the worde of God of whom soeuer it be spoken, is all one as if it were spoken out of the mouth of GOD, howbeit this maketh not but that all men haue the keyes. Yea and it is said as touching the beleeuers and hearers, He gaue them power Iohn.1.12. to be made the sonnes of God. And neither is the key of vsing the worde of God onely giuen vnto Masse Priests, but to the whole Church. Now then it is the holy Ghost that giueth the keyes: and all that beleeue haue the spirit of Christ, otherwise they should be none of his: wherefore they all haue the keyes. But yet must not all, as touching the outwarde function, preache and administer the Sacraments, but Paul wouldde haue all things to bee done in order. Therefore are some of ỹ learneder & better sort chosen, which deale in place of the whole Church, & they be called Ministers of the Church. For if we would all preach together, it would be like a noise of Frogges. Howbeit euery priuate man hath keyes, with his neighbour, and may deale with him by the worde of God: and if he shall discouer vnto him his sinne, he may comfort, admonish and exhort him by the worde of God: which worde of GOD, if he beleeue, his sinnes be forgiuen him, and heauen is opened: but if he beleeue not, his sinnes are retained, and he is bounde. And thus much of the keyes. Blessed bee God which hath giuen such power to men.

An Oration or Sermon out

of the 2. Chapter of Malachie, of the profit and worthinesse of the holy Ministerie.

When it was thought meete (good people and deare brethren in Iesus Christ) that in this distribution of monie, somewhat should be said for the perswading and comforting of you, that euen as the outward want of the bodie is somewhat relieued, so your mindes might be incouraged to goe forward in the studie of Diuinitie. It was laide vppon me, who albeit I want no good will to yeld vnto honest and iust requestes, yet doe I feele that those thinges doe in a manner faile wherewith I vse to exhort vnto that indeuour which is most necessarie to the Church, aswell for that my witte serues me not readilie to inuent, as because I haue both here and in the scholes oftentimes spoken of this matter. And that all these thinges might nothing hinder me, I haue had in deede but small time to consider hereof, not onelie in respect of short space of time, but by reason of the exceeding griefe of minde conceaued for the lamentable and vntimelie death of our most excellent king. Howbeit that I neglect not in this due- The vntimelie death of king Edward the 6. tie those thinges which God would minister vnto vs, I will in fewe wordes set forth vnto you that which the text doth offer. I beseech Christ, that those thinges which I shall speake to his glorie & your profit may reape such fruite as I desire: whereof I shall be in great hope, if you willinglie and diligentlie giue heede vnto me. I see deere brethren, that the chiefest cause why manie are called back from the studie of the holie scriptures, and from the Ministerie of the Church is because both this function at this day is accounted vnprofitable, and as thinges gone at this day without estimation. And therefore mans nature desiring profitable & godlie thinges, sloth from the perfect knowledge of the holie scripture as a thing barren and vnfruitefull, and it also refuseth the Ministerie of the Church, because there is scarcelie seene in it anie authoritie, anie honour or excellencie. Wherefore since herein consists the whole & summe of this matter, I thinke it good to set forth two thinges vnto you: First that there are singular commodities and great honour in the holie function. Secondlie that the de-

spilling and contemning of the Ministers procedeth of farre other causes, than from their nature and propertie: the which if Ministers would take heede of, both they should be happie, and without doubt be had in great honor and estimation. These thinges if I shall make plaine, especiallie by the authoritie of the word of God, there shall be no more cause but that you may desire with a glad and chearefull minde to enter into this office whereunto you be called. Albeit, there are in the holie scriptures manie thinges which doe much serue to this purpose, yet will I at this time take in hand to interprete a peece of the 2. Chapter of the Prophet Malachie.

Mal.2 4. And ye shall know that I haue sent this commaundement vnto you, that my couenant which I haue made with Leui might stand saith the Lord of hostes. My couenant was with him of life and peace, and I gaue him feare, and he feared me, and was afraid before my name. The lawe of trueth was in his mouth, and there was no iniquitie found in his lippes. He walked with me in peace and equitie, and he turned manie from their vnrighteousnesse. For the Priestes lippes shal keepe knowledge, and they shall seeke the lawe at his mouth, for he is the Ambassadour of the Lord of hostes. But ye haue gone out of the way, ye haue caused manie to fall in the lawe, ye haue made voide the couenant of Leui saith the Lord of hostes, Therefore haue I also made you despised and vile before all the people, because ye kept not my waies, but haue beene partiall in the lawe.

To the Priestes doth the Lord say, that his purpose was euen from the beginning, that the couenant betweene him and Leui, that is the order of Priesthood should be established. And seeing in a manner in the first wordes are comprehended whatsoeuer fruit and commoditie there is in the priesthood, I beseech you that ye will diligentlie consider of those wordes with me. The couenant (saith he) with him was of life and peace, and I gaue him those thinges, &c. Here first of all would I vnderstand of you what as the last and chiefe end should be desired. I knowe you will say that felicitie is to be wished for. But the same vnlesse I be greatlie deceaued consistes in two thinges. First that there be no want of anie honest good thing which may serue to adorne and make vs perfect. For our minde is neuer pacified nor yet is it euer at rest, vnlesse it haue attained to a ful measure of all good thinges. And this doth God now comprehend vnder the name of peace. Hereof it comes that the Hebrewes when they salute anie bodie, doe say, Schalomlac, Peace be vnto thee, Euen as they testifie in the Gospell: Christ vnder the name hereof wished perfect health vnto his, saying: Peace be vnto you: And he commaunded his Apostles that into what house soeuer they entred they should foorthwith say: Peace be vnto this house. And thus you your selues perceiue what God meant, when in the couenant which he made with the Leuites he promiseth peace: He promised in deede abundance and plentie of all good thinges to the Leuites. The other point of felicitie is, that it be not fitting, but firme and constant. For the good thinges which we possesse seeme not to be fullie good, if they may be easilie taken away. Wherefore to the intent that God might assure them of the stedfastnesse of his promise, he added, Of life, that they might not onelie know that they should haue peace, but also that they should line therein. So then seeing GOD would haue these promises annexed to the priesthood, can you perswade your selfe that the Ministerie is an vnprofitable, barren & vnfruitfull thing? Let others beleeue this, but he that vnderstandeth the way of the chiefe felicitie will not runne into the way of so strange and absurde an opinion. Why then doth our flesh complaine? Without doubt he that is not content with ỹ chiefe felicitie can finde nothing else wherein he may repose himself. He whole grédinesse cannot be satisfied herewith, will neuer be satisfied by anie other meanes. He that will not fullie replenish himselfe herewith, shall be vacāt & emptie whither soeuer he goe. But for so great a commoditie promised vnto vs, what on ỹ other side doth God because of ỹ couenant require of vs? Euen a due honor and obedience which in the Hebrewe he calleth Feare. And I gaue those thinges vnto him in respect of feare, and he feared me, he was afraid before my name, &c. These wordes he speaketh of Phinees the sonne of Eleazer, for with him the couenant was made, and such thinges were then spoken vnto him. But let euerie one of vs thinke them to be spoken vnto him, let him obey and reuerence God aboue all thinges, let him continuallie haue regard to his commaundementes, let the lawe neuer slippe out of his minde, let him be grēuoulie afraid to violate euen the least of his commaundementes: against which, if at anie time he perceiue himselfe to haue committed

The fruite and profite of the ministerie.

anie thing, that let him with exceāding griefe of minde and with great sorowe detest. This must be the first care of the Minister as touching integrite of life, and these two partes of the couenant are one aunswerable vnto the other. God promiseth life and peace, let vs on the other side yeeld vnto him and his will, worship, reuerence, and feare.

The honour and dignitie of the ministerie. But because there hath bin enough spoken of the profite and commoditie, now let vs consider of the honour and dignitie. The lawe of trueth was in his mouth, and there was no iniquitie found in his lippes. He walked in peace and in equitie, and turned manie from their wickednesse: for the Priestes lippes shall keepe knowledge, and they shall seeke the lawe at his mouth, for he is the Ambassador of the Lord of hostes &c. If we will know what maiestie, ornament, and honor God ioyned to the holy Ministerie, let vs consider the last wordes of the sentence rehearsed: Because he is the Ambassador of the Lord of hostes &c. If it be a singular gift of God to be a man, not a brute beast, so as manie euen of the Ethnickes thought meete to giue thankes to God for the same: againe if it be so glorious a thing to excell among men, so as in a manner all mens indeuors bend thereunto: now doth this without all controuersie excell all nobilitie and excellencie, to know that we be not men but the messengers of God. It is no meane gift to be an Ambassador of anie prince, much more honorable to be sent of a noble king, and yet more honorable to be sent of an Emperour. But to haue a message in the name of God and of Christ as Paul said, is an incomparable honour. Loke how much heauenlie thinges excell worldlie, so much doth the being of a messenger of God excell all the honours of this life.

2.Cor.5.20

The office of the ministers of GOD. Wherefore yée haue heard the commodities and greatnesse of this vocation, it remaineth that we let forth the duetie which wée our selues ought to shew, that we dishonour not so great and so worthie gifts: The lippes

Malac.2.7. of the priest (saith he) shal keepe knowledge, and they shall seeke the lawe at his mouth, &c. This must they haue a speciall care of, that they be skilfull in holy & diuine thinges: but this shall they neuer obtaine, vnlesse that night and day they occupie themselues in reading the holy scriptures. And it is not without force that the minister is saide to keepe knowledge and that with his lippes. For this keeping first of al consisteth herein, that he beware that no lie at any time procéede from him: seconly that hee alter not those things which he teacheth out of the holie scriptures. but that he defend them with a constant fortitude, but not of the flesh (for that belongeth to the magistrate) but with the lippes, that is, by most assured reasons drawne from the fountaines and treasure of the worde of God. Moreouer for somuch as so great a knowledge is prepared not for himselfe alone but for others, the minister must both be able and willing to aunswere concerning al things which belong vnto saluation. For some there be, that iudge not worst of religion, who are also learned, and (to say the trueth) not vnskilfull of the holie scriptures, but those things which they know they impart to others, either no way at all, or else maliciously. But the messengers which are described by the Prophet are no such manner of men. Because at their mouth the lawe of God is required, therefore let them do their duetie that they be the expounders of the will of God, or else let them leaue off to be the ministers of the Church, or as the Prophet speaketh the messengers of the Lorde. They verily (that we may still continue in things pertaining to men) are called lawiers, which giue counsell out of the lawe and interprete the lawes: For which cause these also, since they bee cunning in the scriptures of God, must both aunswere by them, and must interpret them vnto the people of God. God by the right of the couenant promiseth vnto vs, as ye haue heard the honour of Angels: but on the other side he requireth of vs that we shoulde be studious in the worde of God, and thereof to be good and liberall interpreters where, and at what time it is required of vs: and required it is, when wee see the people of God vntaught, hungry, and in a manner perishing for lacke of succour, & infected on euerie side with wicked and peruerse opinions. Which although it haue often heeretofore happened, and euen in other places doth easily happen: Notwithstanding we doe yet euen at this day, especially in Oxford so many of vs as haue an earnest zeale to learning, seeke it to our great griefe. Yeere the common sort of people is so vnskilful as ỹ Gospel séemes but a fable vnto them. Héere euen to this day after the feast of Easter are vsed no sermons publikely. Heere are all thinges so clearely ridde of the tuyce of the pure and syncere doctrine, that euen the fountaines themselues growe dzie and vncleane. Yolwe in a manner all things are here infected with superstitious and peruerse opinions, howsoeuer wee dissemble it, the thing it selfe cannot be hidden. How manie Colleges (I beseech you) are in this Citie Oxford.

(let those which bee the faithfull and godlie distributers of the Almes declare) which either cannot or will not yelde so much as one prosello or preacher of the Gospell. Should not the wisemen which be here thinke with themselues that the common welth, church, and magistrate will thus say, Is this the profite that we reape by so great expenses? Is this the fruite that the common weale gathereth by ministring of liberall charges and things necessarie? Is this the earnest affection that we see in these places of the Gospel publikely receiued? Is this the diligence that the pastors & gouernors of the Church vse to further ẏ godly indeuors of the kings maiestie? I beseech you what else is this but to foster in the bosome manie lurking enemies of godlinesse and poysoned serpents: neither are they ashamed in the meane time onely to send children to receiue the benefite of the almes, but those in verie deede they do afterward instruct at home after their owne pleasure in vngodlinesse. And some haue not beene content onely to thinke ill and to bee vnwilling to further the proceeding of godlinesse, but haue not satisfied their minde vnlesse they came forth and testified for themselues and their associates that they would not allow of the trueth set forth. Who hath compelled any man to beleeue, who causeth any violence? Who constraineth any man to haue a good opinion or to professe the doctrine of the Gospell? Seeing therefore they cannot complaine hereof, why doe they then willingly and openly bewray the poyson and pestilence of their minde? Undoubtedly wee haue not of al these companies neither do we looke for, except God as it is saide be present with vs, who according to the saying of the Prophet may preserue and keepe knowledge with their lippes, and of whose mouth the loue of God may be required and demanded.

But least we should complaine that without any example God requireth these things of vs, our Malachie affirmeth that Phinees performed the same: The law of truth was in his mouth, and there was no iniquitie founde in his lippes: he walked with me in peace and equitie, and turned a great manie from their vngodlinesse, &c. First he rehearseth two things wherwith those most ancient priests were indued. For as touching doctrine and preaching they were syncere and true. For in opinions and iudgements they lied not at all, they vttered no otherwise with their mouth than they thought from their heart: and finally they had no respect of persons, some speaking one thing and some another, but they syncerely taught al things and euerie where to all men. Secondly as touching conuersation and life they had peace, namely being iustified by faith: for hereof proceedeth peace & tranquillitie in conscience towards God. Afterward is added, In equitie: for that iustification in their hearts was not barren, void and fruitlesse, but it yelded abundance of fruite which euen of men themselues, so they would rightly iudge of them, might be allowed. And this is to preach not onely with pure doctrine but also with innocencie of life. And what insueth hereof at length, our prophet declareth: And he turned away manie from their vngodlinesse. This is in verie deede to fish happilie for men, to winne vnto Christ the people committed to our charge, and to till the fielde of mens hearts, filling them with profitable and fruitfull seede. These thinges are not brought to passe by armes, by the inuentions of men, by superstitious ceremonies, by vnctions, by hauings of the heade, and by the marks of orders, but by the example of an innocent life & pure doctrine men are drawne vnto God, and are perswaded to forsake their former vngodlinesse. Wherefore it is not sufficient for ministers to excell in Godly and sounde knowledge. It is not ynough for them to liue in vpright and honest behauiour, vnlesse they indeuour to conuert men vnto God. These things did Christ require of the Apostles if we perule the Gospels. These things did Paul preach vnto Timothie, to Titus, and welneere in all the Epistles if we will heare him vnto them, neither did the garments of the priests in the old testament shadowe any other thing. In the brest was Vrim and Thumim which is light and perfection, because God would that by the light of doctrine they houlde be famous, further that they should be of most pure maners and integritie of life. Also in the skirts of their garments there were belles, because it behooued that their doctrine should sounde and be heard in the Church. And forsomuch as it was to be prouided that it houlde not be done with vaine noyse and iangling, to the belles were ioyned Pomgranats, a fruit doubtlesse pleasant and beautifull. And that they might vnderstand, that there was a charge laide vpon them to draw men vnto God, they ware engrauen vpon their houlders and breests the names of the xij. tribes. But lastly they carried about them written vpon the cap which they ware, the most holy name of God whose messengers they were. By all these thinges if you beare them in mind, ye may easilie gather the commodities and dignities of the holy ministerie.

Matt.10.7. 1.Tim.4. 13. 2.Tim.2. 15. Tit.3.18. Exo.25.&c

But

Why the holie ministerie is contemned.

But nowe to holde you no longer in this matter than is meete, I will declare in fewe words by what fault of ours it comes to passe that the order of ecclesiasticall men is destitute of her commodities and of the common sort to greatlie contemned. But yee haue declined from mee, &c. It is as much as if he shoulde saie: It is your fault which haue not stode to your promises and couenantes, therefore haue I spoyled you of your honours and profitable commodities. You are salt without sauour, therefore shall yee be cast out of the dores and trodden vnder foote. Yee be a light vnder a bushell, therefore shall yee be counted vile and dishonorable. Ye builde not the citie vpon a hill, that your good workes maie be manifest vnto all men, but in the depest valleies, where your buildings are defiled on euerie side with the mudde and mire of lustes. Wherefore haue ye brought vpon you these euils: thus lost yee your commodities: on this wise haue ye your selues cast awaie the honour and nobleneſse of your order. And yee haue caused manie to fall in the way, &c. Yee that should haue drawen men vnto God, ye haue both by peruerse doctrine, by example of most vnpure life, and also by superstitious rites called them from the right course, when otherwise they were in a good forwardnesse. Yee haue made voide the couenantes of Leuie saith the Lord of hosts, &c. The conditions and couenauntes houlde haue beene inuiolate on both sides. Let vs consider whether of vs kept or brake the promises. I as I promised vnto your Fathers, gaue you peace and life, for they liued a long time in great glorie and happie state. Yea verilie that same Phinees with whome I made my couenant liued a verie long time. For as it is in the booke of Iudges, hee was yet on liue when all the Tribes made war against Beniamin. And if we shall giue credite to Iosephus, that people had from Aaron to the building of the Temple of Salomon onely 13. highpriests and all of one and the selfe same stocke namelie of Aaron, and in the meane space were welneere fiue hundreth yeares. And no man can iustlie obiect but that they were accounted as the messengers of God. Wherefore let vs conselle God to be faithfull, whose wordes abide euerlastinglie in most assured equitie and trueth. So nowe is the syncerite of Gods promise sufficiently prooued and made manifest. But on the other side (saith he) you haue broken the couenant to whome onelie this sufficed, and this yee accounted for your chiefe and singular benefite, that your superstitious ceremonies, tithes and reuenues might remaine vntouched: but as for trueth, knowledge, equitie and compassion of heart you had none. So farre were you off from bringing home and raising vp them that were fallen, that ye haue beene a hinderaunce euen to them that goe and stande vpright. Ye shewed not your selfe my Angels, that is my messengers: Naie rather ye haue pleaded for the aduersarie power, for the world, for darknesse and for the Pope himselfe, and soner for anie power than for mine. And euen I also haue caused you to bee had in contempt. Nowe is the cause plaine why the ministers of God be cast downe, why they are vile, contemptible, and in a manner despised of all men, and maie seeme of all men to be made a mocking stocke: Because yee haue not kept my waies, &c. Your calamitie is not ascribed to the fault of your order as though such were the condition and nature thereof: For all thinges which be created haue these properties which the worde of God hath giuen vnto them. Wherefore seeing wee perceaue them to be most surelie kept in other things, can the holie ministerie, which among the ordinances of God is so excellent, be iustlie accused of falling awaie either through fault of God or it selfe from the auncient & most excellent properties thereof? It is said here to haue happened farre otherwise: For because yee haue not kept my wayes but haue beene partiall in the lawe, &c. I beseech you beare hether, what is to bee partiall in the lawe & in the administration of the worde of God, but to haue in ẏ holie ministerie a chiefe consideration of him selfe? To prouide especiallie that no harme come to his owne commodities, honours and substance that he hath gotten? To take heede that he offende not the rich, mightie, noble, nor principall men? To prouide with singular care, that they maie still retaine the partes and superstitious opinions which they haue once taken vppon them to defende? Let rather the trueth (say they) preuaile, let the scripture bee subiect to the traditions and inuentions of men. Let the worde of God serue the priestlie maiestie or rather Tyrannie. And as for Religion, let not the heauenlie oracles of the diuine Scriptures, but rather our wils order the same. Verilie this saide the Prophete or rather God in him. And yee haue beene partiall in the lawe. Which thing the Apostles did not and the most godlie Prelates of the Church which liued in the best times thereof. And in verie deede in the time of Moses and Aaron the Leuites were armed from gate to gate of the tentes, sparing neither

Iudg.20.

mother nor brethren nor children, and for this cause are saide to haue consecrated their handes therein. Therefore I beartilie pray & beseech you my brethren for Jesus Christ his sake, that so manie of you as either haue alreadie taken vppon you the holie ministerie or doe loke to come thereunto, ye will regarde the same not as an vnprofitable and vile thing. Consider diligentlie what bee the honours, commodities, and couenauntes thereof, stand ye to the promised conditions, and doubt ye nothing of the faith of Almightie God, and of our sauiour Jesus Christ. For he is true, stedfast and most assured in performming those thinges which hee hath promised: Heauen and earth (saith the Lord) shall perish, but my wordes shall not perishe. And these thinges as touching the holie ministerie are spoken to you that be the Elders. Nowe I thinke it good to saie somewhat vnto the younger sort, and to the children.

An Exhortation for young men to studie the holie scriptures.

REioyce (gentle Auditorie) at this your diligence in comming together to heare the interpretation of the holie Scriptures. And this I doe not without a cause. For since that this will proceedeth not from the flesh, from the sense, or from nature: it is vndoubtedlie giuen from aboue, it is giuen you from heauen, and from Gods holie spirite inspired into your heart.

Rom.7.12 For seeing the lawe is spiritual, and the commaundement, holie, iust, and good, as Paul declareth, and wee on the other side, enil, corrupt, and altogether wicked: it cannot bee, but ye we hate the sayings of God, the lawe, and the Scriptures. Therefore so manie as shall not be stirred vp by the spirit of Christ, doe both flee vnto them, and doe also hate them most greuouslie, not for anie fault in the scriptures, but for their owne corruption. What same people of Israel that was but a small nation and nowe hardened in perpetuall infidelitie, did not onelie hate holie Mo-

Numb.11. 14.16.&c. ses, but diuerse times indeuored to stone him to death which was the greatest punishment wherewith the people punished malefactors. It cannot be declared howe greuous, troublesome, and hatefull that man of God was to the whole multitude, whenas in verie deede he was most quiet, amiable, and courteous, whom God pronounced to bee most meeke and gentle. A true testimonie where, of he thereby showed, in that he most earnestlie praied vnto God for them, whom he saw to bee inflamed with infinite enuie and vnspeakeable hatred against him, and desired that himselfe might rather be wiped out of the booke of life, than that they should suffer extreme punishment as they deserued. Wherefore it is plaine, that the people did wrongfullie beare such hatred against him, and not through anie fault of his. And mee thinkes I doe not vnfitlie in comparing the holie Scriptures vnto Moses the most chosen Prophete of God, because their counsell is alike, and their purpose are one. For as Moses did leade vnto the promised lande as to a hauen of all the labours taken in hande, so the holie scripture for all beleeuers openeth the waie vnto the high felicitie, and teacheth them the sentences of doctrine and the rules of good manners, the which (as I thinke) is by Paul called καλὴ παραθήκη that is, a good treasurie. For what can we imagine to be more excellent than the knowledge of God and his most excellent will whereby he hath decreed to saue vs through Christ? These thinges are sealed and laide vp in the holie Scriptures for our bailie vses. Therefore it is required that if there be in vs anie indeuour of knowing God, if wee haue anie desire of our owne saluation, we should with all care, diligence and watchfulnesse, keepe this excellent thing committed vnto vs, least it be caught awaie, polluted, or be held in greater darknesse than the darknesse of Cimmeria. Manie they bee of whome it is enuironed and assaulted. The Pharisees with great hypocrisie darken the same. The Sadduces ouerthrow it as much as they can with the opinions of Epicurus. The monstrous Centaurs the Papists, vnlesse we beware, will with their traditions & decrees leade it awaie in bandes to captiuitie. Finally the Cyclopian Giants, being the tyrants of this world, indeuour by persecution, violence, and tyrannie to rent it in sunder. Wherefore we must take heede and must withstande their blasphemies, contumelies and iniuries. Howbeit this caution we ought to vse, that vnto the taunts and railings which these men obiect, wee must answere nothing of our owne head or of our owne opinion. Whatsoeuer is spoken by them, let vs referre it to our Senate, let vs set it downe to be considered of in our Councell: and that consisteth of Moses lawe, of the holy histories, of the Psalmes of Dauid, of most prudent instructions of Iob and Salomon,

Ibidem.

A comperison betweene Moses and the Scriptures.

2. Tim.3. 14. The brightie of the holie Scriptures.

mon, of the foresellings of the Prophets, of the holy Euangelists, and of the Apostolicall Epistles. This is our armorie, from hence doe we fetche for weapons, shilues, and all the furniture of our warre. But and if we had bin hitherto faithfull and godly keepers of these sentences and ordinances of the senate, so many lies, superstitions and abuses should not haue bin admitted into Religion. Manie wilesome as it hath bin accustomed, began to loath and contemne the holy scriptures, as though the same were now wearie of Manna, and of the bread giuen from heauen, and it iudged the holy scripture to be so vile and simple, as though it could straightwaie attaine to the whole vnderstanding thereof euen with one twinke of eye, and with one breath. If supposed it to be ynough to reade ouer the same once, and by a taste of one or two Bookes it iudged of the whole worthinesse thereof, it laide it aside and determined to seeke wilesome elsewhere also. Neither coulde it perceiue howe sundrie and manifolde a treasure of doctrine and knowledge may be founde in one sentence, yea and oftentimes in one worde of the holy Scriptures. Where were neuer any Rhetoricians of this world, that haue had so many ornaments, figures, tropes, colours, and formes and manners of speaking, as the holy Ghost hath vsed in one and the selfesame thing, infinite waies to be handled. There is not in any power of man, such varietie and abundance of things, as is in the sayings of God: in the which, no man is at any time sufficiently instructed: no man seeth all things. Those things which bee there contained, are knowen, howbeit in part. The holy Ghost hath there reserued many things as yet secrete to himselfe, that he may haue vs to bee scholers euen till the ende of the worlde. Neeuer among theiweth he sometimes to allure vs, and something he teacheth that he may dispose the mindes of them that be the readers. But there is not vppon the earth, so great a varietie of herbes, flowers, plantes, and fruits, as their is abundance of diuine senses in the holy scriptures. O that we would perswade our selues, that those diuine sayings are golde, siluer, Emeraudes, Saphires, pretious stones, and most swéete honie: no man woulde at any time suffer himselfe to bee plucked away from them. But that the holy scripture is to bee beloued aboue Golde and the Topayze, more earnestly to be desired than pretious stones, and more swéeter than the honie and the honie combe, Dauid declared, who was perpe-

Psal.19. tually conuersant therein: whom, whosoeuer will imitate, whether he goe out or come in, he shall finde most happie Pastures. But I see before hand what some will obiect, that the scriptures by reason of obscurenesse and difficultie are not sufficient, therefore wee must rather labour in reading of the fathers which haue interpreted them, & haue plainely taught what is there obscurely had. Here doe our aduersaries bragge, here doe they hope of greater triumphes than ỳ triumphes of Pompei: who neuertheleste see not in the meane while, or else faine themselues not to see, what Labyrinthes there bee of the Fathers, what winding riuers, what turnings in and out are founde in their writings: what an infinite thing it is to reade them all ouer, and those things which thou hast read, to keepe in memorie. I will demaunde of them, that when there happen to be obscure places in the fathers, what shall I doe, whither shall I flie? There shall succeede other fathers who may interprete the former, and when againe there happeneth obscurenesse and difficultie in them, there shall be appointed other later interpretours, so as the matter will neuer haue ende. And vndoubtedly, that which I seeme to suppose doeth nowe happen in deede. The Fathers of the former time were interpreted by the Fathers that came after. For Augustine against Iulian the Pelagian, and else where, alleageth Basill, Gregorie Nazianzene, Chrysostome, Ambrose, and the elder Fathers for witnesses of his opinion. Afterward Gregorie, Bede, and others that came after did interprete the same Augustine. And when there coulde bee neither ende nor measure, there came Peter Lumbarde, to make all harde places plaine. But I beseeche you euen for that diuinitie sake which is common to both, how much did he profit? It behoued that he had infinitie interpretours. Thomas, Scotus, and Occamus were appointed as chiefe guides, who coulde speake nothing so scholastically or as they speake so matterlike, as they might bring the trueth out of darknesse. Vnto Thomas there was néede of expounders, those were Caietanus and Capreolus. Vnto Scotus there came afterwarde Zorobellus and Lescheetus, to Occamus was associated Gabriel Biel, and Gregorie Ariminensis. All these men as it is most euident, did profite so much, that they filled all with darknesse. Why then will wee thus wittinglie and aduisedlie erre? Let vs returne I beseech you, let vs returne to the first fountaines of the scriptures. Socrates being an Ethnick so much attributed to the light of nature, that if he had by iust order bred his interro-

An obiection touching the obscurenesse of the scriptures.

Socrates.

interrogations to a young man though he were vnlearned in what ſcience he would traine him vp, he ſaid that he might be able to anſwere fitlie & rightlie to al ſciences. And thal we attribute ſo litle vnto ỳ ſpirit of God who is a father of the fatherleſſe, and a Maiſter of young children, that he cannot by his ſcriptures inſpired with the heauenlie light throughlie teach that which Socrates by his interrogations promiſed to doe, in humane things? When there is mention made of the obſcurenelle of the ſcriptures, why doe we not call to minde the ſhipmens art? A wiſe ſhipmaiſter being holpen by ſtudie and exercile, may know the times in which the ſhippes ſhould be brought forth of their harbors, and perceiue the reaſons which otherwiſe are verie doubtfull as touching the windes, neither is he anie thing leſſe ſkilfull of the wayes, the iourneies, the pathes, the coaſtes, the turninges, the nereſt wayes of the wide Sea, and that in the night ſeaſon, than he is of his owne towne, highwaies, or ſtreetes: and no leſſe doth he auoid the Rockes and ſands, than we doe holes, Cartes, and ditches. Let vs accuſtome our ſelues to the word of God, let vs continualtie be occupied in the holie ſcriptures, let vs be earneſt in the reading of them: and by the beneſite of Chriſtes ſpirit, thoſe things which be neceſſarie to ſaluatiō ſhal be plaine, direct, and moſt manifeſt vnto vs. It happeneth oftentimes, that the darkneſſe of the ſcriptures is imputed to our ſloth and lightnes. They which ſeke pretious ſtones in the ſea, do not ſit nere the ſhore, & picture out vpon ỳ ſands, or number the waues or winds, but doe ſeand downe euen vnto the bottome, and doe dying vp pretious ſtones from vnder the water, and haue that which they deſire. They which ſearch out for gold or ſiluer in the baines of the earth, doe not lightlie digge in the vppermoſt part: but they perce euen as it were into the bottome and the verie depth, and at the length doe gather from thence ſome crummes of gold. Euen ſo if we would vſe the ſelfe ſame diligence and digilancie about the word of God, we ſhould attaine vnto thoſe thinges which be obſcure. There is nothing ſo hard but that with continuall vſe it is made eaſie, nor anie thing ſo painfull but with labour it is ouercome. They call them into ſuſpition becauſe they are ſometimes one againſt an other. But how the fathers doe otherwhile diſagree one from an other, I thinke none of you are ignorant. As touching them which be the principall, I haue manie times noted vnto you when opportunitie did ſerue. But others which are of the common ſort of Diuines doe ſo contend, as the matter is handled by railings and taunts, & oftentimes they come to blowes & handſtrokes. But in the holie ſcriptures, there is nothing that ſo greatlie diſagreeth, but ỳ if we ſhal with diligent heed diſcuſſe the places which diſagree, we may eaſilie reconcile them. Will you aſcribe vnto the fathers this authoritie, that they ſhould be more excellent than the holie ſcriptures, which thing themſelues beare greneuslie and vnwillinglie? If they allowe anie thing, they alledge the holie ſcriptures. If they be preſſed with anie authoritie, they appeale vnto them, and doe teach that ſo we ought to doe. If you giue them ſo much credit in other thinges, why doe you not beleeue them in this? But they are wont to ſay, that heretickes haue the ſcriptures and doe ſeduce: We on the other ſide alſo doe alledge ſcriptures againſt them, we contend and cannot agree: who then ſhall be the Iudge, who ſhall finiſh the controuerſie? Paw here alſo they thinke that they haue prouided. Howbeit, I would faine aſke of them, how the firſt fathers did, which contended with the Ethnickes: they vndoubtedlie had no other but the ſcriptures, and with thoſe teſtimonies they confuted them. But will they ſay, that the power of the ſpirit is at this day diminiſhed, or the holie ſcripture changed? If theſe in our time remaine the ſelfeſame, why doe not we alſo aſſuredlie truſt that the ſelfeſame thing may be done [of vs:] If the fathers were not neceſſarie at that time, why doe we thinke that religion at this day cannot be defended without them? And that eſpeciallie, ſeeing the heretickes will eaſilie ſay that they are not bound to admitte all the ſentences of the fathers? Doe not I beſeech you, doe not perſwade your ſelues, that the fathers ſpake all things. Which one of them, Chryſoſtome [by name] vppon Geneſis, Homilie the 3. manifeſtlie confeſſeth, when he ſaith: Of great abundance vndoubtedlie is this treaſure, and large is the fruitfulneſſe of this fountaine. Neither doe thou maruell wellbeloued, if theſe thinges doe happen vnto vs: euen they which were before vs, did withall their power drawe waters from thence, and in like manner they which ſhall come after vs ſhall attempt the ſame: neither yet ſhall they like wiſe be able wholie to emptie it. Howbeit, I would not by theſe thinges which I haue ſpoken either get my ſelfe hatred, or ſtirre vp enuie as though I went about to extenuate the authoritie of the fathers, or to remoue their doctrine out of the Church. It is not ſo: I know and freelie graunt that I greatlie profited by reading of the fathers, and I doe alſo francklie confeſſe, that they haue bin no ſmall helpe vnto me: For by them I vnderſtood manie thinges, which otherwiſe perhappes by my ſelfe I ſhould not haue throughlie perceiued. I know that the Eunuke in his chariot reade the ſcriptures, but yet concerning them he was taught by Philip. It would be a verie great arrogancie and intollerable pride, that one man ſhould challenge vnto himſelfe the whole knowledge of the holie ſcriptures. What other thing might this be thought than to offer himſelfe of his owne accord to be intrapped in the diuels ſnares? By this way we ſhould moſt manifeſtlie tempt God, and by contemning of godlie and learned men which might ſeeme to waite to be rapted vp together with Paul into the third heauen, Cornelius the Centurion was ſent vnto Peter to be inſtructed of him. Neither ought we to be ignorant that men be the Temples of the holie ghoſt, from whence God is wont manie times to drawe out his Oracles. And while in the Church one teacheth an other, charitie is both preſerued and increaſed. Why I beſeech you doe we euerie day come hither? Aſſuredlie that we may deale together as touching the holie ſcriptures; and therefore we diſpute openlie, that we maie one heare an other, and one learne of an other. Wherefore let thē be no more angrie with me, which perhaps haue ſuſpected ỳ I goe about to weed away from the faithfull either ỳ reading or doctrine of ỳ fathers. I ſaid not ſuch things as they ſuppoſe I did, but this I ſaid, ỳ the fathers and euerie other writer muſt be read with iudgemēt, ſo ỳ euerie doctrine may be tried by ỳ touchſtone of ỳ holy ſcriptures. And if we will this doe, we ſhall not do any injurie to the fathers: nay rather (which is a point of their godlineſſe) there can be nothing more thankful or more deſired of them than is this. Paul is content that his tradition as touching a woman to haue her head couered, ſhould be allowed of: in like maner that ỳ things which be decreed, namely, that he ought to be ſilent in the Church, ſhould be iudged of ſuch as be ſpirituall. Wherefore the fathers alſo, ſeeing they acknowledge themſelues to be much inferior vnto Paul, wil not diſdain to be tried by the rule of the ſpirit of God and of the holie ſcriptures. Seeing therefore the diuine ſcripture teacheth the knowledge of God, ſheweth the ſecrets of the will of God touching mans ſaluation, miniſtreth in great ſtore both armor and anſweres againſt vngodlineſſe; let it be more precious and dere than all riches and worldly delights: let it be plaine and in matters neceſſarie to ſaluation euident: let it not be accounted ſo repugnant but that the diſſention thereof may eaſily be reconciled: let it be of it ſelfe alone able to confute heretikes: neither let all the fathers be able to drawe out the full ſenſe thereof: but finally let all things be tried by the examination of the ſame. I beſeech you by the God immortall, that wee may ioyne our labours together, I in teaching, & you in hearing: let vs applie our ſelues with all diligence to the word of God. We are called diuines, and ſuch would we be accounted: Let vs anſwere to our name and profeſſion, vnleſſe in the ſtede of diuine ſpeakers we will be called father ſpeakers. Moreouer our profeſſion altogether requireth, that we ſhould exerciſe the word of God, wherein we do ſingular honour vnto him: for we doe ſacrifice in verie deede. Prayers are accounted in the number of ſacrifices: Thoſe the holy ſcriptures haue in euerie place: Thanks giuings are bokes, and they are euerie where in the holie ſcriptures. Confeſſions of ſinnes, and prailes of God, are declared to be moſt acceptable ſacrifices vnto God, from which the holy ſcripture is neuer in a manner remoued. And therefore ſince, (thanks be to God) the maſſe hath beene taken away, being a ſuperſtitious and deteſtable ſacrifice as was affirmed, let vs to this onely* [ſacrifice] apply our ſelues with all our heart. With theſe ſtudies of the lippes God is delighted: and while we ſpeake with him in the ſcriptures, he will vndoubtedly vouchſafe to be preſent. Againe if we ſhall purely and ſyncerely handle the holy ſcriptures as it becommeth vs, we ſhall deſerue well of them. For they haue beene long time ſhut vp in the priſon of oblivion: deliuer you them by renewing the memorie of them. They lay vnknowne in the darkneſſe of mans traditions: let yē them at libertie, by reſtoring them to their native and naturall ſenſe. They being oppreſſed, did remaine in the filthines of ſuperſtitions: bring yē them from thence, that they may defende the pure and true worſhipping of God. They dwelt in the vncleannelle of the defiled and polluted life of ſacrificing Prieſts: now loke that yē garniſh them with excellent and good manners. This ſhalbe a ſingular victorie. Theſe ſhalbe iuſt triumphs for diuines, that they haue procured libertie to the holie ſcriptures. And this ſhall you not doe without your great profite and commoditie. For as experience might teach you, our heart is variable, changeable, and moſt inconſtant, but it can neuer be made firme and ſtedfaſt, vnleſſe

Similitudes.

A ſimilitude

That the holie ſcriptures ſeme oftentimes to be repugnant.

Act.8.29.
Act.10.5.

1.Co.11.23

1.Co.14.37

* That is to the reading of the ſcriptures.

vnleſſe it doe leane vnto ſome thing that is moſt firme: and what can wee finde more firme and ſtedfaſt than the worde of God? The ſame abideth for euer and wauereth on neither part. Furthermore all that we haue is made bright and moſt beautifull thereby. This whereas I might ſhewe by many reaſons, I will only recite one example of Moſes. He by talking with God, obtained ſuch a brightneſſe in his face, that the children of Iſrael could not abide his ſight for compaſſe. So ſhall it happen vnto you. By frequenting of the holy ſcriptures, you ſhall ſhewe forth beautifull workes, ſo that they which ſhall ſee them cannot chuſe but glorifie the father: your words ſhalbe ſo effectuall as when by the holie ſcriptures they be bent againſt impietie and erroꝛ, they ſhall ſeeme to be as thunder and lightening, and truſt me, no aduerſaries ſhalbe able to abide them. To conclude, loke what felicitie can be had while we liue heere, that is included in the holy ſcriptures. For Dauid ſaide, that he is bleſſed, whoſe will is in the lawe of the Lord, and in the ſame dooth meditate day & night. Which meditation that it may be rightlie prepared of you, you muſt vnderſtande that it chiefly conſiſteth in two things: The firſt is, that yee moſt diligentlie weigh the words and ſentences which you happen to reade: For they be moſt fruitfull, and doe comprehend in them an innumerable ſort of excellent thinges. The ſeconde is, that yee ſearch among the ſcriptures for other places, which concurre with thoſe thinges that ye haue in hand. For there is nothing that ſerueth more for explaning of the holy ſcriptures, than do the ſcriptures themſelues. A profitable, and alſo a pleaſant hunting is this, not of hartes or of boares, but of heauenly treaſures, whereby we may prepare all things neceſſarie for our iourney, euen into heauen. But in hunting out of theſe thinges we muſt clime the moſt high mountaine, whereby we may goe beyond reaſon, ſenſe and humaine wiſedome, that we being placed in the moſt cleere region of diuine light, may beholde the ſecrets of our ſaluation and of the high wiſedome. Moreouer we muſt deſire with moſt feruent prayers, that vnto the holy reading we may come inſtructed by the holy Ghoſt. For vnleſſe the ſame be giuen, the holy ſcripture will be vnto vs a killing letter. For they which be voide of the ſpirite, receiue no fruite by diuine reading becauſe they holde not the ſcriptures themſelues, but the carcaſe of the ſcriptures. Whē you ſee an excellent man, I thinke yee take great delight in him. His eies ſhine, his countenance is pleaſant, his face is amiable, a marueilous delightfulneſſe is diſperſed ouer all his partes. Howbeit if a man ſhould be demanded, from whence hath come vnto him ſo great a beautie of the bodie, he coulde in a manner ſaie nothing elſe, than from the ſoule: the which if it happen to depart, the bodie ſtraightway becommeth a horrible deade carcaſe, which ſtinketh and with wormes and putrefaction is diſſolued on euerie ſide, which euerie man doth auoide. So the holy ſcriptures, when the ſpirit is abſent from him that readeth them, they be loathſome dead carcaſes, they offende, they diſpleaſe and doe marueilouſly alienate from the reading of them the minds of thoſe which vſe them. Wherefore let vs deſire God, that euen as hee ſent out his worde at the beginning when he made the worlde, yea and that he ſent it downe into the bowels of the earth, where by there ſpꝛang out ſo great an abundance of graſſe, herbes, ſpꝛings, plants, and fruits, hee will in like manner penetrate our heartes, whereby we may execute thoughts, words, and deedes worthie of our calling. Neither maruell yee if I ſo greatly perſwade you to pꝛay for the fruite of the worde: becauſe this is the fate of the worde of God, that it doth not continually fall after a happie ſoꝛt. For as it is taught in the parable of the ſeede which is ſet forth in the Goſpell, a part falleth vpon the way, a part in ſtonie places, a part among thoꝛnes: and finally, that which is committed vnto good grounde, doeth not bring forth fruite generally after one manner, but a part thꝛiſe folde, a part ſixtie fold, and a part an hundꝛeth folde. Wherefore I beſeech God, that he will ſo prepare you and me with his ſpirite, that we receiue not the diuine ſeede, like vnto the high way, or the thoꝛnes, or ſtonie grounde: Let euen be himſelfe, who is able, make our heartes good grounde, which may bring forth fruite an hundꝛeth folde vnto eternall life. Amen.

Exo.34.30.

Pſalme.1.2

In what things the meditation conſiſteth.

A ſimilitude.

A prayſe of the worde of God taught in the ſcriptures, and an exhortation to the ſtudy of them.

AFter manie daies ſilence, I ſhoulde take in hande againe to declare the wordes of Paul as I beganne, and ſhoulde not after my accuſtomed manner exhoꝛt you to renew your ſtudies intermitted, you might not onelie marueil at my determination, but alſo finde iuſt fault at the breach of cuſtom. Howbeit, ſince I haue this howe euerie yeare, it is to be doubted leaſt I ſhoulde bee conſtrained to vtter againe the ſame thinges among you which I haue at other times declared vnto you, oꝛ elſe to digreſſe vnto thoſe things which are not much pertinent to our purpoſe. Yet doth it much comfoꝛt and refreſh me, that I vnderſtande ye are ſo manifolde and ſundꝛie wayes ſtirred vp to the knowledge of the holie Scriptures, that I hope, although my wit be slender and my eloquence ſmall, I ſhall not depart from the laudable and receiued cuſtome, neither yet digreſſe vnto thoſe things which be not of much foꝛce to cal backe your minds to the ſtudie of diuinitie. And to holde you with pꝛoheme no longer than Chꝛiſtian ſyncerities requireth, it ſhall not bee amiſſe, this to thinke, ſpecialliie with our ſelues, that there was not a man created by God, the father of our Lord Ieſus Chꝛiſt, but thꝛough the worde of God: and therefoꝛe wee muſt not loke that he being falen and ouerthꝛowen can be reſtoꝛed by anie other meanes thā by the ſame worde. Hereunto was Adam the prince of man kinde created by God, that he ſhoulde bee a faithfull Scholer of Gods word. From which excellent inſtitution hee ſo farre ſwarued, that he gaue credite to the perſwaſion of the ſerpent, not to the worde of God. And loke what the diuell did then wooke in Paradiſe by the woꝛdes of the ſerpent, he nowe dooeth the ſame in the Church thꝛough ſuperſtitions and wicked traditions of men. Wherefoꝛe he that will beware of death and deſtruction, let him not giue eare vnto the inuentions of men, but let him faithfullie beleeue the holie Scripture onelie. Let vs ſet Adam beſoꝛe our eyes: ſo long as hee was obedient to the woꝛde of God, we ſhall perceiue hee was Loꝛde of all thinges, and the huſbandman of moſt pleaſant Paradiſe: But on the otherſide we ſhall acknowledge that the ſame man when hee miſtruſted the woꝛde of God, became the ſeruant of death and ſinne, ſubiect to the curſe of God, a laboꝛer in the continual ſweat of his face, ſtriuing with thoꝛnes & thiſtles. The ſelfe ſame daunger remaineth doubtles to ſo manie as neglecting the woꝛde of God, followe the pꝛomiſes of knowledge wꝛonglie ſo named, as though they might be Gods and Maſters of their owne ſelues.

Gen.3.6.

Gen.1.28.

Gen.3.17.

A ſimilitude.

A prayer.

Mans will made bytterwoyth & hard is ouerthꝛowen by the worde.

God doth weake inſtruments.

Dreames.

Gen.41.2. &c.
Dan.2.1.
Gen.37.5.
Iud.7.13.
Dan.7.1.

A ſimilitude.

The vſe of the holie ſcriptures.

Luke.1.4.

O woulde to God that that happie garden had not had a ſerpent: and that at this daie, there were not in the Church ſuch as woulde call men awaie from the holie ſcriptures vnto the wiſdome of the fleſhe. And not onelie maie we learne by the bringing forth and originall of mankinde, howe wee ought to be ſtudious in the worde of God, but the myſterie alſo of our redemption doth moſt plainelie teſtifie the ſame. For when the natures of God and man were diſtant, an infinite ſpace one from an other, yet were they coupled together by the worde into one and the ſelfe ſame perſon. Wherefoꝛe wee alſo are to hope of a returne vnto the father, if we ſhal with great indeuoꝛ of faith imbꝛace his woꝛd. What I beſeech you do you thinke of the bookes of the holie Scriptures? They are nothing elſe in verie deede than ſchoolemaſters of the elect, giuen moſt profitablie vnto them by God. And ſeeing they bee inſtrumentes of our ſaluation, we muſt not frowardlie loke vppon the nature, habit, and ornament of them, ſeeing al the woꝛthineſſe and excellencie of them muſt be meaſured by the power which God vſeth in them. What moꝛe vanitie is there in the nature of thinges than dreames? And yet when God vſeth them be inſtructeth in moſt weightie matters, Pharao and Nabuchadnezar being the mightieſt Monarches of the woꝛlde, and confirmeth the faith of Ioſeph, Gedeon, and Daniel. Hereby is knowen the excellent power of God, whenas by abiect and vile inſtruments he ſheweth forth incredible actes. Euen as a Carpenter ſhould foꝛ that cauſe be counted famous and notable, if he coulde with a coꝛde, thꝛeede oꝛ haires hewe oꝛ cut in ſunder moſt harde woꝛd: So Chꝛiſt with claie healed a blinde man, and God in the ſignes of water and in the outwarde elements of bread and wine ſtirreth vp the faith of thoſe that be his, and ſealeth the pꝛomiſes of heauenlie things. Wherefoꝛe the holie Scriptures which be full of dignitie and maieſtie, being moꝛe inwardlie beheld, wheras at the firſt ſight they may ſeeme rude and barbarous, ſweep thou with thy ſelfe that they be the inſtruments of the holy ghoſt: and loke not foꝛ a pleaſantneſſe of woꝛds in them, but rather maruell thou at the power of the croſſe which Chꝛiſt ſuffereth not to be made voide by mans eloquence. Yea rather when theſe thinges come to mind, let vs giue thanks vnto our god God who would haue theſe teſtimonies of his will to be ſealed vp, that wee being dull of memoꝛie ſhoulde not foꝛget them, and that euerie man at his owne pleaſure ſhoulde not deuiſe a doctrine in the Churche, but that there might be extant a publike patterne, whereby the ſayings of all men might be pꝛoued and thꝛoughly tried. And therefoꝛe Luke in the Pꝛeface of his Goſpell, that he might acknowledge the certeintie of thoſe thinges,

whereof he was taught, testifieth that he therefore wrote vnto Theophilus, that he might knowe the certeintie of those thinges wherof he was instructed. Wholoeuer therfore beleeueth in Christ, if he turne ouer the Booke, he by the meanes thereof through the holy Ghost is euerie day made more allured of those things which he professeth. For as

A similitude Iron is by vse purged from rust, and doeth the more glister and shewe bright: so the doctrines of godlinesse which are contained in the holy Scriptures, the more often they be reade, the more manifest and true they appeare vnto vs. Plato in his Booke of lawes, thinketh meete to giue commaundement to the husbandman that he doe not water his grounde with other mens water. Digge (saieth he) a well therein, that thou maiest vse the waters thereof when neede shall require. Wherefore God also woulde that in the Church which is his vineyarde, shoulde flowe a perpetuall reading of the scriptures whereby the necessarie water of the worde of GOD might be ministred to our faith which oftentimes wareth drie. It was a familiar saying in the mouth of Socrates, when he was vrged to say or doe any thing: If my good spirit shall permit me. For he had such a

The Demon of Socrates. one, who was as his counsellour or keper. But wee must perpetually cleaue vnto the worde of God as vnto a Counsellour: when any thing is set forth to be done or beleeued, we must answere so much as by the word of God shall be lawfull, and in all our affaires take Counsell thereof faithfully. The holy history teacheth, that there was a laudable custome of the people of GOD, that as touching euery enterprise they first toke Counsell of God, before they toke in hand to doe

Iud.1.1. the same. In the Booke of Iudges after the death of Iosua, the Israelites demaund who shoulde goe vp against the enemies. In the

1.Sam.30.8 first Booke of Samuel, Dauid asketh whether he should followe after the theues, which had destroyed and burned the Citie of Ziklag.

1.kinges.22.6. Yea and Achab, although he were a wicked man, went not altogether from his Countrie manner: nay rather, when he should fight against the king of Syria, he toke Counsell of God by the Prophets. Therefore wee also must not attempt any thing, wherein wee haue not first perswaded our conscience by the worde of God that the worke which we take in hande is good and shall be acceptable vnto the Maiestie of God. The Poets vaunted that their harmonie, songes and verses wherewith men were delighted, (nay rather deceiued) were not made by man, but were drawen from Helicon, Pernassus, the fountaine of Castalius, Pegasus or Caballinus, [the forrest] of Cytharon, the Muses reciting them: which as they be false lyes, so is it most true, that the doctrine which we now commende is drawen out of heauen, and communicated vnto the Church vpō Mount Syna in Ierusalem, and vpon Mount Sion, as

Exod.20. we reade in Exodus, and as Esaie hath testi-

Esa.2.3. fied: Out of Sion shall come a lawe, and the worde of the Lord from Ierusalem. In olde

The Oracles of the Ethnicks. time the Ethnicks had secrete places in temples, dennes vnder the grounde, a Caudron for sacrifice, a Trenet vnder which they put fire, brasse of Dodona, most auncient Okes, dennes, Images, names written in leaues, and briefly vnprofitable Temples, and innumerable wayes did the Diuell mocke them: But vnto vs in the stead of all those things, is by the mercie and goodnesse of God set forth the onely Oracle of the holy Scriptures. Pythagoras is for this cause not a litle famous, that he had conference with Dules and Eagles. Pompilius talked with the Nymphe Aegeria. Apollonius Thyaneus. (as the histories report or rather fable,) vnderstoode the singing and chattering of little birdes. But vnto vs doeth the true God, the Creator of heauen and earth, speake most manifestly in the Scriptures by Moses, by the Prophetes, by his onely sonne Iesus Christ, and by his Apostles: and doeth so speake, as he changeth the soules, the hearts, the mindes, and the whole man, and of stones is able to make the sonnes of Abraham, not whom he may like fabulous Amphion, forcibly drawe to the walles of Thebe, but whom he may builde vppon Christ, because he is both the onely and founde foundation aswell of the Apostles as Prophets. Let the Poets boast as they will, that Orpheus tamed the wilde beastes, we in the meane time being taught by experience, will not doubt but that the wordes of the Scriptures turne them into the sonnes of God, which before were serpents and generations of Vypers. Whereupon Paul mentioning vnto Tytus Mat.3.7. what manner of persons we were before we Tius.3.3. were regenerated in Christ, saieth: For wee also in times past were fooles, disobedient, going astray, seruing lustes and diuerse pleasures, liuing in malitiousnesse and enuie, being hated and hating one another. And vnto the Corin. the first Epistle and 6. Chapter, when he had recited many detestable crimes, he added: And such were you in deede, but nowe are ye washed, ye are sanctified, ye are iustified. And seeing that to the breaking of our hearts which be hard and obstinate, there should be neede not of weake instrumentes but

but rather of most strong engines, for that cause GOD reuealed vnto his Church no faint or dull manner of speeche, but such as was deliuered by many [of the Prophets] and in diuerse manners. For it exhorteth, terrifieth, driueth forwarde, calleth backe, teacheth, confuteth, promiseth, threateneth, pronounceth, sigheth, prayeth, beseecheth, praiseth, dispraiseth, sheweth things past, declareth things present, prophesieth things to come, and as most soft wax it is bended vnto all formes, to the ende it may bow the stonie hearts of the vngodly. Wherefore not vnlike good cause it ought to be called παντοδύναμος, that is, a vanquisher of all. Yea and Sathan, although he be most mightie, was driuen out

1.Sa.16.23. of the wicked bodie of Saul which was appointed to vtter destruction, being not able to abide the songes of Dauid the Musitian of the holy Spirit. By them the olde serpent being inchaunted, was after a sort burst in

Matth.4. peeces. And the same Sathan was driuen from tempting of our Sauiour, by no other weapons but by the worde of God. Where-

2.Tim.3.15 fore it is no maruell if Paule doe therefore praise Timothie, because he learned the holie Scriptures from his first infancie, whereby he might teache, and confute, instruct and correct, and become perfect and prepared to euerie good worke. Happie was the Commonweale of Israel accounted, which as concerning her state might aske Counsell of

Exod.28.30. God by Vrim and Thumim. But we which haue the diuine light and perfection of the spirit expounded vnto vs in the word of God, when wee will, are not in worse case than they. What could not be our felicitie, to haue those things which be necessarie to saluation ingrauen in our mindes by the power of the spirit, so as we should haue no neede of outwarde writings, and helpe of Bookes, forsomuch as the entercourse and the most sweete familiaritie which at the beginning mankinde had with God, is by sinne broken off. Therefore to despise the gift of the Scriptures which succeeded in stead thereof, is an extreme madnesse especially since we so some erre both in the actions of this life and in o-

Mal.2.7. pinions. We call to minde, that God commaunded the Priests, that they should with great indeuour procure themselues the knowledge of the law: also that he commanded the king, that he should neuer suffer the

Deut.17.18 booke of the heauenly doctrine to bee taken out of his handes. Wherefore those shoulde not be accounted eyther kings and Priests, which shamefully neglect the holy Scriptures. And seeing that Christ hath made his to be both Priests & kings, none may boast themselues to be Christians which are not delighted with the studie of the worde of God. Let some please themselues as much as they will with vnlearned rudenesse, there is no man of founde iudgement will at any time be perswaded, but that it doeth greatly please the prudent lawemaker, that laws should be knowen of his Citizens, since that no fruite of lawes vnknowen, although they be both iust and honest, will redounde into the Common weale. Our god and mightie God, did therefore place the sunne in an high and eminent place of the heauens, that seeing he ordained the fountaine of light to bee therein, and to lighten all things, the same should be beholden of all creatures. Wherefore it doth please him exceedingly, if all men in the Church doe continually turne the eye of their minde to the doctrine of the holy Scriptures. And howe much this also doeth profite our mindes, hereby it may bee vnderstoode, that the eyes of them which liue in a manner alwayes in smoke are not onely sore & filled full of teares, but are also Stimulus made dum and dull: like as on the other side when we liue in the large fieldes and in the greene meadowes, garnished with great diuersitie of flowers, & compalled about with most cleare waters, we being of perfect strength, then haue we our eyes both bright and of perfect sight. They doe liue in the smoke which doe alwayes regard earthlie thinges, and doe onelie occupie their minde in naturall sciences. These be almost continuallie disquieted with perplexities, cares, and great vexation of minde, and are euerie day made lesse fit to behold heauenlie things. And vndoubtedlie nothing doth more stirre aunswere the state and condition of these vnhappie sort than doth smoke. For euen as from a thicke fire there breatheth out smoke: so from the heate, burning and darknesse of filthie lustes, all thinges that euer they doe are obscured. And how sutlie the holie scriptures are compared to the large heauen, to the open fieldes, to the flourishing meadowes, and to the running and cleare waters, I thinke there is none of you but vnderstand. Therefore when I exhort you aswell to the receiuing of this knowledge, as to the communicating thereof with others, I call you to those thinges that be comfortable and fit for the naturall sharpnesse of out wit, yea and they be verie profitable for restoring of the whole man. With the verie which counsell Paul thus instructed his: Timothie in the 2. Epistle the 2. Chapter: And what thinges thou hast heard of me by manie witnesses, the same deliuer to faithfull men which shall be

able to teach others also. The Apostle could not abide that the doctrine of the Gospell being so comfortable should be hidden from men, or that it should be kept back, or be suppressed among a fewe. And all faithfull teachers in the Church, haue no other respect in teaching, but that the word of God communicated vnto those that be present, may by them be spread abroad to infinite others: Euen as they which be couetous and liue vppon gayne, doe distribute that monie which they haue, vnto men that vse it same, that at the length it may returne to them more amplie and richlie. But alasse, this sword of the word of God hath bin a large time put vp and hidden in the sheathe of superstitions and humane traditions: & therefore haue we lien oppressed with so manie impieties. Christ in times past said: Ye erre, Mat.22.29. not knowing the scriptures. But now the Pharisies of our time say, Ye erre, hauing knowledge of the scriptures: And they with and desire nothing more, than that this spirituall sword may once againe be hidden. But if ye that be the kindred of Christ and faithfull men vnto God, suffer not the same to be taken againe out of your hands: For he leaue me in the stead of the booke of life, they wil giue into your handes the booke of death: and thereby God God, what calamities will ye runne into? Let the horrible example 1.Sa.28.6. of Saul teach you, who after he was cast off from God, could haue no answere of him, neither by Prophets, nor by priestes, nor by Oracle, whereby he might be comforted being now cast into most greuous dangers. What did the miserable man? He gaue eare vnto the wordes of a witch, and vnto Magicall counsels. Howbeit he reapt nothing thereby but extreme feare, threates of death and vtter desperation. O vnfortunate wretches, which being destitute of the word of God, doe carrie themselues vnto superstitions and diuelish deuises of mens traditions. They are throwen headlong into eternall death, and into errors out of which they 2.Thess.2.10. cannot winde themselues, and that iustlie. For as Paul said vnto the Thessalonians: They receaued not the loue of the trueth. Vnto whome they be also nere neighbours, and for this cause no lesse to be auoided, be- 2.kings.17.41. cause like vnto the Samaritans they haue decred to imbrase both, namelie the word of God, and the vngodlinesse of mens traditions; as if they knew not that in Deutero- Deut.4.12. Apo.22.18. nomie and elsewhere, it is straitlie charged, that we should not adde to, or take anie thing away from the word of God, and that for iust cause. For what power or authoritie hath a sillie man which shall perish within a while, that he should thinke himselfe to see more, than hath bin prescribed by the word of God? Tertullian in his Apologie the 46. Chapter teacheth that Lycurgus de- Tertullian fired to hang or to starue himselfe, because the Lacedemonians had somewhat amended his lawes against his credit. Did the man that is but flesh and bloud take it grieuously, that his owne citizens should decree anie thing and adde vnto the lawes which he made: And will our god and mightie God quietlie suffer the same to be done of men, who are most farre separated from his worthinesse and wisedome? Oh shame and boldnesse that if we were wise should neuer be suffered. Let heauen and earth passe, but let Mat.24.35. the word of the Lord remaine firme, pure and inuiolate for euer. Let all flesh (as saith Esay) Esa.40.6. be grasse, & the glorie thereof as the flower of the field: but the wordes of the Lord as Psal.12.7. being most purified shall continue sound and sincere for euer. Let the rich man which is tor- Luk.16.27. mented in the flames of hel, desire that the dead may arise and admonish his brethren and such as he is, of the iudgementes of God: but let vs that are by faith the chosen generation of Abraham, according to his godlie counsell beare Moses, the Prophetes, and Apostles. Of whose bookes while we aske counsell, beleeue me we doe not goe vnto the storehouse of a pore Lord, but vnto the most plentiful and fruitful treasuries of the wisdome of God, which we shall neuer be able by anie labour of ours (be it neuer so great) to make emptie. And euen as the nature is of a continuall Allmightie springing well, that it is not consumed by continuall drawing but the water thereof is rather made both pure and better thereby: in like manner is the sense of the holie scriptures made more sweete and pleasant vnto vs, in how much we more profoundlie and continuallie labour in the same. And as labour is necessarie for the drawing out of outward waters for the bodie, so in peruling of the holie scriptures, there is neede of a graue iudgement and spirituall attention. Which thinges how iustlie and for how good cause they be required of vs, the decrées of Magistrates and Edictes of kinges doe sufficientlie declare: For while these thinges are by cryers or Heraldes published vnto the people, such a diligent eare and attentinesse of hearing is in them that stand by, as there doth nothing passe and scape them but it is well considered of. From this commendable studie and diligent indeuour doe they which aboue measure exaggerate the darkenesse of the scriptures, exceedinglie drawe

The Papists seigne no darke places. drawe backe the young students of the Gospell, as who should say, that the veile were not taken away by the bloud of Christ, and that all thinges, so farre as our saluation requireth, are not made plaine by his spirit. They which declare that the darknesse of the holy scriptures is more than the darknesse of the Cimmerians, & that the obscurenesse [of them] is euerie where more than can be ouercome, say that the mysteries of the word of God must not be searched out, and while they make the efficasie of the word of God to consist rather in reciting and in vnderstanding, they of diuine Oracles and holie scriptures, make most shamefull Magicke. Euen we also doe graunt that mans reason must be restrained within certaine bounds, least it should iudge of diuine thinges according to the imagination therof. Howbeit no Christian man ought to be hindered, but that he may indeuour as much as he can to vnderstand those things whereof the scripture of God hath instructed vs. Let no rashnesse be vsed in reading of the holie scriptures: but as touching the studie and diligent inquisition thereof, let no man waxe cold or slacke. Wherefore we earnestlie graunt, that the mysteries of the word of God are to be reuerenced, and yet in the meane time we must remember that the same is, Light 1.Pet.1.19. shining in a darke place, from which, if we shall cast our eye neuer so little aside, we shall at length perish in errors and vtter darknesse. But when the haters of the light iangle so much of the obscurenesse of the scriptures, they themselues doe thinke that they deeme not amisse of the holy Ghost, if they make him equall to the Poetes and Philosophers, of whome the one sort by their intricate fables haue so couered ouer with clowdes & transformed the plaine and bright face of the truth, as it is verie far sted awaie from the eyes of vnfaithful mē. And ỹ other by their ridles, imaginations, numbers, & Atoms, haue made their doctrine so intricate, as al ỹ whole life of mā liue he neuer so long, can hardlie be sufficient to expound the same. But wee haue not founde the godnesse of God our god father to be so greatlie straitened, and the light of the holie Ghost to be so simple. Neither haue they so giuen the holie Scripture as they might not be vnderstoode of mo, tall men. The wisedome of God hath not dallied with vs: Neither hath it giuen Scriptures vnto men, out of which they might not reape anie profite. These things let vs leaue to Apollo whome the Oxtians called Λοξίον, because hee answered ouerthwartlie. These be deceites of the diuel, not the liuelie doctrine of our God, or of the holie Ghost. Wee knowe ivdede that Cræsus asked Thales what was the nature or definition of God, who euer nowe and then desired spaces and delaies to answeare at some certaine daie, neither coulde he at anie time absolue the question propounded vnto him, for the more he considered with himselfe of the nature of God, the lesse came to his remembrance what he shoulde say. But those which are indued with a true faith, are able out of the holie Scriptures not onelie to knowe God, so much as is necessarie vnto their saluation, but can expresse him in excellent manners and holie workes. Wherefore let none call vs vnto the fathers, none vnto the councels, none vnto anie men, as though we could finde a more plentifull light among thē than proceedeth frō ỹ most bright day star of the holie scriptures. Allouedly the fathers and the councels haue but their discords, their darkenesse, their hard sayings, their obscurities, and incredible variablenesse, I wil not saie inconstancie. Neither in reading of them, doeth the holie ghost so meete with vs, as when we weigh & repeat with our selues the wordes of God, seeing it is not meete, but that there shoulde be more honour giuen to the wordes of God than to the wordes of men. For if God sent Philip the Euange- Act.8.28. list for an aide vnto the Eunuch of the queene of Candaces reading the Prophete Esaie, hee being yet no Christian, much more is he present by his spirite with them that bee already beleeuers, when with faith and reuerence they exercise themselues in the holie Scriptures. I passe it ouer, that although a naturall man perceiueth not those things 1.Cor.2.14 that be of God: yet doth a spiritual man discerne al things. Wherefore what by our owne strength and the capacitie of our reason wee are not able to attaine to in ỹ holie scripture, we learne so farre as is necessarie by the strength of the holie Ghost. And allouedlie they be no light thinges or of small importance, which the holie Scripture teacheth: For to speake nothing of infinite things that be noble and verie excellent, is there not in them an intreating of the prouidence of God, of the nature of God, of the bringing forth of things, of the gouernment and redemption of men, of the election before al eternitie, of reiection, of contingencie, of necessitie, of the freedome of mans wil, of ỹ cause of sins, and of infinite such like: whereof the vngodlie standing oftentimes in doubt do perish in their vngodlinesse, and the godlie being especiallie instructed in the verie same things by the holie scriptures, receaue thereby both sin-

singular pleasure and also edifying? Where be manie which saie, that they take it verie greeuoullie that they liuing in this life cannot see celestiall thinges: against whom we maie iustlie obiect: Why doe you not goe vp vnto this Theater of the holie scriptures, that you maie behold euen the things of God, yea the verie thinges in heauen? Howbeit these men, and together with them all yee my Christian brethren woulde I haue to bee admonished, that the place or Schole of this Philosophie is heauen. Wherefore they which creepe on the grounde and haue Phil.3.20. not their conuersation in heauen, as the Apostle commaunded, are in ieopardie least in studying they lose their labour. Besides this, it muste not bee omitted that the instructer thereof is the holie Ghoste: For although you haue innumerable teachers, preachers, instructers, and maisters, vnlesse the holie Ghoste doe fashion the inward partes anew, those shall all spende their labour in vaine. And who haue beene euen from the beginning the chosen ministers of this doctrine, the holie Hystories doe abundantlie shewe: Namelie the Prophetes and for the moste part the common and rude sort of people, fishermen, publicans, and men of occupation: but yet did not the worde of God, by the base condition of these in respect of the worlde receiue anie indignitie or dishonour: For vndoubtedly this function what and how muche soeuer it be, dependeth of God & of his spirit. Therefore it muste not be weighed what those men were, but what they teach and whereunto they perswade vs by their doctrine. Indeede they cal vs not vnto the oliue bough and to the garlande of the wilde oliue tree wouen with the leaues of Aspins, not vnto the garlandes which were giuen for scaling of walls or bourding of a shippe that was assailed, and for sauing a Citizens life in fight, not vnto images of marble, brasse, siluer, or golde, not vnto other images, vnto bankets perpetuallie prepared, and vnto meat in the Senate house of Athens, but vnto this doe they call vs, that wee shoulde bee made the moste deere children of God, heires of him & coheirs with Christ. Furthermore I beseech you, for your saluation sake, if there be anie compassion, anie pitie, anie remorse, or if anie care touch you of the Church, that is of ye bodie of Christ, so rent in sunder and scattered in these our daies, haue regarde I beseech you, haue regarde vnto this. It will not be restored by riches or holie garmentes, neither by a choise of meates, nor by rites and ceremonies, but it maie by this one medicine of the worde of God be cured. Vndoubtedly, if the power of doing myracles were at this daie extant in the Church, as it was in the primitiue time, perhappes it woulde not a little confirme the doctrine of godlinesse. But if wee shoulde all gather together in one, and shoulde deale by most vehement prayers, and most effectuall teares, we shall not bring to much to passe as did in times past the handeworcheeres of Paul. Where- Act.19.12. by it plainly appeareth, with howe great a studie the knowledge of the holy scriptures must be obtained, seeing the tents of God must by that onely garrison bee defended. Moreouer the Apostles which were so singular in the spirit and in miracles, suffered not themselues for any cause to be seuered from the worke of preeruilug and communicating the worde of God, but rather prouided that Act.6.2. Deacons shoulde be ordained in the Church, to the intent that they being vnburdened of the care of ministring vnto tables, might onely intend vpon the administration of the Gospel. Yea and Paul when he was held captiue at Rome commanded to be brought vn- 2.Tim.4. to him the sacke with parchments & bookes, 13. that by reading & also by writing he might profite the Church. And the same Paul warned Timothie, that he shoulde giue diligent 1.Tim.4. attendance to doctrine and reading, where- 13. by he might saue both himselfe and those which should heare him. But and if that all those things which alreadie shoulde haue moued vs much, moued but a little, why doe not we take hede with howe cruell conflictes we are assailed? Our wrestling is not (as Ephe.6.12. saith the Apostle) against flesh and bloud, but against principalities and powers, and against spirituall wickednesse. Which warre, since it is not one, onely, and slightly followed, but is sundrie, manifolde, and most sharpelie fought: it warneth vs ye we should alwayes haue weapons ready out of the armourie of the scripture. In this warre we ought to knowe all the wayes and manners of fighting, least we shamefully giue ouer when we come to handstrokes. What shall it profite vs to haue disputed sharply against Ethnicks and Philosophers, when the Iewes on the other side wall and destroy all things? Or what shall it profite to haue banquished the Marcionites, Valentinians, Arrians & such other pestilent sectes, if the papistes consume all thinges farre and nere? Finallie what thing shall we do worthie of commendation, if we onely defende Godly opinions, when as we bring nothing vnto the institution of a godly life, the amendement of manners, and vnto spirituall edification? Therefore come ye all hither to assist the common weale

weale of the Church, and with this wall of the worde of God more strong than the Adamant, inclose ye the people of the Lord while they be inuaded by such violent and craftie enimies. Let vs remember Paul, who as it Act.20.18 is in the Actes, rehearsed vnto the Ephesians that he was whole three yeares with them, that hee warned euerie one, and that with many teares: and let vs be ashamed of our selues, which either at no time preach ye Gospel in the Church, or else do it so seldome & so coldly, that we rather seeme to doe some other matter. There be vsed no vehement affections, neither is there any thing done earnestly or from the heart, but all things are rather done of a certaine ceremonie and custome. Let no man make excuse, that these things belong onely vnto Bishops and vnto Col.3.16. pastors, seeing vnto the Colossians Paul admonisheth euerie man, as well that the word of God should dwell in vs plentifullie, as also that our speech shoulde alwayes be Col.4.6. gratious and powdered with salt, that wee may know how to answere euerie man. And 1.Pet.3.15. Peter woulde haue vs to be readie to giue a reason of that hope which is in vs. But forasmuch as I perceiue the time is past, I will make an end, and bende my selfe vnto prayer as vnto a most sure hauen to craue the aid and assistance of Gods helpe. And as holy Moses, when he had nowe ruled the people of God the space of 40. yeares on this wise Deut.32.2. prayed: That my doctrine may droppe as 2 Prayer. doth the raine, and my speech flowe as doth the deaw: So I good Lord moste earnestly desire of thee that those thinges which I shall teach thy children, may not be any frames of errours, but dewed and fruitfull raines of the trueth: and that my interpretations may be no waters that shoulde wast the Church and ouerthrow consciences, but a dewie consolation, & a profitable edification of soules. And I beseech thee also that thou wilt hearken and graunt vnto my prayer, that all those which be here present, may heare the holie seede of thy worde, not as the high way, nor as the thornes, nor as the stonie ground, but as the good lande and fielde prepared by thy spirite, they may out of the scriptures, which shall bee committed to the furrowes of their hearts, bring forth fruite thirtie, sixtie and an hundreth fold.

An Oration concerning the studie of diuinitie, made to the Vniuersitie of Strasborough after his returne out of England.

THose debters (ye diuines) which meane god faith are greatly troubled with sorrow and care of minde, when they see themselues hindered by any occasion that they be not able to pay those thinges which they knowe they doe owe: neither doeth this happen vnto them without great reason. For moxtall men haue nothing that they may in right preferre before a stedfast faithfulnesse. Whereupon Paul that notable Apostle of Christ, the heart of the worlde and most famous publisher of the doctrine of the Gospell, when among other nations he knew himself debter also vnto the Romanes, Rom.1.10. besought God with continuall desires and most instant prayers that he might once at the length come vnto them, that euen out of their riche fielde he might carie into the heauenly barne a large harueste and abundance of fruite. And because that noble minded desiring excellent things, doe not satisfie themselues, vnlesse they ioyne with their desires no lesse indeuours, therefore he testifieth that he did often attempt to come vnto them, but that he was hindered by Sathan. Which hinderaunce (as I am perswaded) did with great griefe disquiet his most godly minde. For with an incredible desire he wished faithfully to doe those things which in preaching of Christ he euer and freely confessed to be his duetie to doe vnto the wise and vnwise, vnto the Grecians and barbarous. Wherefore seeing this affection doeth beare so great stroke in honest mindes and in godly men, if ye shall thinke me all the while that I haue bin absent from hence to haue bin forgetfull of the duetie which these many yeares by bond I owe to the schole or Church of Strasborough, ye bereaue me of an honest heart and godly minde. But beleeue me the case did not so stand, but euen as Homers Vlisses when he was in the Orchardes of Alcinous, in the caues of Calipso, among the songes of the Syrens, in the inchauntements of Circe, and violence of the great Giants of Sicill, neuer laide aside the sweete remembrance of his owne Countrie Ithaca though it were but rude: and as the Israelites so many of them as were godly, did during the space of foxtie yeeres in the desert continually with themselues thinke of the lande pro-

mised them by God, so your Martyr did neuer at any time forget this Schole, or by any occasion of this absence ceased to bee carefull of his chiefe and speciall calling: and of this perpetuall remembrance and god will I not onely haue God to be my witnesse and searcher of my heart, (whom I pray and beseeche for his seuere iustice sake not to leaue me unpunished if I doe lie) but also many notable and worthie men in Englande doe well knowe, howe earnestly I sued to the king, that as he had called me from hence, so he would send mee hither againe. Whiche neuertheless I might not obtaine. For that king being verie much giuen vnto godlinesse, was desirous to cal thither out of Germanie many men of my vocation rather than to suffer me to depart whom he had alreadie with him. Wherefore hauing on this wise a repulse I was constrained whether I would or no to be absent from hence. And vnlesse ye your selues consider of it by your selues, I cannot expresse howe grieuously I take it to depart from my place which I had so long inioyed, and how sorrowfull I was when I perceiued that I was cut off from al hope of my returne. Yet did I comfort my selfe because I thought you were not ignoraunt what the manner of the worshippe of God is. For God must not be worshipped after our will, but according to his owne pleasure. Neither doe those thinges which we haue purposed to our selues to be done please him, but what his prouidence day by day appointeth to euerie man either to be taken in hand or to be indured. Without doubt it semed pleasant vnto me and most delectable to returne to Strasborough: but GOD, in whose power I was and now am, commanded another thing to be determined. And marueil not if I say that he commaunded: for ye are not ignoraunt, that in all those thinges that are not repugnant vnto the Scriptures of God, we must obey Princes euen as we doe God: and most auncient is that common saying, that Obedience is farre to be preferred before sacrifice. And besides this the fruite of the worke which GOD through my ministerie wrought in that most noble kingdome was a let of my comming. Howbeit contrarie to the expectation of all men, was King Edward of Englande the bright light of Christian kingdomes, the verie nurse of godlynesse and a stoute defender of the Gospell of Christ by cruell and lamentable death taken away. The light was turned into darkenesse, impietie succeded pitie, and most cruell Wolues inuaded the newe and late [restored] Churche, god men are wickedly oppressed, from whose perils and miseries howe I by the prouidence of God haue bin deliuered, I cannot sufficiently imagine, much lesse declare. Wherefore being protected by the fauor of God, through the sea, through enemies, & finally through the middest of the plague, I am come to you my deare brethren. And except that the will of God which maketh plaine the passage, had by his stedfast counsel determined of this my returne, it was impossible that I should haue bin brought hither in safetie. And the verie same power of God hath not onely moued the Magistrate of this most noble Citie but also hath so raised vp and incouraged beyond my desertes very many godly and famous learned men, partly of the Schole, and partly of the Church, as not onely they haue bin desirous to retaine me here, but haue earnestly indeuoured to restore me into my former place, vnto whom I nowe yelde thankes in this publicke and honorable place of assembly: and I pray and beseeche the immortall God for his sonne Iesus Christes sake to rewarde them euerlastingly for their curtesie, and to graunt me that I may in some part, though not so fully as I wouldе, answere their expectation. And whereas I vnderstande that ye which be students in Diuinitie haue so often & so chearefully come together to the hearing of the worde of God, I am not onely verie glad but I reioyce exceedingly euen from the bottome and bowels of my heart. Further seeing these your desertes require it, I doe earnestly commende you which haue so diligently kept and preserued in your sincere heartes the life of heauenly wisedome, and I am desirous to my power to further your indeuours.

But least we should this day meete together in vaine, I thinke it now meete in fewe wordes to declare that which I am minded to speake. For by this meanes when our speach shall be reduced to certaine limites from wandring, then shall ye easilie consider with your selues those thinges which I shall speake. I haue oftentimes noted that when Diuinitie is commended, vnder one labour are reaped two, and those not common fruites. First there is a thankes giuen vnto God, who hath bestowed such & so great a gift vnto his beautie Commonweale, that is, vnto the Church. Secondlie is shewed that they, which with an obstinate minde persecute the same, doe it not vnwittinglie. Wherefore I also, that I may not be vngratefull vnto God, and that I may commend your wisedome as it deserueth, will speake of the worthynelle of Diuinitie, and therewithal will cōmend your earnest desire thereunto, which with great wisdome you haue taken in hand. Albeit I know I cannot sufficientlie for the worthinelle thereof, commend this heauenlie exercise, and doe feare least by approuing your counsell in receauing it, I might seeme to drawe your mindes, not vnto Diuinitie, but to the fauour and affection of my selfe. Howbeit, your godlinelle and courteile cause me that I will not ceale from that which I haue purposed to doe. For thereby ye will be brought to forgiue frēlie those thinges which are not throughlie well proued, and with lesse eloquence vttered. And since ye are no lesse religious than my verie good friendes, take that with the right hand which others would easilie take with the left.

But first as touching the worthinelle of Diuinitie after what manner (I beseech you) shall I speake of the same? Hereof I am sure ye haue heard manie times, & in deede it is become a prouerb, ỳ the Colestock twise sodden doth bring nothing with it, and that one and the same thing often repeated although it be reuued by ỳ eloquence of wordes or florilli of Rhetorick, yet is it tedious to those ỳ heare it. Who knoweth not how vnpleasant a thing it is to treate of thinges that be like? and that all men which walke in like places are some wered? Howbeit this ought speciallie to stirre vp you to heare attentiuelie and me to speake frēlie, that the scripture of God, the oftener it is taken in hand to be considered and treated of, the more brightnelle & excellent light it shoteth forth. Ye know that golde and precious stones the more they be worne vppon the fingers, the more they glitter: and ye are not ignorant that in brightnelle, the word of God passeth gold, the Topas and all precious stones. Also we are taught that the word of God is compared to a liuelie water, which not onely quencheth the thirst abundantlie, but also springeth out vnto eternall life: and water the more it is moued and drawen, the purer and sweeter it is. And seeing the word of God is like vnto a consuming fire, the same in like manner as it is often stirred & blowen, so doth it send out the greater and brighter flames. Wherefore we also the more plentifullie we extoll the excellencie of the diuine wisedome, with our discourse, the more profite and pleasure shall we haue. The Athenians did speciallie for this cause boast of the antiquitie of the inhabitantes in their country, for that cōne was there first of all found. And by that reason proued that men were there from the beginning. For where nature would first haue the swde and nouishment for mankinde to growe in the same place, it is likelie that there men were borne from the beginning. The force and strength of which reason when I consider with my selfe, I alwayes thought it to be good and strong, although I doubt not but that it is a fiction of the priestes that corne first sprang and was knowen at Athens. For Plato the God of the Philosophers (as one calles him) teacheth that Artes, Sciences, Husbandrie and in a manner all notable thinges were found out by them of the East partes, that is, by the Assyrians and Chaldeans, whome he calleth barbarous: which also our Religion and true faith acknowledgeth to be so, which theweth that pleasant paradice was in the beginning planted in the East, where in the first men were placed immediatlie after their creation. Wherefore as vaine and fabulous we reiect that which is taken as graunted, namelie that men and the sustenance for them was first found in the countrie of Athens. This contrariwise doe we imbrace as true and stedfast, when we speake of Antiquitie, that those thinges are more auntient which haue as proper and growing at home whatsoeuer thinges are necessarie for the life and health of men. For they to whome thinges are brought from other partes, must nedes giue place to them of whome they first receaued them; which, since no man can anie way deny, what other facultie be it neuer so great, noble, auncient, and honorable, can in antiquitie be compared with our Diuinitie, that is, with the knowledge of the word of God? Undoubtedlie none at all. For those thinges which be taught in ỳ holie scriptures cannot be shewed to be translated from anie of the other sciences, but rather out of those fountaines all the rest are drawen if they haue anie thing in themselues (as sometime they haue) which may further the preseruation of mens life and the true saluation of them. Wherefore seeing other faculties and sciences haue taken manie thinges from the scripture, and it nothing at all from others, it is by all manner of right called most auncient. Which also the plainnelle thereof, and simplicitie without counterfeiting ioyned with a wonderfull grauitie doth declare. And so auntient are the Histories therein rehearsed, that those thinges which be set forth by other writers being cōpared with them, may easilie be perceiued to be done manie ages after.

But since all commendation is not to be sought for in antiquitie, therefore wee will nowe haue a regarde to the vtilitie thereof, and

king Edward the 6.

Martyrs departure out of Germany.

Rom.13. &c.

Osee.6.7.

The worthinelle of Diuinitie.

Gen.1.8.

Similitudes.

John.4.14.

The auncientnelle of Diuinitie.

and as I hope will shewe that the same is farre more plentifull in the holy scriptures than can euer bee founde any where else. What more plentifull fruite I beseech you can men of sober and sound iudgement loke for, by the knowledge of worldly thinges when they haue verie perfectlie attained to the same, than that some knowledge of almightie God, may at the length by the effects thereof lighten mans vnderstanding, & that by those thinges we may be holpen to sustaine the life of the bodie. In these knowledges there cannot bee had or imagined a greater profite. But the holy scriptures doe in many places set forth the naturall workes of God, and do euerie where teach, that God himselfe by his eternall power and singular prouidence, is the cause of all those thinges, neuer making any mention of nature, chance, fortune, fourme, priuation, elements, imaginations, *Atomi, concord or discord as the principles of all things. No doubt but the knowledge of men is busied in considering the effects of God. But how seldome herein is there recourse vnto God himselfe, his goodnesse, counsel and wisedome? Indeed naturall knowledge may seeme to be somewhat curious in searching out the power of thinges, and somewhat more subtill and diligent in finding out the secretes of nature. But as touching the ende it selfe, to wit, that God may be truely knowen by the effects, and that we may well and Godly vse his creatures, if it bee compared with diuinitie, it is farre more negligent, yea and in a manner blinde and dumbe. Finally the holy scriptures doe speake of a certaine notable and wonderfull kinde of the workes of God, whereby the powers of nature be ouercome, and the accustomed course of things is cut off, wherein God both more properlie and more expreslie shineth than in the daylie and common succession of thinges, which by reason of a continuall vse thereof, is become of small estimation. And by a word now receiued, these thinges are wont to be called miracles, for no other cause indeede, but that they haue commonly made mortall men to wonder altogether at them. But the works of this kinde are kept secret in naturall knowledge. For there shall yee neuer reade of that first creation of things, of laying the foundations of the worlde, of breathing the breath of life by God into the claie of our bodie, of the Godheade speaking openly with men. Of the sea giuing place vnto men passing through the dearpe thereof, so as it made walles of water both on the right side and the left for them that passed through. Of the standing still of heauen, and of staying the perpetuall turnings about thereof from the East to the West. Of God to bee made a man, of a virgin to be a mother, of the raising from life them that were deade, and of men greeued with desperate and incurable diseases, to be cured by a wonderfull efficacie of Christ our sauiour. These marueilous things without doubt God woulde haue vs to knowe by the holie scriptures, least perhappes wee might doubt that all his vertue and power is so spent and consumed in bringing forth and preserving of naturall things, that hee shoulde not be able yet to doe any thing greater and more excellent. This kinde of doctrine doth not Philosophie teach, but onely beholdeth the accustomed course of nature.

A thing so small as cannot be diuided.

Assuredly it is no small comfort vnto Godly men, to vnderstande that God is the prime and authour of nature. For since they be the children of God, while they consider that all things which bee done are in the hande of their good father, they feare the power of no creatures, since they know for a certaintie that they are not able to bring vpon them any trouble or sorrow, but somuch as God the guide thereof hath decreed to bring vpon them for their saluation. This is the singular fruite which is had of the saints by the knowledge of naturall things. But how much more ample is this, if they be persuaded with a constant faith, that the power of the heauenly father is infinite, whereby hee is able still to doe and produce many, yea infinite thinges, otherwise than they be in the common course of nature? Hereby Godly men being incouraged, become of an excellent hope, euen in aduersitie: In perils, valiant: euen in the crosse it selfe ioyfull, of an inuincible courage, and altogether without feare when for the trueth of God or the name of Christ, they must abide any conflict. Hereof sprang that noble speech of Daniels fellowes: Beholde our God whom we worship is mightie to saue vs from the furnace of burning fire, and shall plucke vs out of thy hand O king. Herevpon did Dauid with an inuincible minde sing: The Lorde is my right and my saluation: whom shall I feare? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraide? Though an hoast of men beseiged me, yet shall not my heart bee afraide: though there rose vp warre against mee, yet will I put my trust in him. And againe: Although I shall walke through the valley of the shadowe of death, I will feare no euill. Finallie by this meanes did Paul saie, Who shall separate vs from the loue of God? shall

What fruite the doctrine of priuie things geeld.

Pſal.27.

Pſa.23.

Rom.8.34

Afflictions?

afflictions? shall penurie? shall persecutions? shall hunger? shall nakednesse? shall perill? shall the sworde? As it is written: (For thy sake wee are deliuered to the death, all the daie long wee are accounted as sheepe appointed to the slaughter) but in al these things we ouercome through him that loueth vs. For I am perswaded that neither death nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor anie other creature shall bee able to separate vs from the loue of God which is Christ Iesus our Lord. Such things doe the children of God taught by the holie Scriptures, pronounce with true boasting: that GOD suffereth not nature (as the wise men of the worlde teach) to goe forwarde according to those lawes which hee at the verie beginning appointed thereunto, but that he directeth, tempereth and ruleth al thinges at euerie instant according to his owne pleasure, & that he sometimes gouerneth manie thinges against the wonted vse & custome by taking away from wild beasts the sauagenesse and crueltie ingraffed naturallie in them, by taking from fiers the power of burning: from the Sunne and starres their naturall light: from souldiers and men of warre, their strength: from windes their violence: and from the sea, the vehemencie of waues and tempest: On the other side by sending fraucie vpon wise men, by striking the mightie with feare, by inspiring the ignorant with learning, the infantes with eloquence, and the weake with strength and incredible furetie. Vndoubtedlie while the Disciples of this diuine wisedome doe consider and beleeue these things, they dwell in a house that is founded and built vpon a most strong Rocke, which neither by anie floude of raine, riuers or bowes, neither by the force of storme & tempest can be ouerthrowen. They knowe that all thinges be theirs, since they be Christes, and Christ, Gods: and that all thinges are giuen them by God in Christ. On the otherside, loke vpon who thou wilt instructed onelie with the wisedome of man, and which holpen onelie by light of reason, searcheth naturall workes: be certeinlie, if he be most perfect and indued with noble vertue, when he shall come to extreme daungers, perhappes wil die for his countrie or for some iust cause, and in torments will retaine his honest determination: but he will loke for no allieaunce from God, he will hope for no extraordinary helpe, neither will he appoint vppon anie consolation of the promises of God, and of the spirite of Christ, he will be of a faint heart, he wil be filled with desperation, and he will wholie thinke with himselfe that he must yelde to naturall necessitie, hee will finde fault with fortune, he wil blame his destinie, or in fine he will accuse the fable forces of the starres. O vnhappie state, O miserable kinde of life, O intollerable disperation. Beleeue me the state of men hath nothing more miserable than ignorance of the holie Scriptures, and contrariwise nothing more happie than the knowledge thereof. Let politike men and craftsmen, and such as be learned in the lawes boast as they will of their iustice and vertues (which in respect of their nature I repowne not) but yet I graunt not that they can be accounted either true or profitable vnto eternall life without the certaine knowledge of the worde of God. For seeing (as themselues confesse) all vertue consisteth in the meane, so as it either thou sinne in excesse or in want, aswell the name as the respect of vertue perisheth, and betweene extremities there appeareth exceeding great difference: by what iudgement then shall we determine of the meane? by the iudgement of reason? But what reason can you appoint me that hath not declined from the right waie by pronocations and inticements of lustes? Or that it be by the iudgement of the senses? much lesse. For they although they be the scoutes and attendantes vppon reason, yet can they not be kept in their due place by anie kinde of wisedome or vnderstanding, neither are they of such perspicuitie as to iudge of so great matters. Wherefore it belongeth onlie to God by his worde as by the certaine measure of all rightnesse and iustice, to determine and define of the true meane of vertues. Whatsoeuer hee commaundeth, whatsoeuer he commendeth, whatsoeuer hee alloweth, is sence re vertue & perfect righteousnesse: which, whosoeuer thinkes hee can learne else where, hee seeketh water out of the flint stone, woll of an Asse, he indeuoureth to take the winde in a net, he buildeth vppon the sande, he draweth water with a siue, and he altogether loseth his cost and his labour. But imagine with your selues, O Thebes ye that be the wise men of the worlde, that ye can by the sharpenesse of naturall iudgement shewe a meane betweene foule extremities (which indeed I minde not to graunt) what fruite (I beseech you) shall hee haue by these vertues which is a straunger from the worde of God? None at all: because he placing in his minde (being corrupt with sinne and not yet purified by faith) vertues in their owne nature good and excellent, shal miserable defile and pollute them, no otherwise

Thebes. Citties of the Ethnikes.

wise than if a man put most pure wine in a filthie and foule vnlauozie bottell. Wedloes this, he so farre abuseth the excellent giftes of God, that alwell the vertues as ciuill actions which are allowed by the iudgement of men, be directeth not as it had béne méete be shoulde, to the glozie of God, but wzestedly them to his owne priuate aduantage and commendations. Foz the knowledge of man and his industrie doeth lighten our vnderstanding downewarde onelie, but the knowledge of the wozde of God, doeth set before our mindes, a heauenlie great and lightsome torch shining vpwarde. Wherefoze in the holie Scriptures must wee continually dwel as in religious and most royall sanctuaries of the trueth. In them maie you finde the assured oracles of that Themis whome the Gzetians in their common speech called the counsello2, as it were the pzesident & mightie [Goddelle] of wholesome counsels foz men. Verilie, when I oftentimes consider these thinges with my selfe, I cannot sufficientlie wonder at their straunge wisedom, which euerie where terrifie men from the reading of the scriptures: and that by no other reasons but because that men be clad de with manie sinnes and iniquities, and bee continuallie diseased with infinite vices of the minde, and foz that cause be altogether vnmeete foz such holie Scripture, and doe manie times carrie away rather harme than pzofite. Mozeouer they are not ashamed to accuse the Scripture as full of obscuritie & darkenes as it were of an euerlasting night, wherin nothing foz certeintie can be knowen oz defined. These be the things (O ye Diuines) which with great impudencie and intollerable boldnesse, be in a maner alwaies obiected against vs.

But first woulde I vnderstande of these great learned men, whether they thinke that Phisicke bee ozdained foz the sicke, oz foz them that be whole? Doubtlesse except they be starke madde, they will answere: foz them that be sicke. Which also Christ shewed when he saide: that The whole haue no neede of the Phisitian, but they that be sicke. With what face then doe they withdzawe men though they be sinners, from the knowledge of Gods wozde? By what other kinde of medicine will they heale them? There is no other remedie which may sooner put awaie euils from the mindes of men and restoze health, than often renuing the doctrine of the Scriptures, so as it may be truely called the remedie against poyson and a most excellent preseruatiue. This power is not so liberall as deliuering, and setteth men at libertie from the most violent tyzannie of the Diuell, sinne, and death. Wherefoze let all men of euerie condition runne with great boldnesse and cheere vnto these fountaines. I assure yée (in Gods name) that it will repent no man to haue vsed this * herbe that reme- dieth all diseases. Let young men learne a most excellent waie of gouerning their life. Let men of ripe age learne after what manner they must perseuere in right opinions and godly wozkes. Let olde men that haue no long life learne the ioy which is to be conceiued by dissolution of the bodie, and departing of the soule to Christ. Let pooze and afflicted soules learne, that they are happie in Christ, although of the wozld oz of the flesh they be iudged miserable. Let women learne the dueties of their state, namely modestie, silence, subiection towardes their husbands, and chastitie.

Amulet. Alexipharmacum. Fomenti. *remedie.

And since that all men should with singular profite dwell in the holy Scriptures, doe ye thinke, O ye Diuines, that ye alone shall be without fruite in this kinde of studie? God forbid. Hereby none (I knowe what I speake) shall be mooze holpen than ye. Foz the most part of ye all, are either now made ministers of the Churche, oz in time to come shall be, the dueties of which function is, to catche men, to féede men, and to dzawe men vnto God. But I beseech you, what be the nettes? What is the foode? What chaines shal ye haue néede of in this wozke of yours? The Scriptures of God. If any thing be to be taught, let it be taught by the wozde of God. If any thing be to be confuted, let it be confuted by the wozde of God. If any thing be to be corrected, let it be corrected by the wozd of God. If any thing be to be instructed, let it be instructed by the wozde of God. To conclude, let the wozde of God in all Ecclesiasticall functions be vnto you the whole summe and effect of all. Whatsoeuer Homer woulde signifie by that his golden chayne, whereby he fained that Iupiter did dzawe all thinges vnto him, I passe ouer at this present and doe affirme that the true chayne wherewith mé may be led vnto God by you, is the ozder oz course of the wozde of GOD knit together by degrées of ages, which shall neuer vanish foz þ helping of mo:tall men & dzawing them vnto life which neuer should haue ende. These thinges are plainely set downe in the olde and newe Testament, and may verie fitly be called Iacobs ladder reaching vnto heauen, whereby the Angels both defcend and afcend. Foz who is so blockish that he vnderstandeth not that in the holy Scriptures the knowledge of the infinite

The diffinitie of the scriptures.

nite wisedome of God doeth submit it selfe from his Maiestie to the capacities of men, and as it were descende from heauen, to the plaine fielde of the wozlde. Neither as I thinke is there any man so blinde but he seeth how highly he, whatsoeuer he be that is commonly exercised in reading of the holie Scriptures, is exalted from the earth.

That the holie scriptures are not obscure.

Now that we haue answered them which will not haue men euerywhere to reade þ holy scriptures, because they are infected with vices and sinnes, nowe let vs come to that sozt of men which alleage the darkenelle and obscurenelle of the wozde of God. Let these men take it foz an answer, that in those things which are required necessarie vnto mens saluation, the Scriptures of God are neither intricate, noz yet haue any mist before them: and if a man will be diligent and hedefull in reading ouer of them, he shall easilie perceiue, that in some places is plainely and manifestly taught, those things which in another place are taught as it were in some darke speeche. The godnesse of God which is spzead ouer all is not enuious, neyther would he by obscurenelle of speech hide from men (whom he so greatly loueth) the knowledge of things necessarie to saluation. And I haue wished (you Diuines) that at this day ye were throughly perswaded herein, that the obscurenelle of the holy Scriptures, if it be at all, is like the heauenly bodies out of which by your labour and meditation, if they be continually shaken and pzessed together, there will speake forth alwell bzight lightenings of the trueth as also the casting 1 Cor. 10. 4 forth of heauenly thunderbolles, whereby all defences and places shall be bzoken and cast downe, which doe exalt themselues against God and his true knowledge. Foz it is a wonder vnlesse it be nowe most plainely perceiued, what these Parasites of þ Pope meane to dzawe men awaie from reading and meditating of the wozde of God. Without doubt they would bzing Religion into the olde defozmitie and confusion that it was in befoze.

But ye (my deare bzethzen and herein neuer sufficiently commended) doe most wisely, which knowe that the wozde of God must be kept as the Apple of an eye, and must bée written in the tables of the heart. The cudodie thereof, albeit it belong vnto all Christians, yet doeth it chiefely vnto them, which by teaching and pzeaching doe nowe serue the Church, oz doe pzepare themselues to the holy ministerie. Which office, albeit many seruaunts of the flesh and of the wozld, doe scozne as vile and contemptible, yet is it honourable and full of dignitie on euerie side. Foz they that haue bin counted wise men, thought a Iudge to be a speaking lawe, foz no other cause in déede, but because he is the interpzeter of the will, minde, and sense of the lawe. Which, if they haue not fondly deuised, we not amisse may say, that a true and sincere Diuine is a God speaking among men. Which saying I iudge must so long be receiued as it agreeth not with the inuentions of men, but with the wozde of God, and doeth not mingle falshod with treuth, as Sinon did in Virgill. To the following of which pureneile in teaching and preaching I exhoze you my deare fellowe ministers with all my heart and with all Christian affection. Beware I beseeche you of the nurses of vices, which are Pleasure and Idleneile.

Phil. 3. 20.

But I would haue these men and together with them all ye my déere bzethzen in Christ to be admonished, that the place oz schole of this Philosophie is heauen: wherefoze they which creepe vppon the ground, and haue not their conuerlation (as the Apostle commanded in heauen) are in hazard least in studying they lose their labour. Mozeouer, we must remember that the teacher hereof is the holie Ghost. Foz although you haue innumerable teachers, preachers, instruders and Maisters, vnleile the holy ghost doe fashion the inward partes anew, they shall all take paines in baine. And who haue bin alwayes chosen Ministers of this doctrine, the holie Histozies doe abundantlie declare; namelie the Prophetes being foz the most part of the common sozt, Husbandmen, Fishers, Publicans, and men of occupation. Notwithstanding the wozd of God take no dishono2 oz repzoch hereby. Foz this function what and how much soeuer it be, dependeth of God and his spirit. We must not therefoze weigh what they were, but what they teach, oz whither they carrie vs by their doctrine. In déede they call vs not to the Olliue branch, to Appius garland of the wild Olliue trée wouen with leaues; not to the garlandes giuen to them that first clymed a wall, that first bozded a ship oz saued a Citizen in fight; not to Images of Marble, Bzalle, Siluer, oz Gold; not vnto other Images, vnto banquetes, perpetuallie in a heauenlie and vnto the meate in the Senate house [of Athens:] but to this end, that we may be made the most déere children of God, his heires and coheires with Christ. And further, I beseech you, foz your saluation sake, that if there be in you ante compassion, anie pitie, anie remoize, oz anie care oz regard of the Church, that is of the bodie of

Christ so rent in sunder & scattered in these our daies, haue a regard I beseech you haue a regard vnto this. For it will not be restored by riches or holie vestmentes, neither by the choise of meates, nor by rites and ceremonies, but by this one medicine of the word of God it may be cured. Alwordlie if the power of doing miracles were at this day extant in the Church as it was in the primitiue Church, perhappes it would much confirme the doctrine of godlinesse. Howbeit if we would gather all together in one, and would deale by most earnest prayers and vnfeined teares, we shall not bring so much to passe as in times past did the handkerchers of Paul, Whereby it plainly appeareth with how great studie the knowledge of the holy scriptures must be obtained, since by that onelie helpe the tentes of God ought to be defended. Moreouer the Apostles, which were so excellent in spirit and in miracles, suffered not themselues for anie cause to be
Acts.6.2. removed from the worke of handling and communicating the word of God, but rather prouided that Deacons should be ordained in the Church, whereby they themselues being freed from the care of the Tables, might onelie apply themselues to the admi-
2.Tim.4.13. nistration of the Gospell. Yea and Paul when he was held captiue at Rome commanded that the Satchel with the parchmentes and bokes should be brought vnto him, y both by reading and writing he might profite the
1.Tim.3.13. Church. And the same Apostle warned Timothie that he should diligentlie giue himselfe to doctrine and reading, that he might preserue both himselfe & those which should heare him. But if that all these thinges shall litle moue vs, which without doubt ought verie much to moue vs: why doe we not regard with what cruell conflictes we are al-
Ephe.6.12. failed? Our wrestling (as the Apostle saith) is not against flesh and bloud, but against principalities, and powers, and heauenlie wickednesse. Which battell seing it is not one onelie and sleightlie followed, but is diuers, manifold, and most sharplie fought, it warneth vs that we should alwayes haue out of the Armorie of the scriptures most necessarie weapons. It behoueth vs in this battell to know all manner of wayes and meanes of fighting, least we shamefully yeld when we come to the conflict. What doth it profite to haue sharply disputed against Ethnickes & Philosophers, when the Jewes on y other side waste & destroy all thinges? Or what auaileth it to haue vanquished y Marcionites, Valentinians, Arrians, and such other pestilent heretickes, if the Papistes destroy all thinges farre and neere? Finallie, what thing praile worthie shall we doe, if we onelie defend godlie doctrine and dying nothing to the institution of a godlie life, to the manning of manners, and to spirituall edification. Wherefore come ye all hither to assist the Common weale of the Church, and with this want of the word of God more hard than the Assamant, compasse ye about the people of the Lord while they be inuaded by such violent and craftie enemies. Forget not Paul, who as it is in the Actes, put the Ephesians Act.20.18. in minde that he was whole thre yeres with them, he warned euerie one, and that with manie teares: and let vs be ashamed of our selues, who either preach not the Gospel at all in the Church, or elis verie seldome, and that so coldlie, that we may rather seeme to doe some other matter. There be applyed no vehement affections, nor is there anie thing done earnestlie and from the heart, but all thinges are rather done, of a certaine custome and ceremonie. Let no man alleage that these thinges belong onelie vnto the Bysshoppes and Pastors, seing Paul to the Colossians warneth euerie man, Col.3.16. aswell that the word of God may dwell plentifullie in their heartes, as also that our communication should alwayes be gratious and powdered with sault, y we may know how to aunswere all men. And Peter will haue 1.Pet.3.15. vs to be ready to giue a reason of that hope which is in vs. But now since I see that my time is past, I will make an end, and will bend my selfe to prayer, as to a most sure hauen, to craue the assistance of Gods helpe. And as holy Moses, when he had now ruled Deu.3.2. the people of God 40. yeres, an this wise prayed: That my doctrine may drop as dooth Deu.32.2. the raine, and my speech as dooth the deawe: So I O God most humblie desire thee, that these thinges which I shall teach thy children, may be no stoymes of errors, but dewed and plentifull raine of the trueth: and that my interpretations may be no water to destroy the Church, and ouerthrow consciences, but a deawy consolation, and profitable edification of soules. And I earnestlie desire thee also to incline and giue eare vnto my prayer, that all those which be here present, may receaue the holy seede of thy word, not as the highway, nor as the thornes, neither yet as the stonie ground: but as the good ground, and field prepared by thy spirit, they may out of the scriptures which shall be committed to the furrowes of their heartes, bring forth fruite, some thirtie, some sixtie, and some an hundreth folde.

An

An Oration which he made

at Zurick the first time after he succeeded in the place of Conradus Pellicanus.

What things are meet to make vs fast and sure from the weightier sort of temptations.

THose causes (ye Diuines and most dere brethren in Christ) which are wont many times to terrifie men from any function of charge, as both the experience and the writings of the wise doe teach me, are indede not infinite that they cannot bee comprehended vnder a certaine number, but yet many and manifolde doe come to my remembrance. First some doe refuse a charge committed vnto them, becaufe it is laide vpon them as newe, fresh,
Similitude and vnlooked for of them. For euen as the yoke is sone shaken off from vntamed cattle, & the bridle from young colles, so doe all those things easily disquiet men whereunto they haue not bene accustomed, and especially if they shall chose to themselues a kinde of life which is altogether contrarie from that whereunto they are called. For which cause Basilius Magnus, Gregorie the Diuine, and Iohn Chrysostome, were by the Churches of those times brought to take bishopprickes vpon them, because they were more destrous of a solitarie life, than becommeth true Christian men to be, as they which be not borne to themselues, but vnto other men, and to the fellowship of the saints, and most of all to the spreading farre and wide of the true worship of God. We all holde fast the purposes of our owne wil, neither do we gladly rest in other mens iudgements and aduises. In the seconde place are they to be reckoned which for this cause stande against them which call them, for that they thinke y their labor shalbe superfluous, since in that matter whereunto they are called to worke, manie doe verie much labour. If (say they) there were nede of labours, our studie and indeuour should not be wanting: whereby it comes to passe that those arts are contemned by the more excellent sort of men, wherein they shall perceiue verie many to exercise themselues. Lastly they when they be required to take vpon them some excellent function, therefore they will not because they feele not themselues able thereunto. They say that they must chuse such a matter as they are able to performe, and that great regard be had that we faint not vnder our burthen, be it neuer so honorable. For the more excellent it shalbe, the more notable also shalbee our fall vnder it. For this cause in verie dede, did Moses with drawe himselfe for a Exod.3.11. while from this calling of God. And Ieremie &c. prayed that there might be a consideration Ierem.1.6. had of his age. Those Godly men did consider both howe weake the strength of man was, and of howe great charge was the seruice set before them, and therefore they did not straightwayes obey when GOD commaunded. These thinges my brethren are not receyed of me at this present without great cause. For whereas I haue without denying, auoyding, delaying, or any stay at all taken vpon me this weightie place to interpret the scriptures, I wonder not bee thought that I haue done this boldly or vnaduisedly. I might in verie dede haue easily bene called from so holy a ministerie as this ought to be accounted, if any of those reasons which ye haue nowe heard could haue drawne my minde from it: but because none of them by the grace of Gods spirit taketh any place in me, therefore ye see me to haue come hither with so readie, glad, ioyful, and willing a minde. Which that I may perswade you by a profitable and verie liuely argument, I wil examine the causes now alledged by me after the same order that I began. And I will not onely shewe that no cause could iustly terrifie me from my purpose, but that notwithstanding euerie one of those causes, my will was marcilously inflamed hereunto. But hearken (I beseech ye) that I may no lesse faithfully than I haue promised performe those thinges which I haue spoken.

As touching that which was alledged first, whereby men should be terrified from taking vpon them the function whereunto they are called, is this: namely, if that which is commaunded be vnwonted and vnlooked for. But to me cannot the exercise of handling the word of God in this age, be new, vnaccustomed, and vnlooked for. For euen from my youth, when I yet liued in Italie, this
Martyrs trauelle and entering into the studie of Diuinitie. one thing I minded to follow aboue all artes and ordinances of men: euen chiefly to learne and teach the holy scriptures, neither had I other succesle than I purposed. For euen I my selfe in verie dede (as the mist, darknesse, obscurenesse and night of Poperie deceiueth manie) erred for a time, but yet did I not cease in that blinde dungeon as the time would then suffer, both to learne and teach the holy scriptures. But afterwarde when the heauenly father by the benefite of Christ had compassion vpon me, I began to see through a cloude, and as trees walking, the trueth of the Gospel: neither could I keepe

silent that which as yet I vnderstode but after a grolle manner. I communicated it vnto others, and the light was increased, & the measure and meanes being increased, I taught moze openly, and the matter was brought to such a palle as I might not nowe line in Italie without extreme daunger. Wherefoze (deare bzethzen) I went into Germanie, that from whence I had by letters talled the first principles of the refozmen truth, I might there receiue abundantlie a moze fruitfull and perfect doctrine. I desired also in person to behold certaine refozmed Churches, least I should imagine of the refozmation of the church as of the commonweale of Plato, which may indede be vnderstode, but hath his being in no place. Which then indede I earnestly sought, first at Tigure. To Tigure (I say) I began to take my way, God not without moste happie succelle directing my iourney which I had taken in hand. Foz when I was come hither, I perceiued that Godly and syncere diuinity was here taught, and that the Church was refozmed with pure and Apostolicall ozdinances. Wherefoze if then meanes had bin offered, whereby I might haue defended my banishment, I had most willingly receiued the same. And not a little did this bountifull curtelie increase this my minde and desire nowe stirred vp in me. Foz those two dayes wherein I tarried here with those that belonged vnto me, I was so delighted with the Godly, learned, and sweete communication which I had with Doctoz Bullinger, Bibliander, Gwalther, and Pellican of happie memozie, and of others whom I cannot nowe rehearse by name, that I thought them most happie which might liue with such men: and I reioyced with my selfe foz my present banishment, by meanes wherof I was brought by Almightie God to that comfozt and consolation, and to the knowledge and speech of such excellent men: that beleeue me, I could neuer afterward forget this Church, those two dayes, and that intertainement. What shall I say moze? I was taken from hence against my will, and when at that time there happened no occasion of tarrying, it behoued me to make an other determinatiō although not moze acceptable, yet moze necessarie. Afterward I was called to Strasbrough where after the death of that worthy Capitol, I succeeded in the diuinitie lecture & received no smal courtesie of the Senate of that most noble Citie, of the ministers of the Church, & especiallie of Bucer, a man of godlie memorie, and of the professors of the schole: which curtesie vnlesse I would be most vngrateful, I ought heartilie to commende and faithfullie to confesse. Fiue yeares therefore in a manner continuallie I liued there; interpreting the holie scripture, and longer had I tarried, had I not beene sent both by the magistrate & by the Church into England, whither I was called aswell by the king, as by the Archbishoppe, Primate of that kingdome. Verilie I take vppon me a weightie charge. Foz both it behoued me to teach diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Oxforde, and I was often times called to the conuocations holden at Londō foz causes ecclesiastical. Where, what labozs I indured, what daungers I passed in defending the right opinion of the Eucharist (which also ye of the Citie of Zurick as principall and in a manner onelie Patrons haue alwaies most constantlie defended) I had rather yee heard it of others than of my selfe. They which were there at that time knowe that I was sundzie times in great daunger of my life. And when we were now come to the purpole we wished foz, and that that doctrine which is both true and holie take place, and that we now loked foz peace and quietnelle, woe is mee, then died Edwarde that most godlie king: than which youth I thinke the sunne neuer sawe a learneder foz his age, a godlier and a wiser. A sister of his succeeded him vtterlie vnlike vnto him in minde and will, an enimie to the profession of the Gospell, the Popes subiect, hauing lelle regarde to the honour and dignitie of her owne people, than the dominion and commoditie of the Spaniardes. There as ye knowe were all the excellent ozdinances of the king departed, ouerthzowen, and the good men either banished oz slaine. And whereas I my selfe escaped so deadlie a calamitie, foz a while I thought it a dreame, till hauing passed the sea with great daungers, I was come into the lowe countries. Many a time haue I had experience of the most mercifull care of God towards me, but neuer I perceiued it so manifest, plaine, and euydentlie as then. After that miserable destruction, I came to Strasborough becausle I was free of that Citie, and was called home by the magistrate a yeare before. I returned with a minde ioyfull in beauie affaires, that I might after my vsuall manner professe diuinitie in that schole. To the Senate, the professors & my olde acquaintance I am sure my returne was most welcome, but not to all the ministers. I speake of them which are readie euerie daie not to prowe, but most impudentlie to vtter that the cakes & small peces of breade are the bodie of Christ indeede. Neuertheleste against their will and pri-

Mary's first raign in England.

King Edward the 6.

Bucer at Strasbrough.

uie practises speaking faire to my face, I am restozed to my old place & function. And whereas at that time the controuersie about the sacrament was whot, and nowe also is disputed with great contention, not without the speciall care of God, who woulde not haue so good a cause lie hidden vilie in the darkenelle, the Magistrate of Strasborough who doeth all the euill he can to keepe outwarde peace, woulde giue this caution in receauing of me, that I shoulde not stirre vp this contention in the schole, but shoulde together with the fellow ministers maintaine peace. I aunswere, that I had beene alwaies a liner in peace, yet such as was honest, and that therefoze I woulde not breake the bond thereof, so that this might be left free: that when a place to be treated of in teaching did require it, I might friendly and quietly shew that opinion which I thought to be the truer without taunts & bitter inuective of wozds: But yet I admonished that if they woulde haue peace to be preserued, they shoulde prouide that they also which were of the contrarie part shoulde abstaine from contention, and speake modestlie and briefle of that matter, otherwise it might not bee with a safe conscience that I shoulde leaue the trueth vndefended. Lastlie I added this also, that by this kinde of argument I would not haue it to be accounted, that anie of those thinges which I had written before concerning this matter shoulde be chaunged, diminished, oz cancelled: with these conditions we departed, and peace was kept on both sides. But within a while after, when the Sarons and our men wzote sharpelie one against an other, those my companions aduersaries also brake out, and although they moued nothing in disputation, yet did they in the pulpit to the people, most bitterlie condemne my opinion: howbeit because these thinges were done in the Germane tongue and not in the scholes, I was not so greatly moued, because I sawe it plainelie appeared to wise and learned men, that our aduersaries had but small confidence in their cause since they durst not handle the same openlie in the schooles oz dispute thereof. But since they could not be ignozant hereof there was a boy subozned who vppon a paper read a declamation made by an other oz rather by others, which was a verie bitter inuective against the Sacramentaries. With great greefe and sozrowe did good and godlie men beare it: Foz what else was this than to haue sounded vp a trumpet? So then when peace was openlie broken, I also thought it not meete altogether to holde my peace. At

¶ controuersie at Strasbrough touching the Eucharist.

what time (as it seemed good vnto God) I receiued letters both from you my bzethzen and from this most honozable senate, whereby I was called hither. Which when I perceiued to be the wozking of God, as vnlooked foz, so verie conuenient, I thought it fit to accomplish the same. But with how great labour and difficultie I obtained licence of that honozable Senate to depart, I thought not now meet to declare, seing I suppose none of you can be ignozant of it. But least I should be accused of an inconstant departing, I vtterlie promised there to abide if I might haue free leaue to teach, dispute & write freely my opinion, since the aduersaries themselues did so publishe, and that it is not indifferent that while it was lawful foz them to speake, I shoulde be constrained to holde my peace: and that the matter was nowe brought to such a palle, as manie woulde accuse me of inconstancie, as though I had lightlie changed my opinion, oz else of vngodlinesse, foz that I woulde suffer true doctrine in my sight and hearing to be cruellie rent in sunder by holding my peace. The delaie was long, but because that politike reasons are of great force with them that gouerne common weales, at the length leaue was giuen mee to depart, although the Magistrate testified before me, that he did this with an vnwilling minde. Wherefoze ye Diuines, the liberte which I coulde not there procure I haue by your benefit obtained. Wherefoze first of all I giue thankes vnto God, secondlie vnto you and to the honourable Senate of this citie. And me thinkes that I account that daie wherein I came hither, euen as my bzyth daie. But (ye will saie) to what purpole are these thinges so farre fet and repeated? Foz two causes my good frendes. First because so manie of my remouinges shoulde not be attributed to lightnelle, but rather to a choice of my minde and stedfastnelle of my will. Foz I chose no solitarie life, as though I would haue my studies to profite my selfe. Neither doe I allowe that great desire of solitarinelle & liuing alone, which some of the fathers vsed, seing men were not made to that purpole, neither can I perceiue that the lawe of God doeth beare it: Onelie this haue I wished, that I might communicate to the holie societie of ỹ Church those things which I should at anie time attaine by studie. Further that ye might vnderstand, that this was alwaies the cheefe drift of all my deuises, to applie all my indeuour to the expounding of Scriptures. Wherefoze this exercise being lately giuen me in charge by you, seing it is not vnlooked foz, and vnpzouided foz, but

wished and desired, it could not discourage me but rather it draue me earnestlie forward to ascende into this place with a chéereful mind. Now I perceiue that my speech of this first point is proceeded further than I will, howbeit the desire I had of putting away suspition, which might be conceiued of me, together with your earnest attention, made me moze bolde than perhaps was requisite.

Nowe at the length I come to the other point, and in the handling thereof I will be briefe, that I maie make amendes for holding you so long in the former partes. I denie that I could be withdrawen from this godlie purpose in respect it is common, and that manie doe labour therein. I woulde to God (O ye diuines) that the case did so stand, then woulde there not be so great a want of ministers and syncere preachers. I am not ignozant that at Paris, Louaine, Salamanca, Bononie, and Padwaie, and in manie other Vniuersities, are manie companies (or rather flockes and heardes if you will) of them which professe diuinitie: but what maner of diuinitie (I beséech you?) Darke, intangled, difficult, and beastlie, and defiled on euerie side with diuelish contentions, in such wise, that among so great a number of them that are so called, you shall scarselie finde one pure and syncere diuine. Nazianzene in his Apologie complained that there were verie fewe true pastors of the Church, albeit that so great was the rout of them which vsurped that function, as they exceeded the number of the subiectes, which at this date in the Cyzannie of the Popedome is most manifestlie séene. There are made euerie daie an infinite sort of maisling Priestes, which are constrained to wait for benefices longer than they woulde. But of our part which haue admitted the pure preaching of the Gospell, howe few schooles are there found? I knowe indéede that you of Tigure (Godbe thanked) haue no lacke of learned and godlie Diuines, and of those which professe the holie scriptures: Pe haue Doctor Bibliander a man of very great learning and exercise, of whome, truelie, a man maie doubt whether he moze excell in learning or in godlinesse. Him haue I for honour sake named, because hee must bee my most déere fellow in office, and because I sée you meane to ioine mee with him, as Barnabas with Paul. So then this Church without controuersie aboundeth: howbeit wee must prouide that there be no want of them to whose handes the burning lampe maie be deliuered by course, not to haue a regarde onelie to our owne Cities and territozie, but also to others, which are miserablie destitute of teachers & pastors. If euer that saying of the Lozde had place, at this daie it is most true: That the harueſt is great, but the labourers fewe. When Luther and Zuinglius men of godlie memozie begarine to Preach the Gospel, if a man had saide vnto them, that this doctrine which they published, should haue extended so farre and wide, I thinke they woulde neuer haue beléeued it. God young men be ye therefore of good courage, and with great promptnesse and chéerfulnesse prepare your selues to the studie of the holie Scripture. Fruitfull is the fielde of the Lozde, and the power of Chzistes spirite is not barren. Stande ye therefore prepared to this wozke, that so sone as yée shall heare the voyce of the Lozde, ye maie saie with Esaie, Beholde I am heere, sende me. Some of the common weales of the Swichers séeme as yet to resist the Gospell, but those also when they be ripe shall be reaped. Wherefore since these our times haue lighted vpon so great a scarcitie of labozers, and vppon so great a hope of spreading þ pure doctrine of the Gospell, it became me not for this cause to be withdrawen from this mind but rather to be moze earnestlie perswaded thereunto.

The scarcitie of ministers.

Mat.9.37.

Esa.6.8.

Of this second point I haue spoken moze briefely because it is so euident and plaine, as it had no nede of large expostition and long discourse. But in the thirde member of our distribution, I sée a farre greater difficultie, because many things are comprehended therein which might not a litle trouble the minde euen of him that is wise. For who dare denie, that nothing must be attempted aboue the strength? Which, if it be true, how can I but be reclaimed frō my purpose, séeing hitherto I haue not gotten so much learning and knowledge, as I boldly trust thereunto, séeing also old age commeth on, and is not able to endure the painefull labours of watching and þ perpetuall studie of reading and writing, ſith this wozke of deliueraunce, namely the expounding of the Scriptures is verie harde, and as our times be, doe excerie where abound with controuersies, and those without doubt verie great: and finallie, séeing we haue to deale not with the vnlearned sort, whose eyes may easily be blinded, and whose mindes may without much adoe bée deceiued, but with men most expert in the lawe of God, and most famous in all godlinesse and learning, and which haue bin exercised in this kinde of studie euen from their infancie, and who daylie vndergoe no small conflictes of this wzestling place, & in times past also haue done? In this point (gentle Auditozie) I freely confesse that for a while I stode somewhat in doubt. For what shoulde I elſe doe? Coulde I be ignozaunt howe litle prouision I haue at home in my selfe? But I want in my selfe many things concerning knowledge, the expounding of questions, and the perfect vnderstanding of tongues. Shall I denie my selfe to be olde? My graie haires and wrinkled forehead will conuince me. Shall I denie that in examining of the holy scriptures, we méete with many obscure and difficult places, which are hard both to be vnderstode and expounded? The thing it selfe will speake when we come to the triall, and in a manner all the euident and large discourses of the fathers will testifie against me. Shall I at length doubt that your verie honourable presence is adorned and furnished with great godlinesse, and all kinde of learning? If I denie this, the verie stones would say that I lie, and also all you which be present would reprooue me of falsehod, euen so many as haue read the writings of the common father D. Bullinger an excellent man, of Bibliander, of Gualther, and of other men which haue openly heard either their Sermons or interpretations of the holie Scriptures. So great proofe there is of these reasons, as they can by no meanes bée denied. Pet for all this (to speake truely and simply) although these things be continually before me, they coulde not one iot hinder me, but that I would with a readie and willing minde take vpon me the charge whereunto I was called. For although I haue but weake and sleuder learning, whatsoeuer it is, no doubt but it is the gift of God. But we all know that it is þ propertie of Gods gifts, (for Chzist hath so taught,) that if they bée negligentlie buried in the grounde, they become the lesse: but if they be vsed with an holie and iust exchange, they increase mightily & are multiplied exceedingly. Wherefore hauing a confidence in the goodnesse of God, I trust it will come to passe that the meale of my doctrine, which I knowe to be but litle in my boz, will bée so increased, as there shal bée no breade wanting vnto this my table, and that the oyle of knowledge which God hath put into my cruse, how small soeuer it be, shall by the fauour of Chzist, because God hath raised vnto vs an high Prophet among our brethzen, haue so great increase as it shal be able though not daintilie yet profitable to season the meate of my wozdes which I shall set before you, and perhaps shall so abounde, as it will not onely bée ynough vnto me for my domesticall vses, but also þ I shall be able so persourme those things which I owe towardes you, vnto whom I am many waies bound. Wherefore þ I may not want of this my hope as I desire, I am earnestly moued to impart vnto you þ small doctrine & knowledge whatsoeuer it be, þ God would of his goodnes bestowe vpon me. Age perhaps both somewhat grieue my body, albeit by þ goodnesse of Chzist I haue hitherto not much felt it, but it hath brought me this cōmoditie that many things which by reading I could only know with the vnderstanding of my minde, I haue also learned by experience, which, of how great importance it is to the strengthening of knowledge, all artificers in their artes both know & frelie confesse. Moreouer such is your goodnesse and courtesie, as both by your letters I being absent, & being present ye haue signified, that such consideration shoulde be here had of my age, as ye woulde laie vppon me but such moderate burthen as I were able to beare. Wherefore these yéeres wherein I am stricken doeth nothing hinder mée, but that I may runne this race which is set before mee. Neither doeth the matter which I must treate of being verie hard and difficult, discourage my minde which is readie and resolute, because I se that this yse must not be cut by my swozde: the spirit of promise without doubt will bée present, and the pales if any happen, shall be made plaine by the light of God. I knowe that A natural man perceiueth not the thinges that bee of God, neither in deede can he, because he thinketh them to bee mere foolishneſſe and starke madnesse. I knowe that these thinges are hidden from the prudent and wise of this world: and I also knowe that the wisedome of the flesh is nothing else but grieuous enmities against God. But on the other side I am not ignozaunt, that God as he hath promised doeth clearely open, as to those that loue him his secretes, vnto them which haue begunne to be spirituall, young and enemies of the flesh. I knowe moreouer that to them that aske, shall be giuen: they that séeke, shall finde: and to them that knocke, it shall be opened. Wherefore being assisted by prayers both of mine owne and yours, I hope that the heauenly light will be present, whereby we shall walke freely through the plaine, safely and without all errour through the obscure and doubtfull places, and with great reuerence of the diuine Maiestie, through þ secret and as yet altogether hidde mysteries, by humble receiuing and reuerencing those things which as yet cannot be vnderstode. And moreouer I am not ignozaunt that by comparing together of places alike, those things which first séemed obscure, may bee

Bibliander

Mat.13.

Mat.11.25.

1.Cor.2.14

1.kings.17.14.

1.kings.4.3.

made plainer, and that the monumentes of the Hebrewe Commentaries bring otherwhiles no small light, and much more the most learned writings of the auncient Fathers: and that also the counsels of men aliue, being exercised in the holy Scriptures, doe greatly profite, whereof as I haue already saide, there be manie in this companie. To these I will not bee afraide to come, and if there be any thing wherein I doubt, I will familiarlie impart it with them. It is harde to be saide, and more harde to be beleeued, how greatly those coferences with learned and godly men, so we come vnto them without preiudice & obstinacie of minde, doe further the finding out of the trueth. Seeing then so manie helpes both diuine I say, and humane offer themselues against difficultie and obscurenesse, if any difficultie in the meane time happen in the word of GOD, ought I for that cause be hindered from a good beginning? No verily, I thoulde rather bee drawne forth to till vp this most noble fielde.

And ϸ which was alledged in ϸ last place, as it is altogether light to feare a man, so is it a most strong Argument to inflame & stirre vp, namelie that my speech shall be directed not vnto the simple and ignorant, but vnto the most wise and learned. Verilie it is the part of a deceauer not of an honest man, to seeke for blockish and ignorant hearers whome he may deceaue. But he that is desirous of the trueth, and speaketh neither for the bellie nor for gaine sake, dealeth most willinglie with them which be indued with Christian knowledge. For one of ϸ two good thinges he is most assured he shall obtaine. For if they shall rest in the doctrine which he teacheth, he will reioyce that his opinion is confirmed by the iudgement of most sound men, and by their testimonie will be more and more confirmed to hold the same. But if he shall perceiue it to be contraried of them, he knowing them to be graue men, and ἐφεκτικῶν. would cut the word of God rightlie, he will ἀμεταπείστως. not suspect that they resist him for the desire of victorie. Whereuppon, if he shall be instructed of them, ϸ the matter is otherwise than he first thought it, he will be of their opinion, & so shall receaue no dammage but shall gaine, which aboue all thinges is to be sought for. Neither doth it seldome happen, 1. Cor. 14. 30. that (as Paul speaketh vnto the Corinthians) something is reuealed vnto a man sitting, which as yet is not reuealed vnto him that speaketh. Wherefore O ye Diuines, I ac- θεοπνευστοι. knowledge that ye be verie well learned and inspired by GOD, and that ye be of one mind with me, louing and friendlie. Why then should I be afraid in this learned companie of yours, but friendlie: graue, but yet welwilling; seuere, but yet courteous: holy, but yet bounteous: to exercise that office, which I haue not taken vppon me, but you haue called me vnto? Wherefore I am not driuen from this function for happening of it vnto me vppon the sodden or vnlooked for and thinking of other matters, and intending other occasions: not because manie abroad take it vppon them, and therefore may seeme superfluous: finallie not because it is ioyned with a burden which my strength is not able to sustaine: nay rather, for all these causes I am much the rather incouraged, the more pricked forward, and the more rauished to bend my selfe wholie vnto this labour.

And to doe the same besides the Argumentes nowe alleaged, both the worthinesse and profite of the thinges to be handled doth mightilie drawe me hereunto, & ought earnestlie also to prouoke you, to be manie times present. Which two thinges should be commended of me more at large, if ye had not oftentimes heard them more plainlie and eloquentlie declared by good & godlie men, than can be set forth and pronounced by my barren and bale kinde of vtterance. Yet that I faile not in my duetie, in running through the chiefe pointes, I will rather take a taske than seeme to haue spoken thereof. And that I speake not confusedlie but in order, I think it meete to beginne at the definition. Where- A definition of diuinitie. fore I iudge that Diuinitie is a doctrine, in deede not agreeable to our mindes not by the light of nature, but by the brightnesse of faith, whereby is both learned and taught in the Church out of the holie scriptures, a certaine assured knowledge, aswell of the wisedome as of the will of God. And it is found to be of that nature and propertie, that (like vnto gold and pretious stones, the oftener they be vsed & handled with the handes, the more they shine) by handling and considering, it yeeldeth forth more shining beames of his brightnesse; and euen as a liuelie water, which not onelie quencheth the thirst, but also springeth vp euen vnto eternall life; and as that which the more it is moued and drawen, the clearer and swéter it is made: and euen as the fire, which A similitude the more it is blowen & stirred, the greater and more cleare flames it giueth forth. Neither are we to thinke that these similitudes are rashlie applyed to this purpose, since in the holy scriptures, the wordes of God, and sound doctrine, are wont to be compared vnto

vnto pretious stones, golde, and siluer, and also vnto liuelie water and to burning fire, and that for iust cause. For euen as these among men are preferred before other thinges, euen by the testimonie of Pindarus who saith, ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, Water is the best thing: So the scriptures of GOD excell all mens learning and sciences. Other writinges in deede doe also describe the workes of God, yet such as are perceiued to indure by the continuall course of nature: but those doe set forth his marueilous actes, & because they exceede all the power of nature, they are commonlie called miracles. And they are declared least perhappes we should suspect that God in the producing and preseruing of naturall thinges, had so spent all his power and might, as he can doe nothing more, nor make anie thing more excellent, which in trueth is not so, for God hath infinite power, so that there is nothing in nature so firme, stedfast and strong, which cannot by him be turned vpside downe, & be directed to a contrarie purpose, than it was instituted at the beginning. Which bringeth no small consolation to godlie men. For they being admonished by the holie scriptures, vnderstand that all thinges are in the hand of their good father, and that there can be no griefe or trouble brought vppon them, but so much as GOD the gouernour of all thinges hath decreed to doe vnto them for their saluation. Hereby are we made of a constant minde in aduersities, of good courage in perils, and in the crosse it selfe ioyfull, of an inuincible minde, and altogether vnfearefull when we must enter into conflictes for the name of Christ. Hereof arose that noble speech of Da- Dan. 3. 17. niels fellowes: Behold the God whome we woorship is able to deliuer vs out out of the furnace of burning fire, and out of thy hand O king. Hereof Dauid with an inuincible Psal. 11. minde sang: The Lord is my light and my saluation, whome shall I feare? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whome shall I be afraid? Though an host of men laid siege against me, yet shall not my heart be afraid: and though there rose vp warre against me, yet will I put my trust in him. And in another place: If I shall walke through the valley of the shadowe of death, I will feare no euill. And finallie hereuppon Paul the notable Apostle of Christ, and most famous defendor and publisher of the Gospell: Who (saith he) shall separate vs from the loue of God? shall affliction, penurie, persecution, Rom. 8. 30. hunger, nakednesse, perill, the sword? As it is written: For thy sake haue we bin slaine all the day long, we haue bin counted as sheepe appointed to the slaughter: but in all those thinges we ouercome for his sake that loued vs. For I am perswaded, that neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor thinges present, nor to come, nor height, nor depth, nor anie other creature can separate vs from the loue of GOD which is in Christ Iesu our Lord. Verilie such thinges doe the children of GOD with true boasting pronounce, being taught by the holy scriptures, as they that know which haue heard and beleeue the holy scriptures, that God their good father doth gouerne, direct, moderate and order all thinges euerie moment at his owne pleasure, and when he shall thinke good doth mainie thinges besides ϸ course of nature, taking from wilde beastes their sauagenesse and cruelitie naturallie bred in them: from fiers, ϸ power of burning: from the sunne and starres, their natural light: from bolles of men their strength: from the windes, their violence: and from the sea the vehemencie of waues & stormes. And contrariwise by punishing the wise men with madnesse, by striking a feare into the mightie, by inspiring the ignorant with learning, the infantes with eloquence, and the weake ones with most puissant strength. They which know and stedfastlie beleeue those thinges in the holy scriptures, doe dwel in a house founded vppon a most strong rock, which by no inundation of raine, flouds, stormes, or tempestes of weather, can be ouerthrowen.

TO

TO THE MOST RENOWMED Princes Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Grace and euerlasting happinesse from God the Father through Iesus Christ our Sauiour.

THat the whole worlde (most renowmed Quéene) is a schole or a certain place of warfare of the Almercifull and Almightie God, where he through sundrie labours ouercometh the godlie with diuerse afflictions. sometimes by afflictions and sometimes by diuerse perils teacheth and instructeth them that be his: I suppose that of Godly men it is iudged most certaine and vndoubted. Yet for all this, the heauenly father doth not so deale, as he hath determined that those whom he leaueth shal perpetually be troubled with afflictions, and bée pressed with euerlasting griefes, but sometimes helpeth to ouercome euils, and at such opportunitie as he hath determined with himselfe, suffereth them to escape out of the floods and whirlepittes of daungers, to the intent he may declare that it is he that leadeth them to the gates of death and bringeth them backe againe, while bee taketh care that in his adopted children may shine the image whom he naturally begate vnto himselfe before all eternitie. For the same our first begotten brother Iesus Christ dyed first before hée should be raised vp by his owne and his fathers power. Therefore it behoueth that we also which are appointed to be made like his image, should first die before we rise againe. After this sort the Israelites were in a manner deade while they were pressed vnder the most grieuous tyrannie of Pharao in Egypt: but they being deliuered by Moses and Aaron, were after a sort plucked away from death. Moreouer they séemed againe to haue perished in the manifold daungers and sundrie mischances of the wast wildernesse, who afterward reuiued by entering into the lande of Chanaan. To conclude, they being ledde into captiuitie, were thought vtterly consumed: who neuertheless returning after 70. yeares, flourished againe, and were then restored vnto life. The verie which thing, O most mightie Quéene Elyzabeth, séeing God hath done vnto you, he hath not departed from that his olde manner of custome, but hath rather confirmed the same, and made it more manifest. For while his workes are executed in the meaner and baser sort of men, they indéed appeare the lesse. But on y otherside, when they be shewed in men & women of noblest and highest estate, then are they made in a manner famous in y eye of al mé. Wherefore since you (most noble Quéene Elizabeth) are aduanced to the kingdome not in verie déede by a gentle, easie and plealàt way, but for certain yeares now passed, you haue appeared to be scarse a sote frō death: (For so great & déepe haue bin y daungers as y ship of your life was now welnere sonke) you are preserued by y power of God, not by the helpe of man, & are promoted as we nowe sée to the possession of that famous kingdome. Wherefore by the mercie and goodnesse of the sonne of God, in whom only you did put your trust, you are reuiued & by the good helpe of God do inioy the kingdome of your father and grandfather, and that to the saftie of the Church of Christ, and to the restitution of the common weale of England falling in decay. Therefore suche déle that saying sounde in the mouthes of all Godlie men at this time which is most ioyfully pronounced in the Psalme: This is the Lords doing and it is marueilous in our eyes. The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner. I confesse indéde that these wordes appertaine vnto Christ. But séeing Godly men are accounted for his members, I iudge they may be applied vnto them also. For that the other members of the bodie are both garnished and haue profite by the ornaments and honour of the head, Paul the Apostle of Christ doth abundantly testifie, which in verie déde must be specially vnderstood of those members which are so eminent in the Lords bodie as it pleased God that your maiestie should at length excellently appeare among his people. Now this is so great a benefite of God, as it cannot be shut vp in you onely, but through your own selfe is deriued vnto a great number of the faithfull. For so manie as either are borne subiects in the kingdome, or with well thercunto and which sécke nothing else

Quéene Elizabeth.

1.Sam.2.6.

Rom.8.28.

Psal.118.

Ephe.5.27.

else but the glorie of Christ, all these séeme to themselues to be raised together with you from death. Amongst whom because I neither am nor wilbe the last, euen as I perceiued my selfe by these welcome newes to be made ercéding and marueilous ioyfull, so I thought it méete, that first of all we should giue thanks vnto our most mighty and mercifull God, secondly that we should reioyce on the behalfe of your maiestie, and also of the Church and Realme of England. Wherefore let vs praise God and the father of our Lorde Iesu Christ which hath visited his people being almost deade, and hath opened the way which a long time was shut vp from preaching of the Gospel of the sonne of God. Beholde nowe againe is the horne of saluation lifted vp in the kingdome of Englande, whereby the chosen of God by the inuincible power of our Saniour Iesus Christ, are deliuered out of the hand of their enemies, and doe most syncerelie worship the blessed G O D, according to the prescript rule of the holie Scriptures. Glorie be nowe to G O D on high, Peace in the Church, and the good will of God towardes the people of England, that by the guide and good gouernement of this godlie Quéene, her subiects being adorned with righteousnesse and holinesse, may walke alwaies and innocentlie before him, and that hee will so lighten them from aboue, as they which through the night that went before were againe fallen into darkenesse, and into the shadowe welnere of death, now the daies of peace being sprung vp, may walke their waies safelie without any offence. And that this may be done most mightie Quéene, it is in your hand next vnto God. Neither doe I doubt but for your auncient faith sake, your godlinesse and fauour of God, which hath protected, defended and gouerned you from your childehod vnto this daie, you wil giue the due honour vnto God and to his worde. God kéepe from your syncere and religious heart the blemish of an vngratefull minde, which though in euery sort of man it be most sowle, in you which by the benefite of Christ are in this place, it would be altogether intollerable. Yowbeit I am wholie perswaded that your Maiestie is both of a readie minde and will to restore the Euangelicall Religion. And albeit that you are sufficientlie prepared and learned of your selfe this to doe, and that you haue no want of the holie counsels & godlie exhortations of others, which daily sound in your eares: Yet haue I also thought good for the verie great bounden duety y I owe vnto your Maiestie, with no lesse brauitie than modestie to put you in minde of some things which principallis belong hereunto. Which thinges I humblie beséeche you, may bee no otherwise taken of you than I haue written them. For that which I speake with a syncere faith, I would also to be taken in good part. I knowe how tender be y eares of the Princes of this world: Howbeit as touching yours I haue a verie great hope, since you are of Christ, not of this world. Wherefore setting aside the reasons of the Ethnickes, I will leade you a while to the singular and notable example of Dauid. For he, while he liued, was both famous in princelie power, and greatlie renowmed in excellent holinesse. Wherefore if I be desirous to haue you become such a one as he was, I desire nothing contrary either to your dignitie or godlines. For when hee should be appointed to the gouernement of the kingdome in Israel, before he could attaine to the same, suffered euen as you haue done most grieuous troubles, but when he was come thereunto, he thought nothing ought to be done before he had restored Religion nowe ruined: whereof the principal point and summe in that age herein consisted, that the arke of the couenaunt being the principall token of God, might bée reduced vnto the former estimation, which by the negligence of King Saul laie without regard had thereunto in the priuate house of one Aminadab in Gibea. This the godlie king could not suffer, wherefore he determined to conueigh the same vnto the Kinges Court. Howbeit in that wherein hee indeuoured to deale godlie, the Priestes did not rightlie exercise their office. Wherefore the godlie King in a maner despayred of that he looked for. Howbeit he within a while after gathering his wittes together, both draue them to doe their office rightlie, and he himselfe also with incredible ioie, and with singular gladnesse of the people, most happilie brought home the arke of the mightie God into Sion. Euen this same worke (most noble Quéene Elizabeth) is together with your kingdome, committed to your trust. For it behoueth that you restore againe into his place the holie Gospell of Christ, which through iniurie of the times and impoxtunitie of the aduersaries, hath lien some yéeres past neglected. I will not say troden vnder foote. This if you shal performe, all things shall happen prosper ouslie vnto you, no lesse than they did vnto most godlie King Dauid. For if it be saide vnto enerie Christian man, that he shoulde first sécke the kingdome of God, then other thinges should

God exerciseth the godlie with diuerse afflictions.

1.Sam.2.6.

Rom.8.28.

Psal.118.

Ephe.5.27.

The grandpiece of honour in scripture ascribed to Kelligion of God.

1.Sam.2.6.

Matt. 6. 33. should easilie be supplied, that we not thinke that the same is commaunded vnto kings? Certes, if it be commanded all men to worship God most sincerely, kings are not exempted from that precept: nay rather the greater estate they beare amongst men, the more are they bounde to that lawe of God. Notwithstanding there is no nede to admonish your maiestie in many words, whom the heauenly father hath inspired with a principall spirite as he did Dauid. But this daunger is like to happen, namely least those which at this day be called Priests, should erre in the worke of reforming the Church: euen as it came then to passe not without great trouble when the Lord smote Oza. For the Arke of the Lord should not haue beene carried in a carte, but borne vpon the shoulders of the Priests, euen as the law of God had prescribed. Wherefore we must now take speciall care and heede lest such thinges doe happen: that while the gouernours of the Church either be deceiued by error, or indeuor to shun labours and iust discipline, they goe about to beare the Arke of the Gospel, not by the word of God, and example of a more pure life: but vpon the Carts of vnprofitable ceremonies, and foule labours of hyred seruants. This if you shall consider (most noble Quéene) that it came so to passe, you shall not as Dauid was, be mooued more than is requisite, neither will yee intermit the worke begun as he for a time did, but will doe the same out of hande, as we reade that he a while after did: He corrected the error of the Priestes, he disposed the Leuites into certaine orders, & commaunded all things to be done by the strickt rule of the lawe. These be the things which all Godly men (most blessed Quéene) do expect of you. Hitherunto the kings of the earth (which is very greatly to be lamented) agree together and withstande God and his annointed. From whose societie euen as your maiestie is a straunger, so must you beare what is saide vnto you and to the rest of kings: Vnderstande nowe O yee kings, be learned O yee that iudge the earth, serue the Lord in feare. But you will say: shewe me what religious worship that thalbe which is required towards Gode. Verilie no other but with Godly seueritie to prohibit and correct especially in worshipping of him those things which be committed against the law of God. For it is necessarie that a king serue God two manner of wayes, first in respect that he is a man, by faithfull beleeuing and liuing: then in that he is a king which gouerneth the people, by establishing in foree conuenient, such lawes as commaunde iust and Godly thinges, and forbid the contrarie. This did Ezechias when he destroyed the groues, ydoll temples, and those high places which were erected against the commaundement of God, although that somtimes they did not sacrifice amisse in them. The selfe same thing did godly Iosias bring to passe with great diligence, zeale and incredible godlinesse. This did the king of the Niniuites not forebode to doe, which compelled the whole citie to pacifie the wrath of God. This did Darius perfourme vnto the true God as it is written in Daniel. This also did Nabucadnezer fulfill when by a most seuere lawe he bridled the tongues of them that dwelt in his kingdome from blaspheming the liuing God. I might easily shewe of verie manie kings and mightie Emperours after Christ that did the same: I meane Constantine, Theodosius, Charles the Great and many others. But because I will not goe either from the memorie of our times or from your own most honourable progenie, this did your most noble brother Edwarde king of England endeuour to his power and more than his age would giue leaue, whose reigne our sinnes and intollerable ingratitude suffered not any longer to be continued: Onely God wouldse shewe vnto the worlde the singular vertues and passing Godlinesse of that ympe, lecondlie that hee might somewhat chasten vs accoyding as our ill desertes required, hee the sooner called him out of the earth vnto him. Howbeit the case goeth wel, because he after a certaine fatherly correction died, hath taken pitie vpon vs, seeing he hath at this time placed you his dearest sister in his roume, who maie perfourme many moe things than he could, and shall the more fully answere the opinion conceiued of you, in that you are the elder, and therefore shall gouerne the kingdome not by the will of others, but by your owne iudgement. Wherefore you haue (most gracious Quéene) most liuelie examples of the auncient and also of the latter kings, and finallie of your most déere brother, in whose steps if you be willing religiously to walke, (and willing thereunto you ought to be) you shall obtaine many & singular great comodities. First you shall doe an acceptable thing vnto God, by ioining your selfe vnto his word: you shall reforce the Church of Christ which is almost vtterly decaied: you shal satisfy the godlier sorte of your owne nation: By your noble example you shal shew to foreine princes a sounde and sincere patterne of gouernment. And I beseech you neuer hearken vnto them, which faigne that the regard of the re-

A danger in the Church as concerning Iosa. Oza.

2. Sam. 6, 7.

1. Par. 23. & afterward

Psal. 2. 2.

Ib. ver. 10.

2. kings. 18. Thereame. ple of godly kings.

2. kings. 23. verse. 4.

Ionas 3. 7.

Dan. 6. 26.

Dan. 3. 96.

Ouer the care of Religion bee longeth vnto Princes & kings.

formation of religion belongeth not vnto Princes. For the good kings whome I before remembred did not so iudge. The holy Scriptures doe not so instruct vs, neither did the verie Ethnickes and Philosophers themselues so indge. Is it the office of a godlie Magistrate to defende onely one, and that the latter table of the lawe diuine? Shall the Prince take vppon him the care of all other busines, that they bee done rightlie and without fraude, and shall cast awaie the respect of Religion onelie? God forbid. If Bishops and Ministers of Churches shall not doe their duetie, if in handling of doctrine and administring of the Sacraments they forsake the iust rules of the holy Scriptures: who but a godlie Prince shall reuoke them into the right way? Let not your Maiestie expect, (as things nowe be) that those men are stirred vp to these things of themselues: vnlesse they be mooued thereunto by princely authoritie, they will not repaire the ruine of the Temple of God.

2. kings. 12. 1. Ioas a king of the Iewes, when he perceiued that the Priestes perfourmed not this, tok vnto him the charge to amend the decaied buildings of ỳ Temple. Go forward therfore O Iolie debora of our times. Ioine vnto you some godlie Barac. The Israelites which are diuers waies oppressed, deliuer you to the sincere and pure libertie of the Gospell. Bée not afraide, for God is not wont to leaue these enterprises destitute of his fauour. Him you shall haue with you: that you, like valiaunt Iahel may strike the head of Iabin with the hammer of your power, and fasten it to the ground from whence it came, whereby he may ceasle to be troublesome vnto your god nation. We haue verie great hope, that you shall bee the same Hester which shall dziue Haman vnto hanging, which thirsteth for the slaughter and blod of the people of God. Let these holie women be an incouragement vnto your Maiestie: and suffer not your selfe to faint for this cause that you are not borne a man but a woman. For where doth the power of God rather discouer it selfe than it doth in weakenes? Neither he vsed the strong things of the world to spread the kingdom of Christ: but by weake and base men he subdued to the Gospell the wisedome of man, and the loftie reasons of the flesh. And in that warre which Xerxes waged against the Gretians (if we shall regard the Ethnicke affaires) the men of Persia were slaine, and gaue them selues to shamefull flight, when in the meane time Artemisia the most renowmed Quéene, with a manly minde fought most stoute battailes. Which thing being vnderstoode, Xerxes saide that the men in that battaile were women, & that the women had shewed themselues to be most valiant men. Also Zenobia defended the Empire of Rome much more valiantly than did Galienus. Albeit thankes be to God, there is nothing sauing woman kinde that can iustly bee noted in your Maiestie either woman like or weake. But least I should be thought to speake to please your eares, I am minded to passe ouer the incomparable learning, the knowledge of tongues, the clemencie, virginitie, wisedome, and aboue all other the godlinesse and other vertues wherewith you being adorned by the benefite of God are not onelie called but are in verie déede most famous. Wherefore girde your selfe with a god courage vnto that holy worke which all god people doe expect of you, feare nothing at all the deceites of the diuell, the impediments of wicked persons, nor yet the weakenesse of woman kind. God shall put awaie all these thinges with one breath of his mouth. In the meane time verilie it shall be my part and such as I am to desire of God in our daily deuoute prayers that he will first graunt vnto your Maiestie that you may throughly perceiue all that god is by your own wit and vnderstanding, secondly that wholsome and profitable counsels may by others be suggested vnto you: further that you may receiue those things that shall be rightly shewed you: and finally that in whatsoeuer you shal vndertake, God will graunt you fortunate and happie successe. These prayers doe I daille make vnto God for you most gratious Ladie, and doe promise that while I liue I will neuer cease from these prayers. But the heauenly Father which hath the heartes of Kings in his owne hand, by whom Kings doe raigne, and who at his owne pleasure transferreth Empires to whom he will, euen he by his spirit direct your Maiestie, together with the Church and nation of England, and by his comfortable grace long continue the same in safetie. At Tigure 22. of December, 1558.

1. kings. 4. 6. Ouer much boldnesse of yong women.

Iud. 4. 6.

Iud. 5. 21.

Hester. 7.

1. Cor. 1. 28

Prou. 21. 1.

Prou. 8. 15.

Dan. 2. 21.

Your Maiesties most humble

Oratour, Peter Martyr.

Here followe certaine Theologicall Epistles of D. P. Martyr vnto diuers States and priuate Persons.

To all the faithfull of the Church of Luca, Saincles by calling, grace and peace from God the Father and from our Lorde Iesus Christ.

Peter Martyr excusing himselfe from long silence.

IF I should vse long silence in this flying a waie, no doubt but it woulde be vnprofitable & vngrateful vnto you, and it woulde ill become me so to do. Wherefore hauing the spirite of God as I hope I haue, I minded to talke with you by these letters since I cannot speake with you face to face. I taried at Basill vntill the 16. Calendes of Nouember. Although I were welcome and receiued of all men, yet I founde no fit state of life for my studies, because the Citie had no neede of teachers. Therefore since I was not able to beare out pouertie and scarfenelle without some honest labour, and that my minde gaue me not to take anie other trade in hande than mine owne, namelie the expounding of the worde of God, I remained in a doubt expecting what the Lorde would haue to be done with me and my faithfull companiõs. Sometimes we were forie with our selues, þ when we were come to Tygure we went not forwarde to Geneua, whither Bernard Ochinus iourneied the daie before our comming. Howbeit considering the thing diligentlie, the euent of the matter sufficientlie sheweth that all thinges happened according to the prouidence of God, who prouided that our presence was fitter for Strasborough than méete for Geneua. For Bucer, who nowe hath the cheefe place in the Church of Strasborough, being certified that we lined at Basill without anie certaine calling, called vs hither by letters. We being glad of this tidinges, because wee desired also for other causes to see him, wee giuing thankes to almightie God for such an occasion offered vnto vs, we iourneied from Basill to Strasborough. And so some as wee were come hither, we were most louinglie receiued by Bucer into his house. Seuentéene daies I remained with him. In which time I spied wonderfull examples of godlinelle alwel in his doctrine as in his life. His house seemed to be as a house of hospitalitie: such vsuall intertainment giueth hee towardes strãungers, which are constrained to trauel for the gospell and for Christes cause. Yee so well gouerneth his household, as in so manie daies space I perceiued not so much as a small occasion of offence, but founde on euerie side matter of edifying. At his table, there is no appearance either of excesse or nigardnelle, but of godlie moderation. In meates hee maketh no difference of daies, but eateth anie soyte of meate as it is laid before him without superstition, giuing often times thankes vnto GOD through Iesus Christ for so manie and so great benefites. Before and after meate, somewhat is recited out of þ holie scriptures which might minister matter for godlie and holie cõmunications. I may boldly affirme that I euer went from that table better learned: For I alwaies heard something which I neuer so throughlie weighed before or had not béene so wel satisfyed therin. As touching other actions of his, I alwaies found him occupied, and that in no priuate businelle, but in those thinges wherein he might helpe his neighbors: that is to wit, in dailie sermons, in well gouerning of ecclesiasticall matters, that Curates might gouerne the soules committed vnto them, that they should confirme them by holie examples: in visitation of schooles of learning, that al the labour which is there bestowed maie be referred to the furthering of the Gospell and commodity of the Church: In exhortations whereby he continuallie stirreth vp and enflameth the Magistrate vnto Christian godlinelle. There is in a manner no daie passeth ouer but he visiteth the court. And because he is all the whole daie occupied in these kinde of businelle, hée hath appointed the night for his priuate studies and prayers. To saie the trueth as the thing is, I neuer awaked out of slæpe in the night, but I founde him awake. Then by studies he prepared himselfe to those thinges which in the daie time hee was to speake, then obtained hee by prayers strength vnto his actions in the daie time. Beholde welbeloued brethren, in our age Bishoppes vpon the earth, or rather in the Church of Christ which

Bernard Ochinus.

Bucer.

The true description of a godlie Bishop.

which be truelie holie. This is the office of a pastor, this is that bishoplike dignitie described by Paul in the Epistles vnto Timothie and Titus. It delighteth me much to read this kinde of description in those Epistles, but it pleaseth me a great deale more to see with þ eyes the patterns thẽselues. Perhaps those of yours which onelie haue the bare name of Bishoppes will obiect, that the dignitie and bishoplike maiestie cannot by this meanes be preserued. If a Bishoppe shoulde preach and teach euerie day, he must euerie daie teach and visite the scholes. If care should be taken of the needie straungers and waifarers: if pouertie should bee suffered with an indifferent mind, without the greatnelle of reuenewes, where shall be the dignitie? Where shall be the glorie? Where shall be the maiestie of a Bishop? We answere that honour, riches and glorie is in no estimation among the pastours of soules and Apostolicall Bishoppes. Contrariwise we grant that vnto Bishoppes which bee not of the Church but of the worlde, vnto parents not of soules but of children, vnto pastors not of men but of dogges, horses and haukes, these thinges are most of all regarded, these are among the delightes, vnto these must be employed all indeuour, vnto these must be bended all the strength. But least our Epistle should waxe to great, setting aside these vnmete Bishoppes, let vs returne vnto that whereof we beganne to speake. Bucer obtained for me of the Senate an honest stipende, whereby I maie verie well maintaine my liuing: and therewithal committed vnto me the charge of interpreting euerie daie some place out of the holie Scriptures. Now presentlie I interpret the lesser Prophetes, as they vse to call them, béeing nowe readie to make an ende of Amos. And because the most part in this schole haue knowledge in the Hebrewe, I expounde the Hebrewe text in Latine. Capito, a man famous in learning and godlinelle occupied before the place appointed vnto me, who being deade a yeare nowe past, none hath béene as yet appointed in his stæde. Nowe hath God the most mercifull father brought me hither, that I might in some part ease Bucer of his infinite labours, who before my comming was to teach euerie daie in the schole. Since the time þ I haue béen placed in the rome of Capito, he maie nowe leaue off the affaires of þ schole, to other other businelle that is of no lesse importance. He preacheth euerie daie, with great profite of the whole schole and of me my selfe that heare him read. Wherefore by the benefite of Gods mercie, my affaires

1. Tim. 3. 1. Tim. 1. 6.

Capito.

Peter Martyr appointed to teache the Scriptures.

are in verie good state. Moreouer I cannot expresse in wordes howe welcome and welbeloued I am of all, and howe well I content the whole schole. Blessed be God the father of our Lorde Iesus Christ, who of his infinite clemencie hath bene mercifull vnto me. I woulde that that Church there might bee adorned with such gouernment. Vndoubtedlie you shoulde receaue a farre greater profite by dailie sermons and publike readinges of the holie scriptures, than by so manie masses, vnderstode for the most part neither of the sacrificing priests which say them, neither yet of those that heare them. The worde of God neuer falleth without some fruite. So as it would profit all men of euery condition, kinred, age and sexe: and so might as well your Church as also your Citie, be made better and more excellent. Vnlesse I be deceiued, you will aunswere after this manner: This indeede would be farre better, and farre more profitable, but we haue néed of Pastors for want of whome we are much troubled. But é be that thole few which remaine with vs would imitate your flying alway wherein you forsake vs, we should be left vtterlie destitute, neither should there be anie either to comfort or instruct vs out of the Gospel. Be not therefore dismaied (my most derelie beloued brethren) neither doe you dispaire. For although I haue bene taken away from you, yet will not God our most mercifull Father forsake you, but will euermore raise by some man that shal teach you the truth. I haue prayed and againe do pray for that which I iudge profitable for you: but I am no God, that I can giue you this before the time appointed. The most mercifull God for his infinite wisedo me take thal in place and time most conuenient establishe your Church which séemeth nowe to be dismaied and ouerthrowen, which certeinlie appeareth not to be altogether destitute of the strength of the spirite: For in banishment and persecutions where with it is dailie vexed, it bringeth forth no lesse fruite of faith than doe these Churches, which by the benefite of God inioy peace and quietnelle. Besides, although yee shoulde be altogether destitute of ministers of the worde to whom the charge of preaching the Gospell is committed: (which inconueniences God forbid) yet thal neuer the spirit of God be wanting, who shall be in your heartes in the stæde of Preachers. Moreouer there are among you which by the grace of God are so greatly illumined with the light of the trueth as they can also giue light vnto others, and giue a testimonie vnto the truth: and besides those

whome the Lord hath now indued with this grace, hee shall alwaies stirre by others. Wherefore I gather by all these things ỳ my departure hath bin no cause of dammage vnto you. I acknowledge that it cannot be, but that ye take it greeuoulie to bee depriued of that spiritual comfort, which God sometime gaue you by my sermons, lectures and conferences which I had with you. Notwtstanding when as God recompenseth this losse with a greater strength of the spirite, it is manifest ỳ there is no damage brought vnto your saluation. Besides that, these sermons, lectures and conferences coulde not indure anie longer, vnlesse I woulde either haue darkened the trueth, or haue professed thinges which are plainelie false. The one of which name is obscuring of the trueth, it greeueth mee that I did it at anie time: but to teach falsehe, that shoulde not in anie wise haue beene done. There hath beene alreadie rumor spreade abroade at Rome amongest those which were conuersaunt in these matters, that it is chefelie to be attributed vnto mee that your citie did continue in errour. Yea and this was cast in my teeth at Luca, that I maie by my sermons and authoritie remedie all these things. Yea and those Monkes also of mine murmured euerie daie that our Monasterie was for my sake worse reported of than the Monasterie of the Augustinians, & that I might ridde awaie this blemishe by their words in the pulpit. The verie which bruite was nowe come to the cheefe gouernour and to the principals of ỳ order. Wherefore I forsaw that it wold by some meanes come to passe, that I shoulde be forbidden the office of preaching either by the Pope or by your Citie, or else by our societie, and that bodilie punishmentes besides shoulde be laid vppon me nothing at al to your commoditie. For wherein I haue beene a helpe vnto you by my silence, especiallie when in so manie sermons and lectures I expounded vnto men if they were not deafe, those principal points of heauenlie doctrine which are necessarie vnto saluation, yea in a manner all those thinges which I my selfe vnderstode. Yee will obiect, You shoulde haue continued and expected while the imminent oppressions had come vppon you, and those to haue suffered with a patient minde, which at the length wold greatlie haue furthered the building of the Church: for by your example you shoulde haue animated others vnto constancie. Of all other thinges it is least of all to be allowed, that you fled awaie when no necessitie vrged. Herein standeth the whole summe of the controuersie, to vnderstande when necessitie shall vrge. Such manner of necessitie and opportunitie God reueileth vnto them which wholie commit themselues in aduersities vnto his protection. But that the same moment of time wherein I departed was fit for that purpole, I so perswaded my selfe, as I doubt not but that this perswasion is the inspiration of God. And although that I did not abide the bitter troubles before my departure, yet coulde I not vtterlie auoide all. What troubles I suffered at Naples and there where you are, I inowe well enough. Let you your selues be iudge what disquietnesse, and how manie aduersities I indured al the laft yere: which although they were not most greeuous calamities, yet were they messengers and tokens of them. Wherefore it seemes to me that I haue suffered so manie, as I haue not preached the Gospell without afflictions: afterward I neglected not a fit occasion of safetie offered. While I am in this place I serue by the benefite of God vnto some vse. If God shall giue anie quietnesse to your state, perhappes I will lead my life againe with you: neither will I shunne anie danger whereunto God shall call me for the saluation of soules. Moreouer ye be not ignorant of the troubles where with my conscience was vexed, because of that state of life which I followed. I should euerie day haue winched at an innumerable sort of superstitions, I should not onelie my selfe haue executed superstitious rites, but should also without all reason haue required them of others: manie thinges should I haue done otherwise than I iudged or taught. Your Pasto: I was, what I was able to bring to passe by Lectures and Sermons, that I did: when I could not gouerne the Church, as Christian trueth requireth, I thought it better in giuing ouer so difficult a charge, to withdrawe my selfe into some place, from whence I might at the least wise exhort you by letters, than to remaine in that place where I should haue bin depriued of al conuersation with you, and not to haue bin lawfull to deale with you either in presence or by letters. I am not priuie that anie man hath bin brought in perill through my flying away. In such a place am I by ỳ benefite of GOD, as I may interpret the holie scriptures, comfort you by letters, and exhort you to retaine the pureneſſe of the Gospell. And, to say the trueth, this departing of mine (which I speake for setting forth the glorie of God) being diligentlie considered, is not without a mortification of mine owne selfe; nor without neglect of promotion and honours wherewith in the sight of men I was

Flying from persecution defended.

was largelie indued: nor without lesse commodities, whereof I had plentie on euerie side: nor yet without resignation of authoritie, wherein I could doe much among all men. And all these thinges I might haue augmented manie wayes, if I would haue departed from the trueth and Gospel of God. Wherefore since I am deliuered from so great a danger, being not ignorant of these kinde of troubles, since I was certified from Rome, from the societie, from the Monasterie, and from your Citie, of the persecution euen at hand, since I did harme vnto none, but by Lectures and Sermons did manifest the trueth, all dignities, riches, and commodities set aside, being rid out of the bondes of superstitions, and deliuered from so many hypocrisies: if I deliuered my life from imminent oppression, there is no cause why anie man should take occasion of offence. And doth not the Lord graunt that we should auoide persecutions? To speake freelie as the thing is, I acknowledge herein no fault. I would I could aswell alow all the rest of my actions. But if it be anie sinne, it must rather be attributed vnto reason than to will. Of these thinges here brethren, I haue written somewhat more at large, but yet (as I iudge) not without profit. For an interpretour of the word of God must yeeld account vnto the people both of sayinges and doinges which are of great importance, and may otherwise be taken of other men, least he destroy more by his actions than he hath edified by his Sermons. Hereafter I will write more often vnto you: neither will I write anie thing else than Christian doctrine and spirituall consolations. First I thought good to certifie you in what place of the world I am, and wherein I am occupied, and therewithall to yeeld a reason of my departure. I make mention of you in all my prayers. Wherefore I earnestlie beseech you, that you will shew the like part vnto me, commending me in your prayers to the mercie of God, Grace and peace through the spirit of Christ be dailie multiplied in you all, Amen. Giuen at Strasborough the viij. calends of Ianuarie, 1543.

An Epistle of Maister Peter Martyr to a friende of his, touching the flying awaie in time of persecution.

Our petition (Sir) when I considered with my selfe, I was driuen into a doubtfull deliberation. For on the one part I wold obey you, as my dutie is: but on ỳ other part I feared least the controuersie risen among the brethren, about flying awaie, should ware the more sharpe. Yet hauing an assurance in your wisedome, I haue taken vpon me to declare what my opinion is as touching this question, perswading my selfe that you haue desired this for your own vse, and not for other mens. Neuertheleſſe, if it shall like you to communicate vnto others those things which I write, I doubt not but you will doe it with that moderation, that no tumult shall arise thereby. Wherefore that I may touche the thing as shortly as I can, take you it after this manner. Vndoubtedly both sorts of brethren disputing of this matter, moue the weaker sort of Christians to flie awaie in time of persecution, howbeit by a diuers manner of perswasion. For the one alloweth of flying away, as of the leſſer euill, so farre forth as it is compared with abiuration or forswearing: but the other sort allowe it as good in it selfe, or else mingled of good and badde. But to flie, to the intent we may, after the maner of Epicures more commodiouslie fulfill the lustes of the flesh, is both a foule fault and deemed of both sortes to be most vnworthie for a Christian man. Wherefore me thinkes there be two principall pointes of this controuersie: one whether the feare of death in a Christian man be sinne: and the other, whether this precept which is in the v. of Matthew: When they shall persecute you in one Citie, flie ye into another; be at this day in force, or whether it be abrogated by Christ, as is that saying, Goe not into the waie of Gentils, and into the Citie of the Samaritanes enter ye not. If these two thinges be resolued, I am of the minde that the disagreeing opinions of the brethren will be easilie reconciled. First of all therefore consider that feare is nothing else but an affect of the minde, whereby we are disquieted and afflicted by reason of dangers that are at hand. And this perturbation may two manner of waies be faultie. First when a man feareth a thing as euill which in verie deede is not euill, euen as we see that children and such other as want vnderstanding, doe feare shadowes, Philistians and medicines when they be sicke. And this kind of feare is counted a feare, altogether proceeding from the defect and corruption of iudgement, and it is condemned in the holy Scriptures. With this kinde of sinne are

Mat.10.23.

Ibidem.5.

Most of all feare.

Two maner of faultes in feare.

they intangled which feare leaſt the bellie ſhoulde want any thing, or leaſt that the worlde with the fleſhly pleaſures thereof ſhoulde be forſaken. Another waie, feare is faultie when a man feareth that which is in deede euill, but yet not vnto that ende, or not after that manner which behoueth. With this vice are they infected, which feare the punishments ſet downe in holy writings for them which are breakers of the law, hauing reſpect to their owne commodities, not to the glorie of God. So Eſaw, Ahitophell and Iudas the Traitour feared the wrath of God and euerlaſting damnation. For although they feared that which was to be feared, yet they ſinned in fearing without meaſure and without faith. This diſtinction in mine opinion is ſo plaine, that euerie man may vnderſtand it. Moreouer we are to ſee, whether the terrour of death which is ioyned with errour ought to be referred to the firſt errour ſpoken of by vs, or to the latter: that is to ſay, whether we ſin becauſe that which in deede is not euil, is ſuppoſed to be euill, or elſe becauſe the meane of feare is not obſerued. Merily I doe thinke that the feare of death is not therefore a thing to be blamed, becauſe death ſhould not be feared, for this doe al liuing creatures very much feare: which I might proue not only by experience, but alſo by naturall & effectuall reaſons, but for briefnitie ſake I will content my ſelfe onely with the teſtimonies of the Scripture. Vnto the firſt man God threatened death as a horrible punishment, if he ſhoulde not keepe his commaundements. Likewiſe Moſes pronouncing the Lawe in the name of God, ſaide: Beholde I haue ſet before you death and life, life, if ye ſhal keepe the commaundements, death if ye ſhall not keepe them. Vndoubtedly except that death were a thing to be feared, God woulde not threaten it vnto them that bee obſtinate. What needes many words? Paul in the firſt to the Corinthians calleth death the laſt enemie that ſhall be deſtroyed by Chriſt. The ſame Apoſtle in the ſecond to the Corin. writeth that We would not be vnclothed, but be clothed vpon. And that holy men, not a few feared death, as did Dauid, Helias, and thoſe Prophets which becauſe of the crueltie of Achab and Iezabell hid them ſelues in the dennes, the holy ſcriptures doe plainly teſtifie. But euen Chriſt himſelfe which was verie man would not be voide of this feare. A vaine thing is it that ſome men ſay, that not Chriſt but the Church in Chriſt feared death. For if we confeſſe as the thing berilie is, that he ſuffered for vs death, the croſſe and other humane greefes, and that not onely his death but that the horror alſo of death was ſaluation vnto vs (albeit I ſtedfaſtlie beleeue, and of all men it ought to be beleeued, that all things which Chriſt did for our ſakes, were done iuſtlie, holily and honeſtlie) if I ſay, be verilie feared death for our ſake, as of the Euangeliſtes it is taught, we ought not to ſay that that feare is in his owne nature to bee blamed, otherwiſe it cannot be incident vnto Chriſt. Neither herein did our Lorde any thing againſt the will of the Father, ſince both it was the Fathers will that he not onely ſhoulde ſuffer death, but alſo that he ſhould feare the ſame, as alſo for that he in fearing of death by a naturall inſtinct and conſidering the will and decree of the Father, ſubmitted vnto him this feare of his, ſatisfying that precept which commaundeth that God ſhoulde bee loued with all the ſoule, and with all the ſtrength. There is no doubt but that feare is an affection of the minde and a worke of God which is then directed vnto the worſhip of him, when it is ſubmitted vnto his will and commaundement. Howbeit ſome man may ſay, that this feare although it were not blameable in Chriſt, yet in men it is faultie. I anſwere that this feare being conſidered by it ſelfe and in his owne nature is not euill, nor doeth God require of vs that wee ſhoulde be altogether without affection, ſeeing he hath ingendred theſe affections in vs, and that we ſhoulde not chaunge the natures of obiects, that is to ſay, to make that pleaſant which in his owne nature is dreadfull and terrible, or to make that ſweete which is ſharpe and bitter: but he requireth that we ſhould not by anie meanes ſuffer our ſelues for theſe things to be withdrawne from his will which is iuſt and holy. Yea and ſuch is the wil of God, that if ſinne, eternall damnation, and death with all that belonges thereunto, which are the calamities of this life, ſhould be ſet before our eyes, we ſhould feare all theſe things, and thoſe ſhould vnderſtand no otherwiſe than by nature they are, ſince that there is ingraffed in our mindes a feare of euill thinges. If neuertheleſſe we ſhall conſider of this feare, as it proceedeth from vs being vtterlie corrupted and infected, it is ſinne in deede and ſo ought to be called, becauſe none of vs hath feared ſo much, in ſuch ſort and to ſuch an end as he ought to feare. But yet this is not peculiar and proper to the feare of death, ſeeing there is alſo in it, faith, hope, and loue. For no man although he be holy, both hope, beleeue, and loue as he ought to doe, nor as the lawe requireth. In Chriſt therefore feare was

Whether there be a faultineſſe in the feare of death.

Gen.2.17.

Deu.30.19

1.Co.15.26

2.Cor.5.4.

1.kings.18.13.

Chriſt only the goodlie feared death.

Mat.14.13 & 26.37.

Luk.22.15.

Phil.1.23.

Deut.6.5.

Prove the goodlie feares the death which they feare.

That feare by it ſelfe is no ſinne.

was not ſinne, but in vs it is ſinne, not of his owne nature, but by the faultineſſe which it draweth from our corrupt veſſel, whereby through it palleth, euen as it happeneth vnto an excellent wine powred into an vncleane veſſell. But ſome man wil ſay againe: If the cale ſhould ſo ſtand, how ſhould Chriſt haue deſired death, ſaying: I haue earneſtlie deſired to eate this paſſouer with you? And the Apoſtle: I deſire to be looſed & to be with Chriſt. And againe: To die, is vnto me an aduantage. How could S. Andrewe, being brought forth to the place of execution (if it be true which is reported of him) haue ſaid with a cheerefull minde: All haile precious croſſe, take vp vnto thee the diſciple, ſeeing thou haſt firſt ſuſtained the Maiſter? For it is manifeſt that all theſe either were without affections, or elſe iudged that to be good which was euill. I anſwere that death (as it hath bin ſaid) is not by it ſelfe good, and therefore ſo farre forth as it is ſo received by vs, it alwayes bringeth a feare. Howbeit it oftentimes happeneth that our cogitation ſtandeth not ſtill in death, but looking further, it ſeeth, that in dying we make an end of ſinning, we paſſe vnto eternal life, we further the building of the Church, we giue a teſtimonie vnto the trueth of the Goſpell, as euerie Chriſtian doth earneſtlie deſire. So then while we behold ſuch and ſo manie good thinges, the minde triumpheth for ioy, and feare which death naturallie cauſeth doth giue place, and is ſo ouerwhelmed by that great ioy, and is not then ſo felt, as when we behold death it ſelfe by it ſelfe alone. Oftentimes alſo God powreth into the mindes of his Saintes ſo great fauour and ſpirite, as feare, which otherwiſe in his owne nature would be greeuous vnto the, is ſo mortified & infeebled as it hindereth nothing at all. This doctrine vnleſſe I be deceaued, is eaſie, manifeſt, and plaine: and therefore it eaſilie aſſoileth the queſtions put forth. Wherefore the firſt part or member of our forſaid diſtinction is now declared: that is to wit, that a man doth not therefore ſinne in fearing of death, becauſe he feareth that which is not to be feared: for death by it ſelfe is dreadfull, cruell, and hard: and the bleſſed God hath giuen to our mindes the affect of feare, that the ſame being ſtirred vp to ſuch kinde of obiectes, we may be preſt and readie to put away euils from vs ſo farre forth as is lawfull by the word of God.

The ſecond faultineſſe of feare.

Now let vs come to the other part of our diuiſion, namelie to ſinne which ſtandeth in the feare of death, when a man feareth not to that end nor in ſuch wiſe as behoueth. It is a feare blameworthie as touching the end, if we being onelie carefull of our owne ſafetie, be vtterlie careleſſe of the glorie of God and his word. For, who ſeeth not that it is moſt ſhamefull to meaſure the chiefeſt, end by our owne vtilitie, to haue regard vnto our owne benefite and not that which is Ieſus Chriſtes? This end rather is to be appointed, that our heart ſtricken with a terror of death, ſhould beware of ſinne which was the cauſe of death, yea it ſhould ſhunne the wrath & offence of God: that it ſhould boldlie pray to the godneſſe of God for deliuerance: Finally that it ſhould deſpiſe this world that inwrappeth vs in ſo manie dangers. But to conclude in few words, this ought chiefelie to be the end of this feare, that we ſubmit the ſame vnto the will of God, to the intent we may loue him with all the affections of our minde. And the manner of the feare of death is, that we be not ſo ſtricken as we put away the word of God and neglect his glorie. Therefore we ſinne, if for feare ſake a man deny the trueth: if, forſaking his vocation, he ſuffer the fillie thæpe committed to his charge, to be caught away by Wolues. By theſe things which be ſpoken we gather, that flying away is no ſinne if it be taken in hand for the glorie of GOD, that is to wit, vnto that end that we may ſerue him with a pure heart; that we may leaue Idolatries and ſuperſtitions, that we may not raſhlie caſt our ſelues into the danger of abiuration, that we may by the benefite of Patrimonie liue vndefiled, yea we may the better call vpon God with a pure conſcience in thoſe things which belong vnto the worſhipping of God, that we may be inſtructed by learned men, that we may ſee the ſocietie of the Saintes, that we may leade our life in a well reformed Church: Finallie, that we may ſo confirme our ſelues as at a more fit time we inſtruct others vnto edification, euen as God called vs and moued vs by his ſpirit. This flying away, I ſay, is no ſinne, although it haue the feare of death ioyned with it. For as we haue ſaid, that feare is not faultie vnleſſe it be ſtained and corrupted by the end or manner of fearing. Wherefore as touching this, I diſagree from both theſe ſorts of brethren: from the firſt doubtleſſe, becauſe they ſay that flying away hath the reſpect of a leſſe euill. For being indued with thoſe circumſtances I cannot condemne it, nor ſay that it is faultie: and from the other, becauſe they write that it is mired, as if they acknowledged that there is ſome fault therein, although there be in it ſome good. For I am of an other minde, who iudge that the

Whether what bounds feare muſt be reſtrained.

feare of death being moderated, as I haue set downe, is a good and laudable worke, hauing no mixture at all with euill, but so farre forth as it proceedeth from our faultie and corrupt nature. But this as we haue a bone said, is common vnto it with faith, hope, and the loue of God. And I must needes somewhat maruell at these two excellent brethren, that seeing they iudge flying away to be euill or to haue some euill in it, they will perswade the same to the weaker sort of brethren, to the intent they may maintaine ỹ profession of the trueth & not forswere theselues. For by this meanes they perswade euill, that good may be obtained. Which Paul vnto the Romans forbiddeth. For he permitteth not vs to doe euill thinges vnder pretence that some good may followe. Neither should any obiect that God setteth forth all his precepts, and good works of euerie kinde to be kept of vs, although he know that we cannot doe the same without sinne: Seeing alonely God can be excused of this that of him nothing is commanded, but that which in his owne nature is good: but if there be any sinne committed, that must not be imputed to the commaundement of God but vnto the faultinesse which cleaueth vnto vs. But the perswasion of these men cannot after this manner be excused. For they iudge that flying away taken in hande through the feare of death either is sinne although lesse than abiuration, or at least wise hath sinne mingled therewith and that by it selfe. Neither do they appoint any circumstances or measure vnto the terror of death or to the flying away for feare of death, in respect whereof, to flie away in his owne nature is good. But some man will wey with himselfe: And shall not the feare of death bee faultie also in the foresaide cases, and with the foresaide circumstances, seeing it striueth against the will of God? For it is manifest that Christ otherwhile requireth our death for his owne name sake. For he saith: Hee that will lose his life for my sake, shall saue the same: and he that will saue it, shall loose it. Also we reade in Iohn that it is our part to lay downe our life for our brethren. Wherefore if euerie one of vs ought to obey GOD with all his strength, and with al his soule, how doe we satisfie this precept, when as by fearing of death we are manifestly called from the commandement of God: and sinne altogether it is whatsoeuer is repugnant to the reuealed will of God: Manie which do not sufficiently vnderstande the nature of sinne, are wont to say that those first motions, which are stirred vp in vs without deliberation, are no sinnes till wee giue our consent vnto them. But howe greatlie these men are deceiued, Paul hath declared vnto the Romans, when hee manifestlie called the lawe of the members, sinne, speaking of those motions which trouble vs against our will, and do holde vs captiues in a manner by violence, whiles our minde (which otherwise as touching it selfe is exceedingly delighted with the lawe of God) doth striue against and withstand those motions, so as he crieth out: O wretch and vnhappie that I am, who shall deliuer me from the bodie of this death? I confesse indeede that this aunswere is after a sort obscure, but I hope to make it plaine. Some things there be so forbidden of God, as in no respect they can haue any iustnesse or honestie in them: such are adulterie, theft, periurie, ydolatrie and pride. Where-fore as concerning all these actions, so farre forth as they are considered by themselues, they are alwayes faultie as well in persons iustified as not regenerate, whether they haue deliberation and assent ioyned with them, or whether they be in the first motion: Albeit those first motions, are forgiuen vnto them which are made iust through Christ, neither are they imputed vnto destruction, forsomuch as the perfect & true faith, wherby they are made partakers of the promised saluation is not extinguished in them. But there be certaine other affectes, or humane actions not forbidde of God by themselues: as to feare aduersities, to delight in commodities, to possesse the goods of this life, and such like which God hath not forbidden, saeing so farre forth as we be drawen of them to do those things which are against his commaundements. Wherefore although those first motions, whereby we be stirred vp vnto adulterie, vnto theft, vnto blasphemie and vnto ydolatrie, are faultie, notwithstanding there be no erroneous assent: yet feare, which naturally awaketh in vs at the presence of death, is not faultie, so it be submitted to the will and commandement of God, if perhaps it behoued vs to die for the defence of his glorie. Therefore I graunt it to be faultie so farre forth as it is repugnant to the will of God, and I doubt not but that he which shall suffer such an affect to be carried by his owne violence without restraint, doth withstande the holy commaundements. But otherwise it is, if faith and syncere charitie be the guide thereof, that with other affects and motions of the minde, it may be submitted and repose it selfe in the will of God. Neither ought the first motion thereof be compared with the desires of those thinges, which honestly forbidden either to haue or to compasse: For these thinges by themselues and in their owne nature be faultie. But seeing that not seldome but often we may iustly both reioyce in prosperitie, and sorow in aduersitie: they are not by themselues faultie motios, but so farre forth as they drawe some euill thing from vs being corrupted, euen as in all vertues it commeth to passe. Such affectes also should be faultie, if we should suffer them so far to be enraged, as we would do any thing against the wil of God. Moreouer this also I will adde, that death being weighed simplie and by it selfe, is to be feared: but so farre forth as it is commaunded by the worde of God, it must be imbraced with all the heart, with all the soule, and with all the affections. And although we require not of feare that it hold consent (for ỹ is beside the nature thereof) yet do we require of it that it should giue place: which if it doe, it selfe also, so far as is in the power thereof, obayeth God. But where death is not commanded vnto vs, nor for this cause commeth into question, the feare of it, so it keepe it selfe within iust lymites, cannot iustly be condemned. Of these things, seeing we haue spoken abundantly, we will end the first part of the treatise, wherin we haue plainly declared our iudgement as touching the feare of death whether it be faultie or no: and we will begin the seconde part, as touching the commaundement of Christ giuen to his Apostles: If they shall persecute you in one citie, flie you vnto an other, which manie perswade thēselues was afterward abrogated by Christ, euen as that saying: Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into the citie of the Samaritans enter yee not. Vnto this opinion subscribed Tertullian when he wrote of flying away: because while that commandement should indure and be of force, he perceiued that flying away might not iustly be denied vnto the faithful. But to say briefely what my opinion is, I thinke that precept hath nowe the selfesame weight it had then when it was giuen to the Apostles. And as touching that saying: Goe yee not into the way of the Gentiles, and into the Cities of the Samaritans enter yee not: I thinke it was a commaundement but for a time: for afterward Christ commaunded the contrarie when hee departing from hence into heauen, sent forth his disciples into all the worlde to preach the Gospell. Wherefore since there is extant no commandement of Christ whereby flying away is forbidden, it behoueth to keepe inuiolate that commandement of flying away: to wit, that it should be of as great force at this day, as

in old time it was first deliuered to the Apostles. Neither as I thinke doth that obiection any thing preuaile, that the Lorde saide: Feare not them which kill the bodie, wherevnto whosoeuer thinke that flying away is vnlawfull, doe leane as vnto a foundation. For it must be considered that in the selfe same 10. Chapter of Matthew, and in one and the same saying of ỹ Lord vnto the Apostles are contained both the sentences, and both were recited vnto them being sent to preach. Wherefore if both the sentences might then stande together as touching the Apostles, what letteth that they may not stande together at this day as touching vs? For I see no absurditie, if, in the time of persecutions (while there is a lawfull way and opportunitie of flying) a man flie away to the intent he may liue vnto God, not vnto himselfe: and that hee may shun the tempting of God if he thoulde offer himselfe to a daunger not necessarie: be being certified by faith, that a way of escaping is shewed vnto him of God, because without his wil there is no meanes to escape: and is readie to resist the enimies of the trueth and the Gospell, when his good houre shall come: and yet in the meane time is so encouraged, and hath most surely purposed with himselfe, that if he shoulde be taken and led vnto the tyrants, he will rather dye not once but a thousande times, than to renounce the trueth, and forsake his deare Christ. Assuredly he that is indued with such a minde, and which hath thus decreed with himselfe in flying, he followeth the doctrine of Christ, when as he doth not so feare them that kill the bodie, but that notwithstanding them though he be holde captiue of them, hee will confesse the faith, or the same being confessed will defende it euen vnto death, bloud, fire and extreme torementes. For after this manner I thinke that Christ himselfe our Lorde fledde, when his houre was not yet come. So did Paul when by the holy brethren he was let down through the wall of the city of Damascus. So did sometime Policarpus, Cyprian, and other holy martyrs flie away, when they auoyded for a time. Also in the olde testament we reade of the selfesame thing that was done by the Prophets. Wherefore seeing wee finde not that the leaue to flie away, was not reuoked or abrogated by Christ, it semes not that the same shoulde be restrained by vs, if it be done by iust meanes and circumstances. If a man flie for ydolatrie sake or in respect of the delights of this worlde, or else because he is ashamed to confesse Christ, or haue determined with himselfe such carnall purposes, there

Euill must not be done for to obtaine good. Rom. 3. 8.

Howe farre forth we ought to loue our soule. Luke. 9. 24. Ioh. 15. 13. Ioh. 1. 3. 16.

That the first motios are sinnes.

Rom. 7. 24.

A difference of those thinges which are forbidden by God.

Mat. 10. 23

Ibidem. 5.

That the precept of Christ reuoking flying away is perpetuall.

Mat. 10. 28.

Ioh. 10. 36

Acts. 9. 30.

1. kings. 18. 13.

there is no doubt but he muſt bee vtterly blamed for it. But he which for the cauſes aboue ſpecified, and eſpecially which ſtyeth away for auoyding a daunger like to inſue vnto the ſoule, (whereunto no man ought rathly to offer himſelfe vnleſſe he will tempt God) whie ſhould he be blamed? Verily vnto me, he ſeemes not worthie of blame, eſpecially when in flying away he denyeth himſelf and taketh vp his croſſe with Chriſt. Neither can any denie but that the flight taken for ſuch cauſes is a kinde of confeſſion. If thou weigh the thing in equall ballance, it is eaſie to vnderſtand, that the Goſpell and pure faith in Chriſt is of no ſmall eſtimation vnto them which ſo flie away. For who had not rather tarie at home at his owne houſe, enioy his goods, vſe the familiaritie of his own Countrimen, than as a poore and vnknowen man to wander like a ſtraunger in a farre Countrey, where he vnderſtandeth not the language of the Countrie: where it behoueth him continuallie to aſke ſometime one man, and ſometime another for ſuch things as be neceſſarie: where for the moſt part he is not accounted for an honeſt man: where manie times as it happeneth with the ſtate of ſtraungers, he is both reiected and ill intreated: where either for the chaunge of the aire or for the varietie of meates and lodgings, great inconueniences muſt be continuallie indured? They which denie that this ſuffering is for Chriſt & his trueth, acknowledge no other afflictions beſides for-ments and beſides violent death: from which things they that flie away, yet (as it hath bin ſaide) they are readie to ſuffer, if being taken by tyrants, they be conſtrained to defende their profeſſion after that manner. But in verie deede, if a man come forth and yeelde himſelfe vnto the enemies of the trueth, and doe franckly confeſſe the doctrine of Chriſt, to refuſe the occaſion offered of flying awaie, that is a great thing and worthie of ſingular admiration, for aſmuch as it proceedeth of faith and moſt feruent charitie: howbeit this is not in euerie man to doe. Howbeit euerie one of vs ought to followe the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt who inwardly driueth euerie one vnto ſaluation by that way which is moſt meete for the ſtrength and giftes giuen him of God, not according to our owne will, but according to his moſt prouident and wiſe iudgement. But he that hath a preſent minde to enter into martyrdome, and by the ſpirit is driuen hereunto, ought not to deſpiſe, condemne & ſpeake euill of him which for auoiding of abiuration fleeth awaie: who if he laie not downe his life, yet doeth he forſake his native Countrie: if he ſuffer neither torments nor impriſonments, yet doeth he ſuſtaine moſt grieuous inconueniences: if he doe not ſhed his bloud, yet doeth he giue a teſtimonie vnto the trueth hauing a prompt and readie heart to ſuffer all extremities ſo often as by the manifeſt will of God and impulſion of the ſpirit he ſhall be driuen thereunto. Paul by his example inſtructed vs who ſometime withdrewe himſelfe giuing place to his enemies, ſometime willingly entred into perils, and neither for teares nor by any intreatie could be plucked awaie from that he had fully determined. Wherefore he that prouidently fleeth awaie when time and occaſion requireth, and when daunger is at hande, ought firſt of all to pray vnto God after this manner: Act.9.30.

That flying away is a diuerſe of confeſſion.

Since thou (my Lorde) haſt deale ſo mercifully with me, as thou wouldeſt make me partaker of thy trueth, and reueale vnto mee my redeemer Ieſus Chriſt the Sauiour of the world, graunt moreouer I beſeeche thee, that this treaſure of thy holy Goſpell latelie written in my heart, may with mee be preſerued, increaſe and bring foorth fruite, in whatſoeuer ſort it ſhall ſeeme good vnto thee. And for my part, behold I offer my ſelfe vnto thee: doe with mee, euen as it ſhall ſeeme good vnto thy will. Whether I die ſooner or later for thy ſake I doe not much paſſe, Thy will bee doone, not mine, Bee thou preſent with mee, and ſo gouerne mee, as I may nothing offend in this determination. To thee I wholy yeeld and commit my ſelfe. I knowe that this preſent perill is not ſprung vp nor yet made manifeſt without thy will: neither haue I anie hope that without thee, I can finde a waie to eſcape. Wherefore ſince I am thus doubtfull and vncertaine leaſt thou ſhouldeſt ſuffer me to bee led by the feare of mine owne fleſh and wiſedome, ſubmit thou all my will and iudgement vnto thy good will, leaſt I ſhould erre, and leaſt it ſhould happen ill with mee: Giue eare vnto mee I beſeeche thee, for thy onely ſonnes ſake Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen. He which thus from the heart commendeth himſelfe in this caſe vnto God, we muſt not thinke that he ſhall be left deſtitute of the fauour of Gods ſpirit. Therefore if he haue inwardly perceiued himſelfe moued to flie awaie and hath caſt away the care of his worldly goods, ſeeking onely thoſe thinges which be Chriſtes not his owne, he ſhall doe verie well, neither may he be accuſed if he flie awaie, being certified in his owne conſcience through the word of God that he hath attempted no vnlawfull thing. For it is written: If they ſhall perſecute you in one Citie, flie

flie you vnto another: eſpecially ſince there is no other place in the Scriptures whereby this libertie is reſtrained or reuoked. And in one and the ſelfe ſame Chapter of Matthew is founde both the doctrines: namely of flying awaie, and of not fearing them which haue power to kill the bodie onely. Wherefore ſince theſe two preceptes are not repugnant one to another, they may be reconciled and kept as it hath bin ſhewed before. That ye may giue credite hereunto, the examples of the Apoſtles doe ſerue: for they alſo after they had received the holy Ghoſt fled awaie, and as Chriſt in this place commanded them, did ſhake off the duſt from their feete. I am not ignorannt in deede that ſome of the fathers thought that that precept was but for a time, and that it ſhoulde not endure perpetually, but was onely applied vnto that time: yet I remember not that I haue read among any of them, that flying away was not ſometime lawfull to Chriſtians. Onely Tertullian I except, writing (by his leaue) ouer hardly of this matter: whoſe reaſons, if a man will weigh with ſome diligence, he ſhall finde them to haue much more elegancie than ſtrength: all which I would conclude, ſauing for want of time and that I thinke it not neceſſarie. But now ſome man will ſay: If the precept of flying away be not abrogated, as you ſay, ſhall all men flie awaie and no man remaine? I aunſwere: It was commaunded that wee ſhoulde tarie, and it was commaunded that we ſhould flie away. But theſe precepts are not vniuerſall: nowe the one, nowe the other muſt be obeyed. When a man is inwardly confirmed by the helpe of the holy Ghoſt, and is inuited to tarie, and beleeueth that this maketh more to the glorie of God, he ought to tarie, eſpecially, if he be nowe bounde by the commaundement of the Magiſtrate, and muſt neither breake priſons, nor by fraude deuiſe to flie. For in that he is in bondes, euen by the verie ſame doeth God declare that his houre is come: wherefore he muſt not depart. But if the caſe be otherwiſe, that he bee not as yet deliuered into the enemies hands, nor is indued with ſufficient ſtrength, nor is driuen to tarie by motion of the ſpirit, nor is bounde by any priuate vocation, then muſt he flie awaie. For euen as by the benefit of the common lawes, a man may for any cõmoditie ſake goe elſewhere, either to exerciſe marchãdize or vpõ ſuch like occaſion: euẽ ſo it is lawfull for a man to withdrawe himſelfe for auoiding of offences, and for the trueth ſake of the Goſpell anie manner of way to be confeſſed: for I iudge that then the commaundement of flying away taketh place. And that there may be giuen two preceptes which at the firſt viewe ſeeme contrarie, which neuertheleſſe when they be particular are not repugnant in themſelues, I will ſhewe by plaine examples. On the one part we are commaunded to defende and preſerue Chriſtian libertie, and not to yeelde the ſame vnder the tyrannie and abuſe of hipocrites: On the other part we are commaunded to yeelde vnto the weakeneſſe of the brethren, as we haue it in the Epiſtle to the Romanes. Theſe in deede ſeeme to be contrarie, but he that rightlie conſidereth the ſtate of the times doth eaſilie take away that repugnancie which appeareth to be: which was ſingularlie well done by Paul, who then refuſed to circumciſe Titus, when it was required as neceſſarie to ſaluation, yet did he ſuffer Timothie to be circumciſed when he knew that it ſerued to edifying, and that it might be done without danger neceſſarie to follow. The ſame Apoſtle could not abide that Peter ſhould doe according to the Iewes, becauſe he ſawe that by his example manie were verie greeuouſlie offended. Yet doth he afterward prudentlie exhort his Romans that with louing charitie they ſhould beare with the infirmitie of the nouices and weake brethren. Theſe thinges at the firſt ſight are verie contrarie, yet are they not repugnant if euerie thing be done in time conuenient. Who knoweth not, that it is commaunded by the lawe of God, that we ſhould obey parentes, princes, and Magiſtrates? Contrariwiſe, that we are commaunded for Chriſt and the Goſpels ſake to leaue parentes, children, brethren, & whatſoeuer we poſſeſſe? Theſe thinges doe verie well ſtand together without controuerſie, ſo that they be done in fit times and momentes. Otherwhile the time requireth that we ſhould doe our good workes in ſecret, according as Chriſt warned touching prayer and faſting: Otherwhile alſo it requireth that we ſhould doe theſe thinges in the ſight of men: namelie where they may be done with the praiſe and glorie of our Lord. In old time ſacrifices were inſtituted by manie commaundementes of God, which neuertheleſſe in caſe of mercy or other matter of more weight were ſometimes omitted. A good thing was it ſometime to reſt vpon the Sabbaoth day from all bodilie labours, but otherwhile it behoued to fight. Wherefore ſome preceptes are particular which in the viewe may ſeeme to be contrarie: but this forceth nothing at all, for both haue not place at one and the ſelfeſame time. Therefore euen as thoſe

That certaine preceptes may ſeeme contrarie and be not.

Matt.10. verſe.23. &c.

The flying away of the Apoſtles. Act.13.17 Mat.10.14.

Tertullians opinion of flight.

Rom.14.1.

Gal.2.3.

Act.16.3.

Gal.2.14.

Exo.20.12. Rom.13.1. Mat.10.19. 27.&29.

Matt.6.1. &c.

Matt.6.15.

those preceptes whereby we are commaunded to tarie and to flie doe stand firme, so likewise both the precept abide firme, wherein we are commaunded to flie, because each one of them must be vsed in his due time. But the ground of their doctrine, which affirme this precept to be abrogated, is this: to wit, that they thinke that the flying away, which hath ioyned with it the feare of death, cannot set forth the glorie of God. Howbeit they are deceaued: for the feare of death, is not by it selfe faultie, as we haue declared. And if they which flie away be godlie, they haue speciallie determined this with themselues, that they will not deny the trueth; earnestlie desiring to preserue that faith which they know they haue receaued by the bountifull goodnelle of the heauenlie father. Which no man doubteth but it belongeth to the furtheraunce of the glorie of GOD. Wherefore we bring to passe by this feare, that we auoide manie euils, namelie, the afflictions of the bodie, and death, least we being forced by the rigour of these, should deny the trueth, and make a shipwracke of faith. There is no man therefore but vnderstandeth that feare to be good: because he considereth not death and tormentes of the bodie by themselues, (which if he did, yet neither should it then be faultie of it selfe) but to farre forth as they might call a weake Christian man into the danger of forswearing, or depriue him of Christian faith, which thing vndoubtedlie maketh not to the glorie of God.

Since I haue aunswered vnto the two questions propounded, I would not speake anie further, fauing that I perceiue you may iustlie desire more, namelie that I should aunswere vnto their Argumentes which with great contention defend the contrarie opinion as touching flying away: who would haue vs in anie wise to be of their minde, that vnder the pretence of auoyding sin, they might commodiouslie abide in their owne pleasant countries with such wealth as they haue, retaining still their vsuall slothfulnesse and dissimulation in the affaires of religion. Wherefore that I may the more fullie satisfie you, since I haue shewed that the feare of death is not in his owne nature faultie, and that the commandement of flying away was not abolished, I will as well as I can rehearse those thinges which are obiected, and afterward will I confute them so much as the present cause shal seme to require. First some obiect that which Paul

Obiections 2. Tim. 1. 7

hath vnto Timothie: For God hath not giuen vnto vs the spirit of feare, but of fortitude, of loue, and of temperance. If this be so (say they) it doth not become a Christian man, to flie the same being a token of feare. Wherefore he ought to remaine being strengthened with the spirit of fortitude, and to make no account at all of the threatninges of tyrants. Vnto whome I aunswere, that in incouraging a man, as he refuseth not both to confesse the trueth and to die for the same, euen as the examples of manie Martyrs doe testifie: but sometimes it driueth a man to this other kinde of confession, namelie to forsake together with his native countrie all cõmodities and delightfull thinges, and in the stead of them, taketh vppon him manie discommodities, griefes, daungers, and detrimentes which they that trauell into an other place must abide. He that neither of both waies dare confesse Christ, is shamefullie withdrawen by the dreadfulnesse of feare, and had rather reuenge or by dissimulation suppresse the trueth than to die or forsake the sweete nest of his native countrie & earthlie pleasures. Wherefore this present place of scripture admonisheth the Christians that they should retaine the spirit of fortitude and put it in vre. But because there be diuers kindes of that spirit, it ought no more to be restrained vnto one kinde than vnto an other. But when the one or the other is necessarie to be vsed, it is onelie knowen by the motion of the spirit, which sometime moueth to one kinde of confession, and sometime to an other, according to þ which both the places, & times, & conditions of persons & strength requires. Moreouer it must be vnderstood that Paul in this place speaketh particularlie of the minister of the Church. For first hee saith: Stirre vp the gift of God that is in thee 2.Tim.1.6. by laying on of hands: Wherunto he straight waie ioyneth those wordes which are nowe obiected: For God hath not giuen vnto vs the spirite of feare, &c. By these wordes doubtlesse he would teach nothing else but that offices of ministers (which be weightie, ful of labors & dangers, striking a great terror into carnal affections) should be valiantlie vndertaken. For the spirite that God hath giuen vnto them which are nowe promoted to the ministerie, is properlie the spirite of fortitude, of loue, and of temperance. For erudition, good manners and other good qualities are required in a man before he be chosen into the ministerie: seeing he that is destitute

tute of such kinde of qualities, is not worthie to be chosen. But that spirite, by whose guide euerie function is done with a couragious minde, with much loue, and with singular modestie to the edifying of the Church, the Christian people desire of God, and doe then obtaine it, when the minister is already chosen and inuested into the ministerie by impositiõ of hands. Therefore if we speake as Paul did, particularly of this kind of men, the aunswere maie be easilie made: For I maie saie, as Christ also saide, that they bee heirlinges, not pastors, which forsake their flocke, vnlesse they haue manie Pastors: let onelie one of them hazarde himselfe, sith in this case, when the Church maie be without him, it shall be lawfull for him to flie awaie. Ioh.10.12.

Acts.9.30. For so I thinke Paul fled awaie out of the citie of Damascus, not leauing that Church without Pastors. But yet this must be considered that be perhappes be not such a notable man in the Church, as the defence of the trueth, and safetie of the Church seme to depende chefelie of him, and that it is verie likely that after his departure al things will be full of trouble. For if thinges be in that state, he must tarie still, and must as becommeth a good Pastor laie downe his life for his sheepe. Besides further Augustine teacheth in his 180. Epistle vnto Honoratus, that if the Church be furnished with manie ministers, it standeth with the profite therof, that when persequutions bee at hande a part of them should bide themselues, least they should altogether in one moment be taken awaie. For if a first sort shall be taken away, they which lie hidden maie succede in the place of others. And for this verie cause haue I thought that Abdias the Prophete in the time of Achab and Iezabell, hid manie Prophetes in dennes, that if those first had beene slaine, there should yet haue remained other Prophetes, by whose helpe the people in due time might haue beene releued. This place therefore of Paul wee haue expounded two manner of waies. First that flying awaie as it was deferred by vs is a worke of fortitude: secondlie, that the author speaketh particularlie of the Pastors and Ministers. 1.kings.18 19.

It is obiected moreouer, that they which flie awaie, they flie for the feare of death, which thing is repugnant to the scriptures: For wee are commaunded, not to bee anie thing afraide of them which kill the bodie. Vnto whome I aunswere as before it was expounded, that the feare of death, keeping it selfe within iust bondes, is not of it selfe faultie, especiallie if he that feareth doe not onelie feare death, but haue most respect vnto this, that is to wit, least (when he is not yet come into the handes of the Magistrate, nor is stirred vp by the spirite to tarie, and to indure torementes or death it selfe, hauing in þ meane time an occasion offered of departing) he should denie the trueth, and should fal away from the faith once receiued, which otherwise might happen vnto him. He which after this manner feareth death, and directeth this feare of his to the glorie of God, as the diuine law in all thinges commaundeth: such a one doeth not violate the law of God, nor yet doth sinne. If a man (saie our aduersaries) bee weake in faith, hee must not streight waie seeke for remedie by flying awaie, but must runne vnto prayers, euen as Christ taught, and must praie that hee yeeld not vnto temptations. Touching this we haue a commaundement, which if wee will follow, we shall be heard: but as concerning flying away, we are not instructed by anie place of the Scriptures. They which obiect these thinges doe euermore suppose a repealing of that commaundement which is extant in Matthew: but we shewe, that they doe erre, neither doe themselues prooue that which they say by anie effectual reason. But if it be lawfull without reason to alleadge what a man will, I also maie say, that the precept of not fearing them which kill the bodie is abrogated, because it was deliuered to the Apostles in their first Embacie, and written in the selfe same 10. Chap. of Matthew. Wherefore both the precepts remaine firme, but we must take heede, that they bee not wronglie vnderstode. So then hee that fleeth awaie according to the rules prescribed, is fauoured not onelie of the Scriptures but also of manie of the Prophetes, of the Apostles, & of the Martyrs, yea and of Christ our Sauiour, who though he fled not away through feare of sinning, yet neuertheles he fled, that by his example hee might teach what is lawfull for vs, so long as our houre is not yet come: which must then be vnderstode to be come when the spirite doeth inwardlie stirre vs vp and prouoke vs to tarie, or that necessitie otherwise requireth, that is to wit, if we be alreadie in the power of the magistrate, if we be tyed by anie vocation that we maie not depart, euen as a little before it was saide of Pastors. As concerning prayers, those we doe not reiect, but we verie much allowe: and therefore wee warned before that they, which intended to scape through flying awaie, must commende themselues by most earnest prayers vnto God, that they in no wise maie erre. But if powring out their prayers, the spirite Mat.10.23

doe still sollicite them to flie, and doeth not minister more strength and boldnelle, they ought to vse that remedie, which the goodnes of God doeth offer, except they will tempt God. And so in the holie scriptures we reade that Dauid him selfe fledde from the face of his sonne Absalon, in which flight he sung that excellent Psalme which by order is the thirde in the booke of Psalmes. Wherefore hee fled and gaue place to the furie of his sonne although he had the promise of the kingdome, and knewe that the same promise coulde not be made voide. If ye will say that the controuerlie was not about faith or religion, but as touching the kingdom, I knowing what your reasons be, will answere, that he ought to haue giuen credite to the promises of God, and to haue prayed, but not to haue forsaken the kingdome which he knewe by the worde of God to belong vnto him. Neuertheleſſe he fled, but yet beleeued that he shoulde be restored againe according to the promises. A godlie man flying after this manner, beleeueth that God will keepe him in the faith, and will bring to passe that he shall not abiure, which also he craueth of him from the bottome of his heart. But yet if in the meane time he vse the flight which both GOD hath opened vnto him and the holie Scriptures and examples of the sainctes do allowe: he sinneth not, nay rather he is after a right manner confelleth his faith.

The flight of Dauid. 2.Sa.15.16.

Others thinke that flying awaie is vtterlie condemned, because Paul in the second Epistle to Timothie complayneth that in his first defence he was forsaken of all men. For that they had committed sinne in this matter, thereby it appeareth, in that the Apostle prayeth that it might not bee imputed vnto them: for thinges that bee well done haue no neede of pardon. Howbeit these thinges if they be well weighed, I iudge muſt not be transferred vnto fleeing awaie. They are rather written against them which either through a blamewoorthie feare, or elſe for the care they haue of their worldly goods did neglect those duties which Christian charitie requireth. It is not likelie that Paul complaineth of them which at that time were not in Rome, although per sequution waxing hotte, they had fledde awaie not long before: for this ought not to be laide to their charge, vnleſſe they had therefore fledde, because they loued this worlde as Demas had done. The Apostle therefore complaineth not of them that were absent, but of those brethren which indeede were at Rome, but yet so pretermitted the dueties of charitie, either because they were ashamed to confeſſe Christ, or for that they were giuen to wearinesse or blamewoorthie feare, as in the first defence no man assisted him. Neither the Romane Church beit moſt shamefullie, which after such a manner forsoke their Apostle. Wherefore it is no maruell, if this did verie much greeue Paul, if also he prayed that this might not be imputed vnto him. Wherefore in the former woordes Paul speaketh not of a iuſt flying awaie which we a little before set forth discribed with his owne properties, but he onelie reprehendeth those who beſtowed not those benefites which both they might and ought to haue done vpon them which were oppreſſed for Christes cauſe. But here will be obiected, that which Iohn writeth. That euerie man ought to laie downe his life for his brethren. Wherefore when we knowe and see, that the members of Christ are shut vp in prisons, it is not lawfull to forsake them by flying awaie, while wee seeke our owne safetie, and are not to vched with the miſeries of our afflicted brethren. In this place there is no neede of a distinction. For the death of our neighbour is either bodilie or spirituall. If we speake of the bodilie and outwarde death of our neighbor, I iudge that we muſt not alwaies laie downe our bodilie life for him: which I might confirme a well by manie examples, as allo by reasons. But if we meane as touching the spirituall death of our brother, if a man maie by his owne bodilie death so helpe him, as hee shall not perish euerlastinglie, vndoubtedly he ought to die. For Christ after this manner died for vs: and it shall be the Disciples part to imitate the master himselfe. So that if a man hope assuredlie, that he by his presence, exhortation and comfort can helpe his brother, from falling into euerlasting destruction, he ought to abide still, although he doe it with the perill of his life, and to lay downe as the scripture requireth his bodilie life for the eternall saluation of his brethren. But this good part cannot alwayes be done of them, since the crueltie of our enemies is so enraged as whom they holde in bondes for the Gospels sake, they for the moſt part admit no man to talke with them, except inquisitors and others which bee able to perſwade them in thinges contrarie vnto the faith: for so many as they suspect to fauour the pure religion which the aduerſaries call Lutheranisme, those they exclude [from them]. More fauourably did they deale in olde time with Paul: for so soone as he was come to Rome, as we reade in the Actes, it was lawfull for him to abide in his owne hiered houſe, yet vnder the custodie of one soul-

2.Tim.4.6.

2.Tim.4.10.

Iohn.3.16.

Howe farre forth we muſt laie downe our life for our brethren.

Act.28.16

ſouldiour: in which state he preached the Gospell with great constancie vnto all those which came to see him. Also out of the Eccleſiaſticall histories it appeareth that in old time it was lawfull for the brethren to talke with the Martyrs which were in bondes, and to refresh their bodies with meate, and their mindes with comfort and exhortation. Wherefore it is no maruell, if Paule and his like complained, when of the brethren through faint courage and coldneſſe they were so foulie forsaken, that not so much as one afflicted them in iudgements which otherwiſe was free at that time. Further whereas Iohn commaunded, that wee shoulde laie downe our bodilie life for the spirituall saluation of our brother, that muſt not so be vnderſtoode, as though it may binde vs in euerie caſe, euen when we come into manifeſt daunger of taking a falſe othe and of eternall damnation. For hereof there would followe two discommodities: One, that the brethren in bandes, by the fall of them which had committed themselues into perils, shoulde take a greater griefe, and shoulde be offended, and perhaps themselues also woulde fall awaie. For which cause it was prouided by the law of God, that when the Israelites went forth vnto battaile, the fearefull and faint hearted shoulde be sent home, leaſt at any time by their feare they might quaile the heartes of the valiant men. The other discommoditie is, that no remedie or comfort shoulde be giuen to the miſeries of the Captiues and Martyrs of Christ, nay rather to the reſt of the calamities woulde be added, that the weake brethren would both fal and perish. So as in desiring to preuent one euill, we should fall into two. Wherefore they of whom Paul complaineth, did not forsake him for that cauſe which we haue in hande, but rather because they too much loued the worlde and their owne commodities, or else because they were wearie and finallie ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, according as we declared before.

Furthermore manie obiect, that it cannot bee but that the Churches of Italie, Fraunce, and of other regions, woulde be diminished and scattered if so many should flie away, and that therefore they shoulde doe better if they tarie, that the Churches may be preserued and increaſe. Verie wel in deede doe these men admonish, if they which tarie in the Churches, would afterward abide constant: but since that manie doe fall into abiuration, they doe more hurt to the Church thereby than if they had fled away: for in flying, after such a manner, as I haue saide, they giue some testimonie vnto the trueth, declaring by the felſe same thing that superstitions and Idolatries are in no wiſe to be suffered: for neither would they flie if with a safe conſcience they might consent vnto the Papisticall rites. But they which take a falſe othe, firſt doubtleſſe doe cast themselues into destruction: secondly by their ill examples they make desolate and subuert the Churches. If these two, I meane flying awaie and abiuration, should be compared together, many perhaps will graunt that flying is the leſſe euill. But I answere these men, as I did also before, that to denie the knowen trueth is a moſt grieuous sinne, but to flie vpon iuſt cauſes is a good thing, pleaseth GOD, and is allowed by the holie Scriptures. Moreouer what manner of Churches these men feigne to themselues in Italie, in Fraunce, in the lowe Countries and other Regions, I knowe not. This in deede I will not denie, that in those places are founde manie brethren, which be true members of Christ and are of his Church: but that in those Regions bee appointed diſsible Churches founded with good ordinaunces, wherein is set forth the pure doctrine of Christ, the Sacraments rightly ministered, and some forme of diſcipline had, I see not why I shoulde graunt it. For the brethren doe verie seldome meete together, and doe in a manner neuer minister the Sacraments in such sort as they ought to be. Ordinarie Pastors they haue not, Seets doe there increase without measure. The obstinate are not punished by any forme of Euangelicall Censure. Wherefore rightlier may we say, that they which flie from thence, doe ioyne themselues to Churches, than doe forsake Churches. For they which for religion sake doe flie, goe for the moſt part thither, where preaching is dayly had, where Sacraments in their due times are ministred, where GOD by the faithfull congregation is praised, where good Pastors be placed, where by order it is lawfull to liue with other of the faithfull: finallie, where they that bee well disposed cannot pretend that the way of liuing well is denied them. Wherefore they muſt needes laie all the blame vppon themselues. But wee see (will some say) many brethren which remaine not yet fully instructed in those places which we by flying away forsake, who being feeble and weake, might by vs be instructed, confirmed, and established in the waie of the Lorde: but if we flie away wee forsake these brethren, and omit the duties of charitie towardes them. These I thinke ought to bee helped as much as

What manner of Churches were in Fraunce, Italie, &c.

may be, aswell with doctrine, as with good Counsell. Howbeit if we our selues afterwarde be in ieopardie, wee in flying away cannot properly be saide to forsake them, because we firste warned them by our speeche: afterwarde by our example of flying, we declare what they also should doe: to wit, shun idolatrie as much as is possible. Sometimes moreouer the Lorde hath certaine of his in those places, whom he so strengtheneth with his spirit, as they without feare defende the trueth of the Gospell, being by him allured, that there is no daunger of taking a false othe, by which persons they that be weake in faith, and of the ignorauncer sorte, may be lifted vp and strengthened by comfortable speeches. For the precept of flying away doeth onely belong vnto them which are in daunger, which haue proofe of their owne infirmitie, which by inwarde motion of the spirit are not moued to tarie, perceiuing in the meane time a waie to escape, and being not yet brought into the handes of the Magistrates. Neither in verie deede is it to be feared, that they will al wholie goe their waies, there shall not want at any time some which will remaine. But it is the part of them that die awaie to praye for those which tarrie at home. For they haue for the most part vnfortunate successe.

Of vocation not to be forsaken. 5.

From this let vs go to them which thinke that no man may forsake his owne vocation, for they will haue euery man to continue still in his owne calling. Whose opinion if it should be admitted, certainely it should not be lawfull for any man to depart from his owne native country, which would be counted for a certaine intollerable seruitude. For seeing that all lawes doe permit citizens about many honest causes to trauell into straunge countries, I knowe not whie it ought so generally be denied vnto Christian men. But if it be lawfull vnto them for manie iuste causes to depart out of their native countrie, why shall it not also be lawfull for the better preseruation of faith? Isaac being compelled by hunger became a stranger in Gen.26.1. an other countrie. Noemi also for the same Ruth.1.1. cause left her countrie. Dauid for the safegard of his life, fledde from the persecuti-1.Sam.19. ons of Saul. So Moses from the persecution &c. of Pharao, went into the land of Madian. And Exod.2.15. all these were onely in perill of their bodilie life, and yet were they neuer accused as forsakers of their vocation. Further it seemes not to be true which these men put for a sure principle, that no man is so free and at liberty but that hee is tyed to some vocation, which suffereth him not to flie. What vocation I beseech you doe they follow which lead their life in a monasterie, where they may in no wise remaine, vnlesse they pollute themselues with a thousande superstitions, their own conscience continually striuing against them: If these men flie away, they leaue no other but the deuils vocation, neither doe I see what shoulde keepe them backe. What shall let a widow which hath no familie, but that she may goe thither where thee shalbe better instructed, inioy the sacraments, and liue in Churches well ordered? After this sorte, many honest matrons in olde time followed Christ when he preached the Gospell Luke.8.2. through the regions of Iudea: neither was their enterprise euer condemned by any: Nay rather as it is reported, many other women being drawne by their example, followed the Apostles. What an innumerable sorte of Citizens, Craftesmen, and noble men are there founde cleare at libertie: which liue either of their hadie works or of their rents: What should let these men but that they together with their families may repaire thither where the trueth of the Gospel doth florish, and is published of all men? It liked the Quéene of Saba to come from the furthest 1.kings.10 Regions, to see and heare Salomon: and shal ver.1.&c. it not be free for them to goe where they may heare the deris selfesame wisedome of true Salamon, that is of Christ? Was it lawfull for ỳ Eunuch of Quéene Candaces to trauel out of Aethiopia to worship at Ierusalem, and shall it not bee lawfull for our brethren to goe into those places wherein God is syncerely worshipped, and Christs institutions rightly kept? Thou wilt perhaps take exception, that neither the Quéene of Saba nor Act.8.27. the Eunuch went their waies to be perpetually absent, but onely toke in hande a pilgrimage for a time. Verilie I also may say that they which die for religions sake, do go away with that minde that they may be absent so long as it shall please God: that they bee readie to returne home so often as they shalbe called backe by him, and that by his fauour there is alway of returne opened vnto him.

Also the words of Paul are alledged in the 6. first to Timothie the 5. Chapter: Whosoeuer Verse.8. prouideth not for his owne, and especiallie for them of his housholde, hee hath renounced his faith, and is worse than an Infidell. In this place we must take speciall heede, to what purpose the Apostle spake these words. His talke was of widowes, shewing howe they should be qualified, that should be maintained at the charges of the Church. For seeing the Church perhaps was charged aboue mea-

measure with some, who to spare their owne purses would doe haue their widowes admitted: therefore Paul warned that euerie man to his owne power shoulde relieue his owne. And herevpon is it that he addeth a 1b.ver.16. little after: If anie faithfull man, or faithfull woman haue widowes, let them minister vnto them that the Church may not be charged, that there may bee sufficient for them that be widowes indeede. Certainely Paul by these words declareth, that those onely be true widowes, which cannot releeue themselues by their owne reuenues and gaines, nor yet haue any friendes which will helpe them, so as the words of Paul on this wise declared, seeme not to forbidde flying away. In what sorte eche one must behaue themselues towards their owne. He that sayeth, if he haue any widowes or other poore kinred, let him helpe them of his owne if he haue wherewithall. If they will goe away together with him, let him not forsake them. But if he be a poore man, and doe make any commoditie abroade, no man forbiddeth him to sende a part of the gaine vnto them. Thus also a man ought to be affected towards his parents, vnlesse either because of their sicknesse or their impotencie of bodie, the presence of the childe shalbe necessarie. For then they must not be forsaken. But if the sonne shall depart, not against the will of his parents, and is afterward certified that his presence is necessarie for them, hee ought straightway to returne to helpe and comfort them according to the lawe of God. But if in that place there be a daunger of persecution, he must not mistrust the helpe of God. For since that God hath throwen him downe into that necessitie, hee will not leaue his seruant destitute of helpe. But if thou being weake in faith and being bounde by no commaundement wilt tarie, when thou maist go thy wayes, thou must not do ỳ vpon hope of gods helpe, since that god shewed thée ỳ way to escape: which if thou vse not, thou canst not cõplaine but of thine own self.

Of them which are coupled in mariage.

But what shall we speake of them, which be ioyned together in matrimonie? First that it is not lawfull for the wife for auoyding of persecution to depart from her husbande, vnlesse that be for the weakenesse of her faith consent that thee may withdrawe herselfe for a time. The lawe of God hath made subiect the wife to the husbande, therefore thee ought not to depart without his good will. But yet it shall be the wiues part, if the husbande goe away, to followe him, that they may peaceably and without daunger dwell together. But if that thee for infirmities cannot followe, or she being more obstinately bent will not, she must not be left behinde leaste the chastitie of them both be hazarded. For in Matrimonie there is a necessarie dwelling together of man and wife, for as much as neither of them hath free power of their owne bodie: So as if the husbande 1.Cor.7.4. will tarie, he shall hope for the aide of God in persecutions: For it is expressie commaunded him that he should tarie. But if that both of them be indued with singular chastitie, one of them may depart from another for a time, euen as they say that Paul with his wife did, when he walked through the world preaching of the Gospell: For he did not leade her about with him, as the rest of the 1.Cor.9.5. Apostles did. Howbeit we must vnderstande that a vowe is here vnlawfull, because they ought one to depart from another with that minde and vppon that condition, that they may méete together so often as either of thẽ shall require. For so God commaunded by Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the 7. Verse.5. Chapter, namely that they should ioyne together in one, leaste they should giue place vnto the temptation of Sathan.

Of Seruants.

As concerning seruauntes, there néedes not much to be saide: For it is not lawful for them vnder pretence of religion or persecutions to flie from their Maisters. For in the holie Scriptures it is expressellie commaun- Exod.21.6. ded, that they should not doe it. Therefore Phil.13. when they be so bounde if they doe remaine God will vouchsafe that they shall not bee brought into the daunger of a falce oth, if they from the heart and with a syncere faith commende themselues vnto him: for as the holie Scriptures testifie, hee is at hande with Psal.9.10. them in due time and doeth faithfullie succor them: especiallie since he by his commaundementes doeth cast them into those daungers. As for Bishoppes and Pastors we said before that they ought not to forsake their flocches, except they be driuen out by force. But because we haue spoken plentifullie of this matter, I come nowe vnto Princes, of Of Kings whome maniefe are free hauing the highest au- &c. thoritie. so as they maie reforme their Churches by a restitution of the pure and true religion. Wherefore these, if they bee indued with godlinesse, ought not to forsake their subiectes, but being placed in that power must serue God (whose ministers also they be as it is written in the Epistle to the Romanes) whereby the light of the Gospel may Rom.13.3. by them be marueilouslie kindled. For the people also are wont to imitate their Princes: And such is ỳ authoritie & power of princes, as they maie constraine their subiectes to obedience. Wherefore they doe easilie vnderstande, that if they goe their waies, they

not onlie further not the woꝛd of God, which otherwise they might haue done, but also that they leaue their subiectes in the power of Infidels, and that they abandon them to most grieuous euils and hoꝛrible damgers.

Of great noble men.

Unto Princes wee must adde thoſe that dwell in the Courtes of great kinges and Monarches being men of singular estimation and authoꝛitie, either foꝛ that they bee wise counsellers, oꝛ else because they are famous in warre, wealth, oꝛ nobilitie of birth. Theſe ought not to depart when there is no danger like to light vpon them: ſeeing they maie greatlie further the cause of religion by their pꝛesence: Foꝛ in a kingdome they be bucklers, and vnto the poꝛe faithful are inſtede of a defence. By their counsels and authoꝛitie they oftentimes repꝛelle the violence of Tyrantes, they reſiſt the crueltie of Pharisees, & when they haue ꝟ great pꝛinces fauoꝛable & gratious vnto thē, they maie make intercession foꝛ manie ꝟ be oppꝛeſſed, & maie conuert the minde of Monarches, from cruell pꝛeſequutions of ꝟ Gospell vnto other affaires, greater, moꝛe pꝛofitable, & of moꝛe impoꝛtance. Such were in kings courtes Ioſeph, Daniel, Nehemias, and other godlie men. Wherefoꝛe they muſt not flie awaie vnleſſe extrēme neceſſitie compell. Further there be others, not a ſewe at this daie called Lozds, net comparable to the others, which haue not the theſe authoꝛitie, but onelie ſome ciuill iurisdiction, hauing nothing to doe with anie power of reforming religion: Foꝛ the Pꝛieſtes oꝛ Bishoppes are not subiect vnto them as vnto thoſe which excell in power and authoꝛitie, and are subiect vnto the inquiſitoꝛs and ſuch like Pharisees no leſſe than the reſt of the people be. Theſe differing little oꝛ nothing from the ſtate of other men, the ſame in a manner is to be iudged of them that is, of the reſt. Wherefoꝛe if they flie accoꝛding to the rules pꝛeſcribed by vs, they not onelie muſt not be repꝛoued, but they are euen to bee pꝛayſed, ſince they thinke not much by their teſtimonie to magnifie Chꝛiſt which is ſo much the moꝛe woꝛthie and excellent as they humble themſelues frō the higher dignitie vnto things of leaſt repꝛutatiō, as far as cōcerneth woꝛldly honoꝛs.

But because the common ſoꝛt is wont to exclame againſt thoſe which flie awaie: whither will theſe wander, which might keepe themſelues at home at their owne houſe: God maie bee woꝛshipped in anie place of the woꝛlde. Paul vnto Timothie wꝛiteth: I will that men pray euerie where, lifting vp pure handes vnto God. They which ſpeake theſe thinges muſt conſider that ſo outragious is oftentimes the furie of ꝟ aduerſaries as in thoſe places where the Pope hath dominion, no good man can leaue his life, vnleſſe hee will defile him ſelfe with Maſſes, Idolatries and other ſuperſtitions: otherwiſe he cannot eſcape the handes of the Catchpoles, of ꝟ inquiſitoꝛs, & finaltie of the executioner himſelfe. Which thinges they that are not yet moued by the ſpirit to laie downe their life, but are as yet ſomewhat weake, thinke it not fit foꝛ them to expect any longer if that God ſhewe vnto them a waie to eſcape. Adde moꝛeouer with all that if they be not withholden by any the bondes oꝛ lawes, whereof we ſpake before, they doe marueilouſly deſire to ioine themſelues vnto the reſt of the bꝛethꝛen, and with them to bee conuerſant, to bee refreſhed with the daylie bꝛead of the woꝛd of God, to be partakers of the lawfull adminiſtration of the Sacraments, to be ſubiect vnto pure and ſincere diſcipline accoꝛding as it becommeth Chꝛiſtians, to heare among the congregations of the faithfull a tongue not ſtrange oꝛ vnknowne to any, and to inioy marrying lawfull and permitted vnto them which haue nēde thereof. They know indēde that God may be woꝛshiped in euerie place, and they would put no difference betweene places, vnleſſe that impediments caſt in manie places by men were a hinderance. Hereunto did thoſe woꝛdes of Paul tend, that he might deliuer them from ſuperſtition, which thought one place holier tha.. another: which thing maketh no way againſt vs that flie not away foꝛ the finding out of a holyer place, but foꝛ the auoiding of deſtruction, and foꝛ ſeeking out of Chꝛiſtian doctrine, which is moꝛe ſound and not to be doubted of. Who will inſtlie blame him that flyeth away foꝛ auoiding a hurtfull and peſtilent ayꝛe? Oꝛ who in the time of famine ſeeketh out a moꝛe lentifull countrey? Oꝛ when a violent and dangerous warre is at hande, who goeth not into peaceable places? I ſpare to ſpeake of them which go their waies becauſe of ill and contentious neighbours: as when Abraham went from Loth, and Iſaak from his welles, leaſt he ſhould contend with the Philiſtians. I paſſe ouer them alſo which by reaſon of the ouerflowinges of waters, which foꝛ earthquakes and change of kingdomes goe to dwell elſewhere. Allureolie wee haue heard none of theſe noꝛ of manie other which may be added vnto theſe to haue bin inſtlie blamed of anie man. Why be they then ſo tumultuouſlie exclamed againſt, which flie foꝛ religion ſake? Yet hold I them excuſed, which indeuour to perſwade that we ſhould not

Gen.41.40 Dan.2.48.

1.Tim.2. verſe.8.

Gen.13.8. Gen.26.19

not flie, ſeeing they doe this in ſome good reſpect. Foꝛ the faithfull are without feare, and euen in the verie tormentes denie not the trueth, but rather by their valiant courage, would edifie the Church, and aduce together in one with the reſt of their bꝛethꝛen like vnto a notable flock of ſheepe compaſſed about with wolues. And who I beſeech you liketh not of theſe thinges? Who praiſeth not his counſel: who wiſheth not foꝛ ſuch ſucceſſes of the Gospell? No man vndoubtedlie that is indued with the leaſt ſparke of charitie. Albeit there muſt alſo be conſidered, whether there be ſtrength enough: Foꝛ all men alſo are not fit hereunto. It is a point of wiſedome foꝛ a man to meaſure himſelfe. He doth not wiſelie build which hath not firſt examined with himſelfe whether he haue wherewith. What Emperour hath no good ſucceſſe in battaile which hath no thꝛough knowledge of his owne foꝛces; The ſtrength (thou wilt ſay) is of God, but not of vs. In deede ſo it is, but yet he hath diſtributed the ſame at his owne pleaſure, not at ours; and by his wonderfull pꝛouidence, hath appointed ſundꝛie degrées of foꝛtitude in the Church; of ſome the trueth is eſtablished by tꝛormentes and death, and of others, by flying away: he accepteth thereof, accoꝛding as the meaſure of ſtrength giuen vnto them, will ſuffer. Wherefoꝛe let no man blame that which is well liking vnto God. We pꝛaiſe and celebꝛate the valiant champions of Chꝛiſt, which by their martyꝛdome confirme the faith. We pꝛaiſe in like manner them which rightlie flying away, giue no ſlender and vaine teſtimonie vnto the trueth. Such ſeruantes of Chꝛiſt it is not mete to condemne of ſinne: who if they now flie, they will one day remaine; and now they would remaine, if they were ſo inſtructed by their captaine. God would not that all his faithfull ones ſhould die at once. No man lawfullie flying away goeth vnto the enemies campe: neither foꝛ this cauſe doth he flie, that he may eſcape the hand of God: May rather he cōmitteth himſelf vnto him for melie, aſſuring himſelfe that whenſoeuer nēde ſhal require, he will lay downe his life and blond foꝛ Chꝛiſt his cauſe. And then they beléeue that nēde requireth when they are come into the Magiſtrates power, when they are moued by God to tarie ſtill, when by reaſon of any vocation they are ſo tyed, as they may not in any wiſe flie awaie. But ſo long as none of theſe things ſhall pꝛeſſe them, they doubt not but in flying they ſerue God, ſeeing they are taught of the Loꝛde, both by commaundement and by example: the examples alſo of the Apoſtles, Pꝛophets, and fathers agrēing thereunto.

Neither is there any cauſe why any ſhould except, that theſe are particular pꝛiuileges oꝛ extraoꝛdinarie pꝛerogatiues: becauſe this then hath place in the actions of the ſainctes, when they are commended by teſtimonie of the ſcripture, although they be done againſt ſome generall pꝛecept, which thinges muſt not bee imitated of vs, who are tyed to the generall commaundements. An example whereof is the fact of Abraham when hee would kill his ſonne, which hee did againſt that lawe of God: Thou ſhalt not kill. And this deede is commended, becauſe Abraham was driuen thereunto by a peculiar motion, and he obaied without delay. Which neuertheleſſe behoued him alone to do, others being ſtraitlie bounde to the common pꝛecept. But the example of flying by holie men let beſoꝛe vs, ſeeing we know, that it is not repugnant, but rather agrēable to holy writ, we may not condemne them which iudge that they themſelues ought to followe the ſame: foꝛ Chꝛiſtian charitie is neither violated noꝛ yet receiueth any detriment by flying away, becauſe it oftentimes happeneth that men flie, where, neither our pꝛeſence can pꝛofite them that tarie, noꝛ yet our abſence hurt them, euen as it was ſaide beſoꝛe. Furthermoꝛe if the Apoſtles were commaunded to goe into all the woꝛld, and to pꝛeach the Gospell, that the faith might be ſpred farre and wide, why ſhall it not be lawfull to change place foꝛ the pꝛeſeruation of faith already receiued & obtained? It belongeth no leſſe vnto charitie, to pꝛeſerue faith receiued, the ſame being the pledge of holy doctrine, than it doeth to increaſe the ſame: neither is it againſt charitie to leaue them that be nēre vnto vs, after ſuch a maner and faſhion as we haue abowe declared. Foꝛ Chꝛiſt taught in the 10. of Matthew, that father and mother and bꝛethren, and ſuch like muſt be left, if they bee a let vnto our ſaluation oꝛ faith. The ſame did Chꝛiſt teach by his pꝛecepts in the 5. of Matthew, that there is no member in one bodie ſo noble, which muſt not be cut off, if it be offenſiue, that is, if it be a hinderance to our ſaluation. Wherefoꝛe if in flying we obſerue due circūſtances, we ſhal no manner of way violate Chꝛiſtian charitie.

Mar.16.15.

Verſe.37.

Verſe.29.

That flight is not againſt charitie.

Neither is there any cauſe why a man ſhould obiect that charitie is therefoꝛe violated by flying away, becauſe wee haue leſſe care of our neighbours ſoules than of their bodies. Foꝛ to whom ſhall it bee lawfull without ſinne to lay open an other mans bo-

die vnto the perill of death, or to leaue it to be toȝne of wolues, théues, & murtherers: Assuredly charitie heere requireth, that wee ſhould be preſent with our neighbours and to helpe them. Which being certaine, it ſufficiently appeareth that by flying charitie is broken, for in flying wee forſake our neighbours and lay open their ſoules vnto the daunger of damnation, while we leaue them in the power of Phariſées, hipocrites and falſe teachers, of whom they being depriued of our helpe, are eaſily ſeduced and loſt. Hereunto firſt I anſwere, þ they which flie, doe not offer vnto perils the ſoules of them that tarrie behinde. For perſecution being begunne, they are alreadie laide open thereto, wherennto their flying away gaue no occaſion. Further this muſt be conſidered, that they which flie are not alwayes apt to helpe and ſaue them that remaine in triall. Heere many be deceiued, thinking that all they which refuſe to flie, are fit for to helpe the bzethzé, not conſidering that they themſelues which tarie, whereas otherwiſe they might flie, doe oftentimes by taking a falſe oth procure themſelues great euill, who if they had fledde away ſhoulde haue boȝne no diſcommoditie at all. For if they tarie, they themſelues being weake, haue néede rather of other mens labour and helpe, ſo as they haue more néede to be confirmed themſelues, than they be able to confirme others. Wherefore the flying of theſe men, nothing at all hurteth the weake, and to the ſtrong that remaine it is alſo profitable, becauſe they are ridde of the charge and care of their ſaluation, reioycing exceédingly that they haue eſcaped, & that they are gone thither, where by conſolation and good examples, they maie be more confirmed and ſtrengthened, that if at anie time there ſhall bee anie nede, they maie returne whence they departed, renewing battaile with the aduerſaries, and ſucceeding in the place of them, which by glorious Martyrdom are departed vnto Chriſt. For this is wont to be done in Cities beſeiged, that they which bee the weake ſoȝt, otherwiſe men of good hope and noble, maie be ſent into ſome ſafe place for a time, that being made more ſtrong through age and induſtrie, maie afterwarde in due time bee a ſuccour vnto their Countrie and that in the meane time they being ſafe from daungers, maie through the feare that is had of them, deliuer thoſe ſtrong men which valiantlie fight for their countrie. As touching them which ſo greatlie excell in learning, valiaunt courage, and magnanimitie, as they be fitte both to builde vp and alſo to defende godlineſſe, it ſéemes we maie two maner of waies anſwere. Firſt if they certainelie perceiue, that by their tarying, they maie bring fruit: and by their going awaie, offence and ruine, vndoubtedly they ought to tary. But if they vnderſtande as manie times they doe, that if they be taken of tyrannes they ſhall priuilie die, or that they ſhall be depriued of the vſe of their mouth and tongue, as they may not with one ſmall woꝛde edifie the Church: but contrariwiſe doe thinke that if they flie, they ſhall by their writinges and ſpeéches verie much further the cauſe of the Church, and are hereunto called by the motion of the ſpirite: they ought to take their flight, if the waie of flying bee open without offence. Which I therefore adde, becauſe we ought not to flie if either we bee call in priſon or elſe that we ought to appeare before the magiſtrate vpon promiſe or ſuretie, for in theſe caſes we are in the power of an other man. Neither is there anie further waie open of flying honeſtlie away. But this muſt be vnderſtoode according to the lawes preſcribed. For if God ſhoulde bring thée out of priſon as in olde time he did Peter, by his Angell, Act.12.7. that ſhoulde be a ſpeciall act, whereof wee at this time ſpeake not. But all this diſputation of ours hath reſpect vnto this, onelie to let thée vnderſtand that the flying which is contained within the compaſſe of due meanes and circumſtance, is not repugnant to the rule of charitie, but doeth rather verie well agrée therewith.

I haue for this cauſe diſputed ſo largelie of this matter, becauſe I ſée manie, and eſpeciallie in our countrie of Italie which being indued with ſome light of the trueth are like vnto contentious aduocats. For euen as they, if they defend an vniuſt cauſe, ſearch out with all diligence for ſome lawe which maie anie manner of waie leane to their ill purpoſe, to the intent they may ſéeme to defende their cauſe vnder the zeale of iuſtice: ſo thoſe our men doe tarie at home, where they dare not come in ſight for the faith and truth ſake: and whereas they firſt leaue this vndone, this other alſo doe they omit, to wit, by not flying awaie, which might be a cleare teſtimonie of their ſyncere faith: which they doe being detained by the linkes of commodities and benefites of this woꝛlde. Vnto whom we cannot do a greater pleaſure than if by our writings and ſermons wee ſhoulde teach that flying awaie is not lawfull vnto Chriſtians, that vnder this pretence they maie commodiouſlie inioye their goods. After the ſame manner alſo are the fooliſhe ſoꝛt which be ſicke, affected: who if they be ſicke

They that condemne flight doe it for the ſame cauſe as they doe.

ſicke either of a wound or impoſtume: when they will not admit either ſearing or launcing, they moſt loue and giue eare vnto thoſe Phyſitians, which by the teſtimonie of ſome excellent writer reprooue ſuch a way of healing, that they may ſéeme to refuſe thoſe remedies, not becauſe themſelues are ouernice, but becauſe the remedies agrée not with their diſeaſes. Howbeit euen as theſe ſicke men at the length miſerablie die, and as thoſe vniuſt aduocates before a wiſe and prudent Iudge fall in their cauſe, ſo theſe men of ours, refuſing the beſt remedie for their griefe, doe defile their conſciences with diſſimulation, ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and déepe ſilence: or elſe (which is woꝛſt of all) by deteſtable abiuration. For all they which in the reformed and godlie Churches, doe rightlie iudge of things, vnderſtand that the vniuſt and vnbridled deſires of the goods of this life haue bin the cauſe hereof. Wherefore, ſince the intent of their minde is euill, it is no maruell if they haue a woꝛſe end. He that will not denie himſelfe, certainlie he ſhall neuer liue according to the rule of the Goſpell. He that will liue vnto himſelfe, and retaine Chriſtian profeſſion, is like vnto him Luk.14.28. that will build without coſt or make warre without anie armie, or ouercome enemies without forces. He that is not dead to himſelfe, nor dyeth from himſelfe, ſhall neuer confirme the Chriſtian trueth, either by triumph of martyrdome, or by laudable, godlie, or Chriſtian flying away. Wherefore I beſéech you (my moſt déere bzethzen in the Lord) that at þ length you will deale in good earneſt: diſſimulations and faininges muſt be left vnto hypocrites and ſtage players. If Chriſt and his Goſpell, which you by the benefit of God haue both imbraſed and confeſſed, be a trueth, why doe you executе his commaundementes ſo coldlie? But if you iudge it but a Poets woꝛke or a fable, why delay you it to ſpeake it openlie? Why make you ſemblance to beléeue it? God ſuffereth Mal.6.7. Matt.6.24. not himſelfe to be mocked. He requireth all the ſtrength of man. No man can ſerue him and Mammon both together, nor yet obey two Lords commaunding contrarie things. If the Goſpell be true, it muſt be preferred before life and other our woꝛldlie thinges. Souldiers dare ieopard their life for them whoſe partes they take: A great manie of Marchants ſpend all their life long in ſtrange countries, to make themſelues rich: They which ſaile by ſhippe enter day and night into extreme perils of ſea for purpoſes full of vncertaintie. And are we vnto whome the kingdome of heauen, eternall life, and true felicitie is ſurelie promiſed of God, ſo dull, ſlothfull and ſlacke in laying downe this moꝛtall life, and theſe miſerable goods for his ſake, when occaſion is offered that we ſhould not denie the trueth? The Lord at the length take away ſo great offence, reproch, and contumelie from his children, & make them all faithfull, conſtant, valiant prompt, and readie: and perſwade that they which die for this truth ſake, doe paſſe into eternall life, and they which leaue this their temporall countrie, doe flie from hell and doe mount to the kingdome of heauen.

To the College of Saint Thomas in Strasborough.

I Would (right reuerend Sirs & deare beloued bzethzen) haue bin much more to my liking, to ſend you rather ioyfull than diſcomfortable newes. But ſince it hath thus ſéemed good vnto the prouidence of God, which is neuer to be accuſed, it behoueth that I alſo doe beare that which hath happened, with as good a minde as I can. Hitherto perhaps I might bee ſuſpected of negligence, that I haue not written vnto you: but becauſe I knewe that this was diligently done by Maiſter Bucer, I thought there was no néede of my letters, for that I am ſure, ye did ſometimes vnderſtande what we both did, and what expectation of things might be loked for. But nowe is he departed in peace to his and our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, euen the laſt day of Febzuarie, to the great ſoꝛrowe of all godly men, and moſt of all to mé. Neither doe I doubt but that yée my reuerend aſſociates, will take great griefe ſince the Church, the Schole, and our College hath loſt ſo woꝛthie a man. This man had now ouercome the greateſt difficulties and troubles which are woont to hinder beginnings, ſo that he was nowe accepted in a manner of all the godly and learned ſoꝛt of that Vniuerſitie wherin he profeſſed. Therefore God would that he ſhoulde now reape the fruite of his labours, and that his long tyzed warfare ſhoulde be adorned with the honour of triumph. He is well prouided for: we are to bee accounted miſerable, or rather vnhappie, who are yet tolled in þ floꝛmes of calamities. Wherefore I deſire þ immoꝛtall God, who for his mercie ſake hath made him to reſt in peace, will alſo deliuer vs from the ſcourges hanging ouer our heades. And no leſſe doe I wiſhe that our Chapter may bee prouided of a Deane and gouernour which

may

may be compared in learning and godlineſſe with his predeceſſor. I bid ye all farewell in the Lorde. From Oxford in England the 8. of March, 1551.

To the Widowe of D.

Martin Bucer.

I Conſider deare ſiſter in Chriſt, that vnfortunate is the ſtate of the children of Adam: for they cannot become happie, vnleſſe they leaue in moſt bitter teares and incredible ſorrowe thoſe whom in their life time they helde more deare than life it ſelfe. Your husband Bucer, my ſingular friende, and moſt deare vnto all them which giue their ſtudie and minde vnto the Goſpell of Chriſt, might not by death goe vnto his God who entirely loued aboue all things, without an vnestimable ſorrow of you and me, and of all godly perſons. Who will not ſay that death is cruell which diuideth betweene friendes and brethren, and whereby moſt nere friendſhips, and moſt deare ſocieties are ſeuered? Nothing can be more nere ioyned than is the knot of man and wife: among true friendes all things are friendly and faithfully communicated one with another, and therefore whoſoeuer is a man woulde haue theſe friendſhips to be perpetuall and neuer broken. But cruell death the iuſt ſcourge of God, moſt iuſtly doeth let this our will, and wee that by ſinne haue diſſeuered our ſelues from God, are vnwillingly plucked awaie from them whom we moſt earneſtly loued. Verilie I was minded in ſo great a ſorrowe to comfort you ſomewhat by my letters, if comfort might any manner of way be expreſſed, by a ſorrowfull and moſt afflicted man: but ſince that might not be by reaſon of my exceeding great ſorrowe, onelie this one thing remaineth, that I ſhould together with you lament our common loſſe. Euen as, if I did oftentimes reioyce with them that reioyced when Bucer your husband was aline, nowe in like manner, as Paul commaundeth; I will alſo weepe with his wife that weepeth. For whereas one member of the bodie doeth ſuffer, whyle another member doeth ſuffer there withall, it is wont to become ſomewhat more eaſie and tollerable: not that it is by it ſelfe pleaſant or to be wiſhed for, that ſorrowe and affliction ſhould be more largely extended, ſeeing they bee euils in this reſpect the more grieuous in that they creepe by contagion, and doe declare the force of the calamitie by manie which are infected through them: but for this cauſe doeth the doubled ſorrowe of manie lighten a ſadde and heauie minde, becauſe there is perceiued a moſt ſweete fellowſhip of charitie. Furthermore when the griefe is but newly begun, the voyces of them that bewaile, are ſooner admitted, than their counſels obeyed which perſwade that teares ought to bee meaſured and ended. This haue I of mine owne ſelfe learned of late: For the more that ſome erhorted me not to diſquiet my ſelfe, the more was my ſorrow renewed, and mine eyes againſt my will more abundantly filled with teares. Neither are the Chriſtians forbidden to mourne for their friends, whoſe valiant courage tendeth not to that ende, that it ſhoulde make them as harde as ſtone or ſtone: but the faith which they haue learned out of the ſcriptures, teacheth them that death is the paine and punishment of ſinne, whereupon the feele thereof and of the wrath of God admonisheth, and theweth that ſinne is more and more horrible, and to be deteſted. In the Goſpell the two ſiſters of Lazarus wept, although that neither of them was ignorant, that he ſhould at the leaſtwiſe be raiſed vp in the laſt day of iudgement. Alſo Chriſt wept, who neuertheles knew right wel that he woulde reſtore him backe vnto the life which ſeuē dayes before he had forgone. Paul in like manner who knewe that to die is an aduantage, and that it is reckened for an abundant and great benefite, to be loſed from hence vnto Chriſt, yet in the Epiſtle to the Philippians he giueth thanks vnto God, who graunted vnto Epaphroditus the recouery of his health, leaſt vnto his afflictions through the heape whereof he was exceedingly preſſed, there might alſo come another affliction. Wherefore ſeeing God our god father doeth well interpret the mourning of his children for the loſſe of their friendes, I cannot forbeare, but I muſt grieuously lament that from the Church is taken away ſo good a paſtour, ſo faithfull a teacher of the ſchools, ſo Godly an husband to you, ſo incomparable a friende to me, and a moſt diligent and excellent gouernour of your houſhold. I haue often in my time bene holpen and refreſhed of him. Whatſoeuer trouble I ſuffered, I was wont ſtraightwayes to declare it vnto him. I can neuer forget how ready his ſound and faithfull counſels haue alwayes bene vnto me. And now this doth ſpecially greeue me, that I was not preſent at his death, and that I did not heare together with others his laſt words, which I doubt not but were full of Godlineſſe: and that I which ſo long time

Ro.12.15.

John.11.31 & 35.

Ibidem.35.

Phil.1.21. Phil.2.27.

time haue bene moſt familiar with him, might not be preſent at his buriall. I was fully minded after Eaſter to come vnto you: & this had I alreadie written vnto him. Hee wrote vnto me againe that he well allowed of my purpoſe, and he declared by moſt earneſt words, how welcome I ſhould be vnto him. His laſt letters were vnto me a verie ſwannes ſong. He ſaide that he hoped well of his diſeaſe: therfore I miſerable man conceiued a vaine hope for in ſhort ſpace he would recouer, and that I ſhould finde him whole and ſafe at Cambridge. O minde of mine vncertaine of things to come, and ſo light of beliefe! Why Bucer hath withdrawen himſelfe into heauen without ſaluting or expecting of his Martyr. What ſhal I do therfore? Whither ſhall I turne my ſelfe? I cannot goe from hence into heauen vnleſſe I be called. To liue alone and pulled away from him I cannot. I beſeech thee (O Chriſt) that thou for thy godneſſe ſake taking pitie of my ſorrowe, wilt not long ſuffer me wretch to bee ſeparated from him. Nowe I feele my ſelfe to liue a baniſhed man. Now I perceiue my ſelfe to be out of my countrie, & thoſe things which I counted no diſcommodities before while he liued, nowe when I am left alone, I finde a griefe and diſquietneſſe of them. Nowe is he once deade, that he might ceaſe to die dayly: now doth he liue ſafely: we are to be ſorrowed for, who doe ſtand in battaile and doe alwayes receiue wounds. Wherefore I bewaile our chance, not Bucers which is gone, becauſe that he, the earthen pot of his bodie being broken, is returned vnto God which had ſent him into the world: and although he hath here left vs that be his moſt deare friendes, hee is receiued of other friends far more worthie than we be. And now how in my mind I doe ſee you afflicted & ſadde, I dare not write vnto you, for that by the remembrance thereof ſorrow would begin a freſh, and ſadneſſe would be renewed. But it may eaſily be vnderſtood by thoſe thinges which I ſhewe as touching mine owne ſelfe, what I may iudge of you being ſomtime his moſt deare wife, but now a deſolate widowe. Howbeit ſeeing I cannot otherwiſe do, I deſire you for Chriſt his ſake, whom I doubt not but you ſerue in ſpirite and truth, that euen as ye haue bin taught both in doctrine and life, by him whom wee now lament, we may ly vnto the ſcriptures to the intent our ſorrowe may be ſo tempered, as it exceede not Chriſtian meaſure and the bounds of Godlineſſe. There ſhall wee finde a true medicine of the woundes & aſſured remedies of our ſorrowes. Chriſt ſaide vnto the people, The maiden is not deade, but ſleepeth. And of Lazarus which was already departed: Our friend Lazarus ſleepeth. Paul alſo calleth them ſléepers, for whom he will not haue vs in ſuch ſort to ſorrow as doe the vngodly which haue caſt away all hope of eternall life. Alſo Iob a moſt valiant captaine of our warfare teacheth vs ſ we ſhould ſay with him, The Lord gaue and the Lord hath taken away, euen as it hath pleaſed the Lord ſo is it come to paſſe. If wee haue receiued good thinges at the hande of the Lorde, why can wee not alſo indure euill things? This Godlineſſe and fortitude doe the ſcriptures teach vs, whereof ſince your husbands breſt was a moſt large liberarie, I doubt not but that you ſo learned the ſame of him, as you haue no nede of my admonishment. Howbeit while I rehearſe theſe things, I teach you not, but I ſtirre you vp together with my ſelfe to renue in our memorie now when moſt nede is, thoſe things whereof through the miſt of ſorrowe and teares, we haue ſomtimes bin finally mindfull. They which be deſtitute of Chriſtian hope, doe bewaile their deade without any conſolation, forſomuch as they perceiue themſelues to be perpetually diuided from them: but wee for a moſt ſuertie knowe by the ſpirite of Chriſt, that they which be deade are not loſt, ſeeing we haue ſent them before vnto God and into the euerlaſting tabernacles. We ſorrow indede, that we be plucked away from ſo acceptable, ſo profitable and wiſe a companion, eſpecially in the iourney of this darke life: but we muſt alſo reioyce and giue thanks vnto God, that we haue had him ſo long with vs. He died moſt conſtant, and in the faith of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt: he ſawe not a multitude of euils which hang ouer our heads and ouer the Church becauſe of our ſinnes. I would to God that wee alſo might be loſed from hence before the flood of calamities ouerflowe. Oh howe greatlie am I afraide of vs wretches, who perpetually preach Chriſt and his Goſpel, when in the meane time wee liue a verie vngodlie life. Our Bucer is deade in peace: he is not fallen into the hands of Chriſtes Enimies, & the good things which he plentifullie ſowed in his life time, he nowe reapeth with ſingular pleaſure in the Kingdome of Heauen. Yet neuertheleſſe do not you thinke but that I doe oftentimes conſider with my ſelfe, that the ſeueritie of God may ſeeme vnto you to be verie rigorous which ſo often exerciſeth you with manie funerals of yours, with exile, with great charges of houſehold, & with no ſmall diſeaſes of the bodie: but yet

Cygnea Cantio.

Matt.9.24.

John.11.11

1.Theſſ.4. 13.

Iob.1.21.

I be-

I beſeeche you let it in like maner come to your remembraunce that it is God which ſmyteth, wherefore he being an excellent father, will minifter ſtrength to beare the ſtrokes, not that he is glad and reioyceth at our calamities, but that his infinite knowledge doth prouidentlie vnderſtand, how expedient it is otherwhile for vs, to be turmoiled and preſſed with aduerſities. Iſraell is not taught but by manie ſtripes and ſorrowes, and Tribulation worketh patience; Rom.5.3. patience, tryall; tryall, hope; and hope confoundeth not. And therefore that we might not be terrified, the Scripture forewarneth vs, that we comming vnto bondage, ſhould prepare our heart not vnto pleaſures and delights, but vnto temptations. By theſe reaſons, he is moued which is a true widowe to make earneſt prayers vnto her God day and night. Howbeit not to paſſe the meaſure and bounds of an Epiſtle, this laſtly I deſire, yf you doe not thinke your ſelfe to be forſaken or deſolate, ſeeing you haue Chriſt dwelling in your heart by faith. Your huſband which betrothed himſelfe vnto you, you haue loſt in the fleſh, but Chriſt vnto whom you are maried in godlineſſe and ſincere religion, you ſhall neuer loſe by any violence of death. God who is the father and author of all conſolation comfort you. Your faith, hope and charitie comfort you. Finally let the ſpirit of Chriſt comfort you, who I doubt not but is very plentifully powred into your heart. And this ſpecially and aboue all other things prouide, that your heart may euermore dwel in the protection of the Lorde. My wife and Iulius are ſo greatlie diſquieted for this greeuous miſhap, as if they doe not ſorrowe equally with you, yet doe they come verie neere thereunto: and they pray with their whole heart that the abundant helpe of God may ſpeedilie releeue you and all this godlie familie. And in no wiſe thinke that you are to make any leſſe account of me, than when your Bucer and mine liued. Wherefore I pray you alſo that if my helpe may any ways ſtand you in ſtead, you will vouchſafe to vſe the ſame, for you ſhall euermore finde it open and readie at your Godly deſires.

To Ralfe Gualther.

IF I ſhonlde giue thankes vnto you for the exceeding great paines which you haue taken about the printing of my booke, neither ſhall I bee able to anſwere ſufficiently to your deſertes: nor yet can I declare what great account I make of the pleaſure which you ſhewe mée. Wherefore I rather deſire that ſome occaſion might bee offered vnto mee, wherein I maie ſhewe not in wordes but in deede what account I make of this your good will towardes mée. Truelie it grieueth mee verie much that in the reckoning of theſe trifles of mine, there ſhoulde bee ſo great paines taken: and I am greatly afraide leaſt the labour will exceede the matter. I haue oftentimes conſidered with my ſelfe, that through my negligence it hath happened, that as good or better thinges might haue bin compyled by you with a ſmall labour more, than you can put in order my vncorrected Copies. But ſuch is your good will, as you are content to take euerie thing patiently, becauſe you will not denie your trauell to your Friendes. Aſſure your ſelfe therefore that I ſhall bee a continuall debter vnto you for this your fauour which I doubt I ſhall neuer bee able to requite. But GOD which is a moſt iuſt weigher of godly labours, will not ſuffer you to beſtowe your labour in vaine. Moſte ſée you in like manner, moſt deare beloued brother in Chriſt, if there be anie thing, wherein you will haue mee to deale for you, and you ſhall finde mee no leſſe forwards in your buſineſſe, than you haue ſhewed your ſelfe painfull and willing in mine. The young men which you commend vnto mée in your letters, beſides that Chriſtian charitie moueth mée to fauour them, your requeſt alſo ſhall cauſe mée that I will pleaſure them any waies that either they themſelues ſhall deſire of me, or that Iohn Vlmer ſhall deſire in their behalfe. That Hooper is deliuered of all his troubles, I thinke you nowe vnderſtand by others. I neuer failed him, and I alwayes hoped well of his cauſe. He is nowe in his Biſhoprick, he exerciſeth his function faithfully and earneſtly. God graunt him that he may plentifully reape the fruites which he moſt deſireth. Alſo Chriſtopher Froſchouer behaueth himſelfe well: for your ſake I will neuer forſake him ſo farre as in me lyeth: and I hope ſo well of him as I thinke hee will well anſwere your expectation. I bid you and all yours fare well in the Lorde.

From Oxford the 25. of Aprill, 1551.

To

To Ralph Gualther.

IF I ſhoulde not (my learned Friend) giue you thankes for the paines which you haue taken in the perufing and correcting of my Booke when it was in Printing, both I ſhall be vngratefull and ſhall not deſerue hereafter to haue any benefite beſtowed vpon mee by any other. Truely I ſée that you haue taken no ſmall toyle therein. For in copying out the Booke which I ſent vnto you, there was no ſuch diligence vſed as was bin requiſite. But I will prouide hereafter that the matter may bee more diligently handled when I ſhall ſende any thing to you to be Printed. Wherefore I beſeech almightie GOD to requite the paines which you haue taken for mee. Your carefulneſſe hath brought to paſſe that the worke is come forth well ynough amended. But loke how much you haue further the impreſſion, ſo much leſſe hath fortune fauoured the carriage of the bookes. For to this day there could be conueyed hither but thirtie Coppies: wherefore many ſéeke them in vaine, ſince they are not to bee ſolde any where in this kingdome. Birkman who promiſed me xx. Coppies, hath not ſent one: which I will not thinke to bee done of ill will, but rather that it hath happened through ſome miſchaunce. As touching our matters, I cannot certifie you of much more than this our carrier, I meane your Froſchouer is able to ſhewe, who vndoubtedly is an honeſt and godly young man, and all the while he taried here, liued moderately and religiouſlie, wherefore it appeareth that he was not rathlie commended of you at the beginning. God increaſe his godlineſſe, and graunt you to proceede as ye doe in the inſtructing of your children and young men. Great newes is here ſpread out of Germanie, but yet ſo vncertaine and variable, as we cannot wel aſſure our ſelues what to beléeue. We are deſirous to knowe whether the Switchers which profeſſe the Goſpell haue determined to ſend any of the Miniſters of their Churches to the Councell of Trent. But to enquire much of theſe things, perhaps will not be thought conuenient, ſince Chriſtes cauſe is chiefely to bée commended to Chriſt himſelfe. Howbeit as the members of the bodie of Chriſt, which is the Church, are ioyned one with another by a moſt ſure bonde of the ſpirit, ſo is it requiſite, that they ſhoulde be carefull one of another. I bid you farewell in the Lorde. Salute in my name Maiſter Pellican, Maiſter Bibliander, together with the reſt of our fellowe Miniſters. Giuen out of the houſe of my Lorde of Canterburie the 6. of Marche, 1552.

To the Lords of Polonia

Profeſſors of the Goſpel: and to the Miniſters of the Churches there.

I Am fullie perſwaded right honorable and louing brethren in Chriſt, that you ſo abounde in the grace of God and his plentifull ſpirite, and be ſo replenished with heauenlie doctrine and wiſedome, that you are able not onelie to teach and inſtruct your ſelues in the waie of God, but can alſo admoniſhe and teach others: yet am I bolde to write theſe things vnto you, that you maie knowe as a certaine teſtimonie of my minde, what coniunction I haue with all the members of Chriſt, what moſt ready will towardes the holie renewing of the kingdome of Chriſt, and what a certaine ſingular affection towardes the kingdome of Polonia. Firſt then I giue thankes vnto God the father, through our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, that your newe profeſſion of the goſpell is with great praiſe of the godlie ſpread in a manner euerie where. For what can happen more acceptable or more ioyfull vnto them, than that the Goſpell of God maie be miniſtred euen in the vttermoſt parts of the worlde, that the oblation of the Gentils where it was leakt to be looked for, maie bee accepted of God, and moſt abundantlie ſanctified by his ſpirite? Verilie they which haue but a ſparke of godlineſſe in their breſt and are touched with anie indeuour of the worſhippe of God, do not onelie make great account of your indeuours which you beſtowe in the reformation of Chriſtes religion, but alſo doe weigh the ſame as the greateſt pleaſure and ſingular delight. Proceede therefore as you haue begunne, foraſmuch as you are nowe become a moſt ioyfull ſpectacle vnto God, vnto the Angels, and vnto men: and for your ſakes doth euerie good man from all partes reioyce. Verilie I my ſelfe who am wonderfullie afflicted for the harde miſfortunes of the Church of England, who dailie lament the newe ſlaughters of holie men, and continuallie ſorrow for the fires wherewith the moſt holie members of Chriſt are burned, cannot but reco-

Polonia embaſſo the Goſpell

1.Cor.4.9.

The afflicted ſtate of the Church of England

ate my selfe by reason of the determination of godlinesse that you haue begunne. For with you is increased and amplified, that which elsewhere is by the extreme power of Antichrist abated and diminished. Howbeit that our thankes giuing maie be the fuller, and you receiue more ioyfull, aboundant and long lasting fruite of that which you haue taken in hand, this must you speciallie prouide, that ye ioine with innocencie and purenesse of life, that trueth of God which he hath bouchsaued to open vnto you: otherwise it profiteth nothing, yea rather it doeth encreading much harme to haue the knowledge of God, to haue the reuelation of his will, and to vnderstand the secrets of the Scriptures, when wee shall in deedes and life denie all these thinges. For what other thing (I beseech you) should that be, than, as Paul saith, to detaine the trueth of God in vnrighteousnesse? Assuredlie it is the first steppe vnto godlinesse, rightlie to knowe those thinges whereby God will be worshipped of vs: but herein to labour for performance thereof which we haue nowe by the grace of GOD knowen, it is a most certaine fruite of that faith, which indeed being taken awaie, what soeuer knowledge went before, though it were lightened by the spirit of God, yet did it make vnto most grieuous condemnation. Wherefore my most derelie beloued brethren, we must take heede, that our light be not without feate, that the leaues bee not without fruite, and that the cloudes caried about with windes be not without waters. For those thinges which bee vaine and vnfruitfull, because they be without soundnes, strength and stabilitie, they are not able to stande against the wilinesse of Sathan and assaultes of aduersarie powers. Wherefore let faith take most deepe rot in your hearts, that it maie be the more fruitefull, and bee confirmed with constancie not to bee repented of. But when I speake of faith, I meane not that which men of their subtiltie haue framed by the imagination of their owne thoughtes and by the iudgement of humane wisedome, but I speake of that, which as Paul teacheth, is by hearing, yet not euerie hearing, but that which is onelie of the worde of God, as wee haue it nowe by the grace of God comprehended in the holy scriptures. Which I therefore adde, because there be such in manie places which bee not ashamed to weaken & counterfeite the same. For they saie that they professe the true God: seeing (saie they) we teach and adore him who is eternall, who created heauen and earth, who is the father of our Lorde Iesus Christ.

The knowledge of God without integritie of life is hurtfull.

Rom. 1.18.

Rom. 10.17.

But afterward when they proceede further, they ioyne thereunto some opinion either of Arrius or Seruettus, or some other phantie. Also they bragge that they worshippe and imbrase Christ the true sonne of God and our redeemer: but straightwaie, either they confounde the two natures, or else denie him to bee an humane creature. They no lesse presumptuouslie than vnlearnedlie faie, that his bodie is spread in all places. They decree that it is multiplyed and continued through out all the peces of bread of the Eucharist, and that it is included in them: or else they madlie imagine that the substaunce of his flesh was not taken of the matter of the blessed Virgin, but either brought out of heauen or else conceiued and formed of the substance of the holie Ghost. What is he which vnlesse he become foolishe or doltish will graunt that these men confesse or admit vnto God and verie Christ, as he is described in the holie Scriptures? Therefore is neither verie God nor verie Christ worshipped and adored of them: but that God, and that Christ, which they themselues haue framed in their owne imagination. Neither doe I thinke that it otherwise happeneth vnto them than vnto the Philistians, who inclined of the true God worshipped Dagon, whose name was derived from Fishe, if yee respect the Hebrewe worde: seing Dag in Hebrewe signifieth a Fishe. For they so fashioned the Image, that from the head vnto the thighes there might appeare a humane forme, but that his feete should be the tayle of a fishe: as Neptune, Phorcis, and the Meremaides are of some described. Verilie these are no other thinges than Monsters. But so is the impietie and madnesse of men increased, as they haue not one onlie waie changed the truth of God into a lie. For they in the steede of the true God, haue worshipped brute beastes, and thinges more vile than brute beastes: Yea and they are come to such a passe, as they haue feigned to themselues monsters which are not extant in the nature of things, that they might haue those thinges in the steede of Gods. And such Images haue they oftentimes so made as they beganne with the figure of a man, then they ended either with a brute beast or with a fishe. So the Heretikes and all they which straie from syncere godlinesse doe for the most part in making of their God, beginne with God the maker of heauen and earth, and with Christ the sonne of GOD and our redeemer, but afterwarde they ende with monsters and straunge thinges of their owne deformed cogitations. Neither doe they worshippe the true

The errour of the Arrians.

The errour of the Eutichians quite ouerthrowen by this.

The errour of the Anabaptistes.

Papistes like vnto the Philistians.

1. Sam. 5. 4. Dagon.

true God, and the true Christ, but the figures, Images, and phantasies of their own imagination. These things doe I not therefore write vnto you my derie brethren, as though I suspect you to bee infected with these euils, but to the intent I maie verie plainelie shewe that our father the God immortall, and Christ the sonne of GOD and most verie God & man must be apprehended and receiued with that faith which shall bee drawen out of the verie fountaines of the holie scriptures, not out of ye puddle of humane dreames. And those thinges which we haue nowe spoken of Christ and GOD, the verie same must wee vnderstande of our free election, of iustification, of the sacraments, of good workes, of the Church, and of all other thinges which belong vnto mans saluation, wherunto our faith must be so applied, as we reade the same to be defined and appointed in the Canonicall scriptures. Let not the dignitie or gorgeous shew of any creature, let not kings, nor fathers, nor Bishops, nor Romane Prelats, nor Councels: finallie, let not the learned men of our age which doubtlesse are verie many and may iustlie be compared with the ancient fathers, dasell our eyes. Let it be a prerogatiue of the holie Scripture onely to ouer rule our faith, let that as a most certaine rule prescribe what we are to beleeue: besides that, let no creature be beleeued except so far forth as he agreeth therewith. And your right reuerend pastors, which are now made gouernours of the Church of God, I pray and beseeche you in Christ that ye make no delaies in restoring of his temple. Who seeth not that when a matter is differred, occasions which are fit and to be desired are lost? This doth the Diuill worke least that which is to be done houlde be done quickelie. Now he faineth that a generall Councell must be expected; now he pretendeth that there must be had the authoritie of a parliament, that the consent of princes must be obtained. Wherefore if you stay vppon his delaies, perswade your selues that you shall neuer bring anie thing to passe. Did the Apostles and those most holie men that succeeded them, expect these thinges? When the Arrian heresie began to destroy the world, did not the Pastors of the Churches straightway begin to crie out against the same? Certainlie they differred not till the Nicene Councell was had: Neither did they in Germanie expect the assent of the Bishopes, Princes, or Parliamentes. The men of God should neuer by these wayes haue brought to passe or obtained anie thing. I am not of the minde that these meanes must be refused when they be offered; and in the meane time I doe not blame if they be fought for, so the time be not for those causes consumed and the occasions graunted by God cut off. Wherefore bestirre ye with speede brethren; reforme ye the house of God contaminated and in a manner vtterlie destroyed by Antichrist, and in building, I beseech you take heede that you pluck vp by the rootes naughty and false opinions: which I therefore admonish you of, because I haue otherwhile seene some which haue onely pared away the leaues, flowers and fruites of superstitions, but haue spared the rootes which haue afterward sprung vp againe, to the great detriment of the Lordes vineyeard. Let the euill seedes and rotten rootes be cut off euen at the verie beginning: for if they be neglected at the first (I know what I say) they are with much more difficultie taken away afterward: and it must be prouided that this be most sincerelie done in the Sacramentes, and especiallie in the Eucharist. For there, beleeue me, there are most pestilent seedes of Idolatrie, which vndoubtedlie except they be taken away, the Church of Christ shall neuer be indued with pure and sincere worshipping. Let not Sacramentes be contemned as vnprofitable and vaine signes: And againe, let not men attribute more vnto them than the institution of them will suffer. Ye that distinguished not the Sacramentes from the thinges signified, he shamefullie, not without his owne destruction cleaueth to the Elements of this world, and doth carnallie prophane the ordinances of God. The whole dignitie of the sacramentall Elementes is hereby to be measured, that the holie ghost hath chosen them vnto himselfe, as instruments whereby he may further our saluation: and by this reason therefore they differ from the signes inuented by the cogitation of man. But they differ also from the thinges signified, seeing as the nature and definition of them requireth, they be the signes of them. For bread properlie, is not the bodie of Christ, but in his certaine manner, namelie, because it is a Sacrament of the bodie of Christ. But shall we denie, especiallie, that the faithfull doe receaue the bodie and the bloud of Christ? No verilie. But with what mouth doe they receaue these thinges? With the mouth of the bodie? No. For euen as a Sacrament consisteth of the signe, and of the thing signified: so he which receaueth the Sacrament with the mouth of the bodie, is also indued with the mouth of the minde: And euen as the beleeuers doe with the mouth of the bodie

That superstitions must not be pared away but rooted out.

Not the glorie of the world, but onelie the Scripture is the rule of faith.

Sobriete must be vsed in refforming ye worke of God.

Neither more nor lesse must be attributed to the Sacramentes than is due.

eate & drink the bread & wine, so their minde being stirred up by the wordes of God, and by the outward signes, is by the benefit of ẏ holy ghost carped up into heauen, attaineth by the mouth of faith euen vnto Christ, apprehendeth and receaueth his flesh and bloud euen as it was deliuered vppon the crosse; feedeth thereuppon as vppon wholsome and liuelie meate, and verilie hath and possesseth Christ all wholie with all his fruites, merites and giftes. Neither is the profite of this meate onelie shut vp in the minde, but by the same spirit also it redoundeth to the bodie, and maketh it capable of the blessed immortalitie, and a fit instrument of the holy ghost to worke well and godlie. This is the propertie of the sacraments of God, that by thē he may giue the thinges which he promiseth: but yet after such a way and manner as may be agreeable to the thinges promised. For it is not agreeable to the bodie of Christ, that it should be at one time in heauen and in earth, yea rather in infinite places; and much lesse that it should be included in that sacramentall bread, that it should be tome and eaten with the teeth, that it should be receaued of the wicked, which be altogether without faith. Neither am I minded at this time to rehearse all thinges which serue to this purpose. Be be wise, I beseech you that ye be not deceaued by that corporall, fleshlie, or as they terme it, naturall presence. Neither must we for the right confirming of anie opinion or doctrine, be contented with foure bare wordes brought out of the holie scriptures, but we ought also to weigh diligentlie manie other places which heue relation vnto this: no lesse than we doe those foure wordes drawne out of the holie scriptures. But (as I haue said) the place now serueth not, to handle and expound this matter at large. This one thing I desire, that you will most diligentlie trie all thinges: For so I hope it will come to passe that you will retaine that which is good. This neuertheless I will not omit in the meane time to repeate, that hereof I am most assured that ẏ Church of Christ shall neuer haue a quiet and peaceable consent of doctrine, or a sure peace betweene the brethren, and a sincere purenesse from superstitions, vnlesse the Sacrament of the Sucharist be deliuered after this or the like manner. And what sure reasons I haue for this forelight, I will not now stand to declare. But in the rite of administring the sacramentes, that maner is most to be imbraced which shall be most plaine, and most removed from the Papisticall trifles and ceremonies, and which shall come nerest to the pureneſſe which Christ vsed with his Apostles. Christian mindes ought not to be occupied much in outward rites & ceremonies, but to be led by the word, to be instructed by the Sacramentes, to be inflamed vnto prayers, to be confirmed in good worke and excellent examples of life. Wherefore I counsel you that in anie wise ye bring in discipline into your Churches so some as possible ye can, for if it be not receaued at the beginning, when men are verie desirous of the Gospell, it will not some be admitted afterward, when (as it happeneth) some coldnesse shall crepe in. And how vainelie you shall labour without it, verie manie Churches may be an example vnto you, who since they would not at their verie first reformations take vppon them this healthfull yoke, coulde neuer afterwarde as touching manners and life, be brought into order by any iust rule: whereof it happeneth (which I speake with great griefe,) that all things, in a manner, haue small assurance, and do threaten ruine on euerie side. Wherefore it is a grieuous losse, and a certaine destruction of Churches, to want strength of discipline. Neither can it be truely & soundly said, that they haue and doe profesſe the Gospell, which either be without discipline, or doe contemne it, or be not delighted therewith. Certainlie since in the Euangelistes, and in the Apostolicall Epistles it is taught with so great diligence, it must bee confessed not to be the least part of Christian Religion. Whereby it comes to passe that the Gospell seemes to be despised of them which haue banished from themselues so notable a portion thereof. But vnder what deuise or colour it is reiected at this day in many places, is worth the hearing. They say that there is a daunger least vnder the colour of discipline, the Ministers of the Church should take vpon them tyrannie, should correct, reprooue, and excommunicate for no iust causes, but at their owne pleasure. Moreouer they say that our Magistrates at this day (thankes be to God) are Christians, and therefore, seeing they punish ẏ more grieuous sort of crimes, this Ecclesiasticall discipline might seeme to be superfluous. Neither doe these good men perceiue, that there needeth not to bee any feare of the Ministers, where the rule of the Gospell as touching brotherly correction is obserued. For this charge is not to bee committed to the authoritie and will of one man: but in the shutting out from brotherly societie them which will not be amended, a consent of the Church must be had, by whose authoritie if it be done, no man can iustly complaine

We receaue whole Christ in the supper, yet by faith.

How necessary a thing discipline is.

Many places that haue relatiō to one thing must be compared together.

The peace of ẏ Church dependeth much vpon a pure communicating of the Sacraments.

The plainer that rites be in Sacraments, the better they be.

Vnder what pretence Ecclesiastical discipline is refused.

plaine of the tyrannie of one or of a fewe. And no lesse paine is that which is brought as touching the Christian Magistrate. For a great part of the Princes of our world doe obey the lawes of the Romane Antichrist, and therefore are offended with the reformed and reformed Churches, so farre is it off that they wil doe any thing for their commoditie. Further if in any place they bee departed from the Pope, and haue Euangelicall Churches within their dominion, vndoubtedly they vse in other but temporall and ciuill lawes: wherefore they passe ouer manie vices, and leaue them vnpunished: which neuertheleſſe as of the holy Scriptures they are sharpelie reprooued, so doe they not a litle hurt vnto the Church of Christ. An example thereof may bee fornications, drunkennesse, riotousnesse, & such like common mischeifes, which in ciuill iudgement are dissembled and of the ill people are laughed at. Further the politike Magistrate punisheth verie manie crimes either by temporall punishment or by a payment of monie. Which when a man suffereth either in bodie or in purse, he is set free, neither is there any further prouision made for the soule of him that sinned: but the Church so correcteth and other while excommunicateth, as the soule may be saued in the day of the Lord. For is he while he is after this manner chastised or made ashamed for a time, accounted as an enemie, but as a brother is profitably admonished of his saluation. And for the bringing in and retaining of this discipline whereof wee nowe speake, the continuall handling of the Scriptures in the Church doth greatly further. For places are there offered continually, according to the precepts whereof the life of Christians must be directed. Doubtleſſe manie things profitable enough are other while taken out of the fathers and Canons of councels, (as it cannot be denied,) but yet those things that haue bin drawen out of the verie Armorie of the holie Scriptures, are farre more mightie and of more efficacie to moue the mindes. And to the intent that so it may be, and to be the more profitably done: it behoueth to institute schooles of diuinitie, which may be certaine storehouses and garners of your Churches, whose corne of the Ministers vnleſſe prouision be made that it may be renued, it will eaſilie be consumed within one or two ages. Wherefore let children of the Church vnto whom God hath giuen a strong health and a wit not vnapt for studies, be exercised in Ecclesiastical schooles: let them learne the tongues, whereby they may the more nerely and familiarlie vnderstand the newe and olde Testament. And howe we ought with a religious sobrietie and prudent dexteritie to handle the holie Scriptures in Christian Schooles I woulde declare in many wordes and more at large, saying that wee are alreadie admonished [thereof] to our great harme, by the wicked examples of Papisticall schooles. Those things that belong vnto edifying, let them be there oftentimes rehearsed, and by reading and ouer reading the Bookes of the holy Bible, let them that be taught from God not thinke it grieuous to note with all diligence all the places that belong hereunto, & those let them haue in readineſſe distinguished & say into certaine common places and orders: Which may be so often and in a maner continually repeted in the memorie, that finallie when neede shall require, they may offer themselues of their owne accorde. But as for superfluous questions which alwayes haue contentions ioyned with them, and as Paul saide vnto Titus are vnprofitable and vaine, I iudge must be altogether shonned in a Christian schole. For whatsoeuer time we bestowe vpon them, all that is cut off from the knowledge of the worde of God, which without doubt is most profitable. And whereas this miserable life is verie short, & oftentimes with sundrie occupations enfeebled, it is in my iudgement no found counsell but a meere madneſſe to fall from the serching out of necessarie thinges to seeke out superfluous, and other while pernicious things. But as there ought to be preferred vnto Schooles expert teachers of this methode and studies, so out of them afterward must be chosen and promoted to the ministerie, Pastors which haue beene exercised in such holy schooles, and haue verie much profited both in Godlinesse and learning, whose part shalbe, so some as they be called to that office, to be wholly occupied in those thinges which belong to their heauenly father, of which they must not yeelde any thing vnto flesh, bloude, parents, kinsfolkes, friends, princes or kings. And because they are commaunded to preach vnto the people not onely forgiuenesse of sinnes, but also repentance, therefore vices as they deserue must be reprehended, not lessened or diminished as is done of them which serue not the Lord Iesus Christ, but their bellie. But this will not they doe which be not of a valiant and bolde spirite. But if for that they be men, they shal perceiue themselues to be striken with feare, or to be mowed with any affection, let them not forget the wordes of God vnto Ieremie: Beholde I haue giuen my wordes into thy mouth:

The rule of discipline must be sought for in the scriptures.

Schooles of diuinitie.

What things ought to be read in the churches of Dominie.

Tit. 3. 9. That vnprofitable questions must be reiected.

What manner of Ecclesiasticall Pastors must be chosen.

Ro. 16. 18.

Ier.1.10. mouth: Beholde I haue placed thee this day ouer nations and kingdomes, that thou maist roote out and destroy, scatter & plant. Doutlesse mightie and great are these workes: but of the Pastors of the Church they cannot bee done by armes, sworde, or other outwarde power. Also they bring them not to passe by the small terrifying or menacing threats of humane words which are deuised of a boldnesse without abilitie to perswade. For you shall see many rash fellowes thunder vainelie out of a pulpit, but after their thunderclappes followeth lightenings of towe or straw, yea rather bubbles which fasten no stroke in the hearts of the hearers. Wherefore the rooting out, destroying, planting & scattering in the fieldes and tents of the true Church, is done onely by the worde of God.

Whereupon Paul as touching the holy scrip-
2.Tim.3. 16. tures wrote vnto Timothie: The whole Scripture giuen by inspiration from God, is profitable to teach, to conuince, to correct, and instruct in righteousnesse, that the man of God may be perfect, and prepared to euerie good worke. Whatsoeuer thing the minister of the worde is to roote vp or destroy, to scatter or plant, belongeth either vnto doctrines which must be beleeued, or else vnto manners and actions. Furthermore either we teach these two things when they be good, or we crie out against them if they halbe euill. And so doth Paul rightly say as touching opinions which must bee established, that the holy scriptures are profitable to teach, but as touching corrupt opinions which must be removed, hee saieth that the word of God is profitable to conuince. And when he speaketh of maners and discipline, he addeth that the words of God are profitable to instruct: but if there halbe neede to amende naughtie actions, hee sheweth that the worde of God is fit to correct. Wee see therefore how elegantlie and in few words are comprehended all the arguments of holy sermons. And lastly to the intent there might be no want, he declared the ende and scope of all these things: namely, that the man of god, in beleeuing might be perfect vnto righteousnesse, and in actions and exercise of maners, prepared to euerie good worke. So then as I haue rehearsed, yee must prouide, that in your Churches such a care may bee had for a schole of diuinitie as may be furnished with fit ministers, according to the opportunity of times, for those are wont more readily and more cherefully to handle the word of God, which haue beene nourished in
2.Tim.3. verse.15. the same from their tender age. Wherefore Paul iustly commended his Timothie, because he had learned the holy scriptures from his childhode, which were able to instruct him vnto saluation through faith in Iesus Christ. God for his bountifull goodnesse sake, grant, that the Pastors of Churches, which you haue, in diuerse places may maintaine peace among themselues, may thinke all one thing and speake all one thing in the Lorde. And for the retaining of this mutuall record which I wish vnto you, I hope, that the Godlinesse, indeuour, learning and sounde iudgement of the reuerend man master Francis Lysman, who, as I perceiue, taketh vpon him many labours for your sakes, will bring no small helpe: and verily I trust it will come to passe, that he shall neuer repent him of his trauell, nor yee of your god will towards him. But yet this will I not forget to admonish you of, as touching the care and administration of Churches, that because the natures of men (as ye verie well know) bee diuerse and vncertaine, whereby our iudgements of them are oftentimes deceiued: therefore I aduise you I say, that nowe at the beginning you attribute not too much authoritie vnto any one man: Let the libertie which the Churches haue remaine whole and sounde vnto them. I speake vnto the wise. You know of your owne selues, that the deuill lyeth in waite for the flocke of Christ: and the thing it selfe teacheth howe readie euen notable men be (such is mans infirmitie) to affect and intrude into soueraintie. But I perceiue my selfe, that of all these things, I haue spoken far more largely and with more wordes than the discretion and wisedome, wherewith I doubt not but yee are plentifully indued by Christ, did require. Therefore I pray you, that those things which I haue spoken of good will, yee will vouchsafe to take in good part. Nowe it remaineth that I shewe you my iudgement of certaine questions propounded to me in your name by master Lysman.

Francis Lysman.

That Christ as touching his diuine nature suffered not.

1 I vtterly denie that Christ as touching his diuine nature suffered. I will indeede graunt that God was borne, that he suffered, and dyed, for was crucified, because Christ, as he is one person indiuisible, so hath hee two natures ioyned in himselfe, not confounded or intermingled. And therefore we beleeue that this Christ who is God and man, suffered, was crucified, and dyed. But if it be demaunded: In the merite and respect of whether nature? It shalbe answered, of the humane nature. And therfore Paul when he saith that the Lorde of glorie was crucified, attributed that vnto the whole Christ, which was agreeable vnto him by reason of the condition of the one part. Euen as a man is saide to be lame when as neuerthelesse he is troubled with the impediment of lamenesse in his legge or foote. So Christ is saide to be borne and made: which because it must be vnderstoode of his humane nature, therefore in the scriptures is added according to
Rom.1.3. the flesh. How should the nature of God suffer and die without chaunge of it selfe? But that God is not chaunged, the scripture doth most plaintie testifie: yet if God could haue suffered in his owne nature, there should haue beene no neede to haue taken man vpon him. God (saieth Paul vnto the Romans)
Rom.8.3. sent his owne sonne in the similitude of sinfull flesh, and of sinne condemned sinne in the flesh. But if that Christ had suffered in his diuine nature, sinne should be said to be condemned in the diuine nature, not in the flesh. Also God appointed Christ to be the redeemer by his owne bloude. And finally the holy scriptures when they make mention of the passion of the Lorde and of the redemption by it, they speake alwayes of the bodie, flesh, and bloude, but neuer of the diuine nature, that it suffered for vs.

That Christ is our mediatour as touching both his natures.

2 Ouer this we confesse ỹ Lord to be our mediator in respect he consisteth of both natures, as well the diuine as humane. For if he should be the mediatour as he is man, I see no reason why this might not be attributed vnto a meere man. But it should be altogether wicked to appoint a meere and simple man to be our mediatour. Neither ought we to be moued that the Apostle hath said: The mediatour of God and men the
1.Tim.3.5. man Christ; because whe he addeth the name of Christ, he meant the diuine nature, seeing in Christ is contained both the natures. Besides, if as he is man he should be the mediatour, there had bin no neede that the diuine nature should haue bin ioyned to the humane. Or why could not Moses or some other holie man haue bin the true mediatour betweene God and man? Vndoubtedlie no other cause is shewed or can be shewed, but that it was meete for a true mediatour to haue in himselfe the two partes of them that were at debate. So doe the fathers speake, and especiallie Chrysostome vppon those wordes of Paul vnto Timothie: One mediatour of God and men. He defineth the Lord to be a mediatour because of both his natures.

That Christ is both the sonne of God and the sonne of man.

3 I beleeue that Christ by nature is the
1.Cor.2.8. sonne of God, and by nature the sonne of man. And as he is by nature the sonne of God, he hath it of the godhead: but that he is the sonne of man, he hath it of manhood. And this is not to diuide Christ, for we imbrace him most truelie to be one: but when we attribute vnto him diuers thinges, we doe consider the reason and the cause whereby or for which those thinges may be agreeable vnto him. Therefore, when he is said and beleeued to be the sonne of God according to nature, we consider with our selues, from whence this thing may come vnto him, by the nature of man, or by the nature of God, and we perceiue that this is not deriued from the nature of man, seeing that nature hath deriued no matter or essence (as I may so say) from the substance of God: But the word it selfe of God, what and how much soeuer it be, hath the nature and substance begotten by God the father. Therefore in respect that Christ is God, he is beleeued and said to be the naturall sonne of God: but in respect that he is man, he must be called the sonne of man. Vndoubtedlie if we will shunne absurdities, we must take speciall heede, that we mingle not and confound the two natures of Christ, which if we shall not commit, it will not be hard for vs to vnderstand the originall of his properties.

An ellentiall iustice of Osiander bereseigned.

4 The ellential iustice which Osiander deuised we reiect as strange and contrarie to the Scriptures. For we vnderstande not any other waie of iustification than ỹ which Paul vnto the Romanes and Galathians taught, when he purposelie intreated there-
Rom.4.2. of, especiallie in the 4. Chapter to the Romanes, That righteousnesse is imputed vnto vs by faith, and by the example of Abraham, and most euident testimonie of Dauid, it is so cleerelie proued that he must needes be verie purblinde which will be blinde in that matter. Furthermore if iust men doe liue by their faith, as Habacuke hath testified, and
Habac.2.4. that our righteousnesse is our life, now haue we no essentiall righteousnesse, but righteousnesse imputed by faith, as the Apostolical Epistles haue taught. Neither is that saying of Esaie otherwise to bee vnderstoode: With his knowledge he shall iustifie manie.
Esa.53.11. Furthermore if wee shoulde be induced with essentiall iustice, we shoulde not want anie point of true righteousnesse, neither should we make supplication before the tribunall seate of Gods iudgement, which nevertheless wee knowe that Dauid earnestlie did
Psal.143. verse.2. when he prayed: Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, because no man liuing shal be iustified in thy sight. Neither should there be anie neede to light a candle in this our time in the Sunneshine of so cleare a truth, if we would auoide as Paul warned vs, Pro-

1.Tim.6. 20. phane and vaine bablinges and oppositions of Science falsely so called. All these thinges I confesse might much more at large haue beene declared, and confirmed by more testimonies of ẏ holie scriptures & of the fathers: but because I know that I do not write vnto the vnlearned, therefore I counted it sufficient to shewe what my iudgement is. And as touching Seruetus the Spanyard, I haue not ought else to saie, but that hee was the Diuels owne sonne, whose pestiferous and detestable doctrine must be banished in all places. Neither is the Magistrate to bee accused that put him to death, seeing there might be founde in him no tokens of amendement, and his blasphemies were altogether intollerable. But nowe will I make an end of my Epistle, which as it is large, if so it shall be no slender & doubtfull testimonie of my most inclined loue towards you, doubt lesse I shall thinke that you haue dealt verie well with me. Liue you happilie in Christ, and loue ye me in him, euen as in him I most syncerelie loue you. From Strasborough the 14. of Februarie, 1556.

The iust punishment of Seruetus the Spanyard.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

Peter Martyrs returne out of England

BY what meanes (worthie Sir) God plucked me out of the Lyons mouth, euen I my selfe doe not yet well knowe, much lesse can I declare it vnto you. But as Peter being brought out of prison by the Angel, thought that those thinges that were done, he had seene but by a dreame: euen so I, as yet scarcelie thinke it true that I am escaped. Howbeit I am safe and in health here at Strasborough, wherof I thought good to certifie you with speede, that you together with me and other good brethren maie giue thankes to God, & I earnestlie beseech your godlie Church, that they by their heartie prayers will indeuour to obtaine the assistaunce of God, whereby the calamities that appresse the English Church maie bee mitigated. There the Archbishoppe of Canterburie and Yorke, the Bishoppes of Worcester and Oxford, with manie other learned and godlie Preachers are fast in holde, and together with manie other holie men stande in extreme daunger. I knowe that these thinges according to your godlinesse will bee greeuous vnto your eares: but now I shewe you of two thinges that maie somwhat mitigate your sorrowe. First that although the infirmitie of some bewaie it selfe, yet is there a great constancy of many more thã we had thought, so as I doubt not but we shall haue manie famous Martyrs, if Winchester, which nowe beareth all the sway, shall beginne to shewe his crueltie. Secondlie that it is the iudgement in a manner of all men, that this calamitie will not long indure: who (as they be wise) haue good coniectures of this their opinion. Wherefore let vs also desire God, that he will quicklie treade downe Sathan vnder the feete of his Church. As for me, I am vncertaine whether I shall still abide here at Strasborough. Perhappes the controuersie about the Eucharist will somewhat let me. Howbeit I doe not much feare. But this seemes to bee no small matter, that the better and learneder sort are desirous to keepe me still. Whither soeuer the Lord shall call me, thither am I willing to goe. Yet this did not a little greeue me, that Iames Sturmius, to whõ both ẏ commonweale and the Schole is greatlie beholding, departed from hence the verie same daie that I came into this Citie, to wit the 30. daie of October. And it is thought that his brother Peter Sturmius shall be chosen in his steede among the orders of the schooles: But Iohn Sturmius the gouernour of the schole, laboreth by all meanes to haue me tarie here. Howbeit what he shal bring to passe I know not. This neuertheleste must I shewe you, that my purpose was in my iourney to goe to Geneua, and to bee there for a while in your companie. But the winter which is nowe at hande hath terrified me from anie further iourney, doubtlesse that which I haue nowe deferred I hope the next spring I shal bring to passe. And if you think that I be able to doe you anie pleasure here, onelie giue me warning and it shall suffice. I wish you well to fare in the Lorde, and that you maie long remaine in safetie to the Church of Christ. At Strasborough the 3. of Nouember, 1553.

The Bishoppes of England in perill of life or religion.

A prophesie of the short continuance of Antichristes kingdome in England.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

ABout the feast of Easter I wrote letters vnto you right worthie sir, but it was by a yong gentlemã of Hungarie, who was slaine not farre from Selestade. Wherefore since there happened so sorrowful a mischaunce, they could not be brought vnto you. And

And those thinges which I then knewe and wrote, since I doubt not but that you had knowledge of them by some other meanes, I thinke them not fit to be repeated. There is a verie fearefull newes reported out of England, namelie that there the Parliament (as they call it) hath assented to restore vnto the Pope his most tyrannicall gouernment. And Philip is and is accounted king of Englande. The good men on all partes flie frõ thence as much as they can. And I can not expresse howe great a disturbance there is of all thinges. And nowe amongest vs there bee thre excellent knightes, namelie Morisin, Cheeke, and Cooke, no lesse famous in godlinesse than in learning, who I thinke within fewe daies will come [vnto you.] These thinges I therefore write, to the intent that you together with your Church will pray for that state not onelie afflicted, but in a manner ouerthrowen. Doubtlesse nowe are the Bishoppe of Canterburie, and the rest of the Bishoppes in extreame daunger. We here liue in peace and quietnesse as touching outwarde matters, and nowe we perceiue we are delivered of feare touching our French Church, whereas manie before suspected that something would bee chaunged in doctrine and administration of the Sacramentes. Which neither is, nor (I hope) shalbe done. I would to God that the cõtention of some against their pastor might be taken awaie. But yet doe I trust that at length it will be quieted: and as I iudge, will easilier be quenched by dissembling our iudgment, than if men resist by violence and power. And this euill hath also neede of prayers. Finallie I would haue you vnderstande that this doeth greatlie greeue me together with other good men, that against the truethe & against your good name they spread verie foule and false reports as touching the eternall election of God, and that heretikes ought not to bee put to death. But it maketh no matter since (as wee heare) in these thinges which they write, they dare not confesse their names. I laide (as we heare) because there is not one of those nameleste bookes brought hither to Strasborough. Wee that be here (and especiallie Zancus and I) doe defende your part and the trueth so much as in vs lieth. But how Maister Alasco was ill intreated through out Denmarke and the Churches of Saxonie, you maie vnderstande by this man that deliuereth you my letters. Fare you well, and pray for vs. Zancus saluteth you verie much. I in like maner pray you salute in my name Martinengus and also Galeatius the Marques and N. From Strasborough the 9. of Maie.

The popish kingdome restored in England.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

SIr, I lately receiued letters from Vienna that I should sende them vnto you, which before I did not, because I had no soner a conuenient messenger. And nowe I write partly vppon this occasion, and partly because it seemeth now log since I saluted you. Which duetie though I haue slacked for a time, yet will I not suffer it wholie to cease. And besides this my good will there hath happened another thing, namely, ẏ a fewe dayes past, I read with great pleasure the worke which you set forth in defence of the wholesome eternall predestination of almightie God. Wherefore since I was greatly delighted with the reading thereof, I thought it iust and my part to giue you thankes. And I doubt not, but that vnto your labour will come a iust and aboundant fruite as touching them which bee chosen and predestinate vnto eternal life by GOD, vnto whose glorie it was taken in hand. And I also haue gathered manie things for the confirmation of this matter, in my Commentarie vppon the Epistle to the Romanes, which certaine monethes past I sent vnto Basill to Peter Perne to be imprinted: which Booke neuertheleste could not at this Mart be finished: which nowe I let you vnderstand, to assure you that euen for gods cause and with all my heart I am glad of your writing. We haue here no newes but that your selfe knowe. The inauguration of the newe Emperour after an vnusuall fourme and manner and hitherto not heard of, hath bread an incredible wonder. For by this Coronation (as they terme it) the authoritie of the Romane Antichrist seemeth more to bee ouerthrowen than euer before. And by what meanes the Archbishops which be Electors coulde bee brought to consent vnto this maner of inauguration, no man in a maner can tell. But howsoeuer it is, we will expect the workes of God. Hither came two from Vienna, the one of which is a preacher, but the other is an Earle, young in deede of age, but yet well exercised in learning, and one that much fauoureth Religion. He was a Counsellour to the newe Emperour, but nowe he dwelleth with Maximillian the King of Bohemia, heeis well inclined to the Euangelicall Churches, and indeuoureth to shew that the Lutherans

and

and wee iudge one thing as touching the matter of the sacrament, but yet hitherto he could not make this plaine vnto some. He iourneieth to Tubinge and Hedilborough: from thence to Philip into Saxony, who he saith that hee for a certaintie knoweth to be now constrained to write & testifie what his opinion is touching the question of the sacrament. God graunt him such constancie as becommeth his learning and godlines. Both of these men affirme, that king Maximilian is enclined to the religion of the Gospell, and wisheth that the Church of Vienna should be altogether reformed. These were the things which I had to write vnto you. I beseeche God the father of our Lorde Iesus Christ, that he will long preserue you in health to his Church. From Zuricke the 21. of Aprill. I pray you salute in my name our fellowe Ministers.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

TRuelie sir it was neither griefe nor maruell vnto mée, that a fewe daies since, when you sent letters to our friende Maister Bullinger (by whom you would make the excuse) you wrote nothing vnto mée. But this was verie grieuous vnto me before, to heare that you were sicke, and that of a daungerous disease. Neither doeth it nowe any lesse grieue mée when I perceiue that your sickenesse which troubleth you is a quarten ague. I for my part am able to say much of the vntowardnesse and as it were rebellious obstinacie of this disease against medicines and Philitians, as he that hath two sundrie times striuen therewith. The chiefest thing is that they which are in this state must vse great & long patience, which I am sure you are not to seeke in matters without, seeing it is aboundantly enough planted within your minde by the spirite of Christ. But I together with many others haue two causes to sorrowe for this your sickenesse. The one is, because you your selfe are broken and weakened: which cannot otherwise be especiallie in a slender bodie now in a manner dried vp with labours. And the other cause is, that your labours in preaching and writing, are discontinued to the great detriment of all Christians. For there is nothing so much enemie vnto this disease as are studies and cares. These be the things which disquiet not onely mée, but all that be true godlie men. Howbeit since the case so standeth, it is our part to pray as earnestlie as wee can, that you may speedilie be restored to your former health. And it is your part, with all diligence to forbeare from all thinges that may doe you hurt, especiallie from earnest studie, and care of weightie matters, whereby the humour of Melancholie, from whence this feuer is stirred vp, is so forced and striken as it setleth euen into the Parowe of the bones. Verilie it is to be wished that since it hath so semed good vnto God, you should much rather quiet your selfe for certaine dayes or monethes, than either to die (which God forbid) to the great griefe of the godly, or else to the incredible hinderance of the Church, to liue the rest of your life altogether with a feeble and consumed bodie and minde. Wherefore take heede you offende not either against your selfe or against the Church of Christ. Yesterday there came hither certaine messengers sent from the English gentlemen which liue at Strasborough, which do certifie that their Queene died the 16. day of Nouember, and that the most noble Elizabeth is succeeded in the kingdome, & that with a full consent of all states. For by chaunce they were gathered together at this time, from all the partes of England to the assemblie which they commonly call the Parliament. Nowe must we desire GOD that this alteration of the state may turne happilie to the honour of Christ and his holy Gospell. I know we that you and your godly Church will not faile to doe what in you lyeth. Perhaps the time is now, wherein the walles of Ierusalem shall be builded vp againe in that kingdome: that the blood of so manie Martyrs may seeme not to haue bin spent in vaine. Other newes than this I haue not, sauing that my Booke is vnder the presse, wherein I haue discouered and confuted all the false arguments and shiftes of Stephen Gardiner somtime Bishop of Winchester touching the matter of the Eucharist. Which (as I hope) hath happened in verie good season. For it will be profitable especiallie at this time that the English Papistes may vnderstande that that booke is not inuincible, as hitherto they haue bragged. Fare you well, and long may you liue vnto Christ and to his Church. I salute all the Ministers and also Beza and the Parques. From Zuricke the first of December.

The death of Queene Marie.

Gardiners booke confuted by Peter Martyr.

To

To a certaine friend.

IT is euen in déed as you write right worthie man and déere beloued friend in Christ, and I am euerie day taught more and more by experience it selfe that the death of the bodie of that most godly yong man Edward king of England, belongeth vnto manie partes of the Church, and bringeth greater harme than many doe now perceiue. But God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ graunt that within a while they féele it not to their great sorrowe. But I which after some sort haue bin partaker of these matters, if I should not bitterlie lament for the miserable case of our excellent brethren, and for their most constant daungers alwell of minde as of bodie, and should not euerie day shed inke teares for the misshappe of that people, verilie I should be as a stone and péece of leade. While they be now grieuouslie afflicted, laid open on euerie side to offences, burned euerie houre with the fires of temptations, while with extreme vngodlinesse of hypocrites that Church is suppressed and trodden vnder foote, how may it be that I, and such as I am can sorrowe temperatlie and moderatlie? While I taught in that countrie, there were verie manie learners of the holie scriptures, and verie toward scholers in Diuinitie, whose haruest was welnére ripe, whom now against their willes I see either miserablie wandering in vncertaine habitations, or else most vnhappilie subuerted if they tarie. There were in that kingdome a great sort of most sincere and learned Bishops, who are shut vp in most straite prison, euen now readie to be plucked away as théeues vnto death. In that nation were laid the foundations of the Gospell and of a noble Church, and with a fewe yéres labour the holie building was in good forwardnesse, and better and better was euerie day hoped for. But now finallie vnlesse God put to his helping hand, it is like to come to passe, that not so much as a steppe of godlinesse in outward profession will be left. These and other thinges suffer not my heart to be at rest nor my minde at quiet. Wherefore I beséech God with all my heart that he will remitte some part of the punishment, and for Iesus Christ his sake wil forbeare to powre out his great wrath, otherwise we shall be oppressed with the heape of infinite euils. And that which I doe so earnestlie wish, I beséech you, that you in like manner will desire of God, that yet at the length he wil take pitie of afflicted England, which I verie well know, did before this calamitie verie much fauour you and other godlie men, and god learning. And where as you admonishe me that I should here séeke and maintaine concord with them that teach, I iudge that you speake the same of loue and good will, and I assure you in déede that so much as in me lyeth, peace and charitie shall remaine inuiolate. I haue bin alwayes of milde nature and haue verie much loued peace and tranquillitie. Wherefore I minde not especiallie now in my olde age to change my nature. Welnére all the professors of good artes and learning doe make much of me, and I in like manner doe loue them. In the same wise doth the case stand towardes the Ministers of the Church, sauing that I perceaue some of them beare me not so good will: yet neuertheless I cease not to haue them in the same estimation that is due vnto the holie Ministerie, and purpose so to continue. Wherefore, I will séeke and maintaine peace, as you admonish me, yet so neuertheless, that when occasion is offered, (not a snatched or sought occasion, but that which is iust and necessarie) I will teach and speake that which I iudge true concerning that matter wherein I know they disagrée from me, and that with such moderation and temperance, as I will not grieue or bitterlie taunt anie man that is of an other iudgement. But as for commanding me to silence or recantation, neither haue I hitherto suffered it, neither will I now suffer it. For I iudge that to be most vnworthie for a godlie man, and him that publikelie teacheth the holie scriptures, so long as out of the word of God it cannot be shewed to be otherwise than I beléeue. For when that should appeare, and I might know it so to be, I would not for anie cause delay to testifie the trueth and openlie to confesse it. These thinges, worthie Syr, and (as you write) my most nére ioyned brother in Christ, I speake familiarlie to you as you sée, and doe sincerelie open my minde and thought, euen as it is affected: For I haue such a confidence in your iustice and equitie, as I neuer will or can séeme to refuse your owne selfe for a right and indifferent Iudge. Fare you well and liue you happilie to Christ and his Church. I would to God I might once at the length for you and talke with you according to my earnest desire. From Strasborough the 26. of June, 1554.

To

To Maſter Iohn Caluin.

A conſent of the Heluetian churches with the Church of Geneua.

I Am gladde that the little booke of defence of the conſent of our Churches as touching the controuerſie of the ſacrament, is nowe come forth, and I wiſh that the ſame may bring abundance of fruit. And I doubt not, but for the Godlineſſe and inſtruction wherewith it ſhewes it ſelfe to be furniſhed, it will bring commoditie vnto the weake, comfort vnto the learned, and much ſtomacke and hatred to them that be obſtinate. Neither will this be any newe thing, becauſe ſuch is the condition of the word of God. That none of thoſe things whereof I gaue counſell is chaunged, I vnderſtanding the reaſons which you haue made in your Epiſtle, do not only take it wel but in verie good part. But yet this haue I marueiled at, and I woulde with a gladde minde beare it if it were ſo, that N. hath allowed of thoſe things which you wrote. For I loue the man becauſe of other his godlie giftes, but in this controuerſie which we are nowe in hand with, he hath alwayes ſeemed vnto me to bee (more than ynough) a right Saxon, and to carie a contrarie minde vnto the trueth which we defend. Of what iudgement our men will be, I knowe not. We thought good to ſend both letters and a booke vnto Marpachius. For you did write nothing but that which may and ought to be taken in good part of mē which be of a ſound iudgement. But maruell not that there was ſome ſlacknes in the anſwering of your letters. For there were aſſemblies had after your letters were deliuered, and Marpachius him ſelfe was abſent a whole moneth, which returned fower dayes ſince. He went into his owne countrie, and in returning made his iourney by Zuricke, and ſaluted mee in the name of all thoſe miniſters. In talke he is gentle and curteous ynough, but exceeding obſtinate in his opinion. Thus much hath he profited, that he confeſſeth not the bodie of Chriſt in the breade, but ſtieth that the preſence of the fleſh and bloode of Chriſt to the communicants is moſt truely and in verie deede to be affirmed, and that ſuch a preſence as wicked men, and the vnworthie eaters doe feede thereon: Which plainely ſheweth that he doth not attribute the receiuing vnto faith, vnleſſe we ſpeake of a liuely & wholſome receiuing: as though there were a certaine other true and reall eating (as they call it) of the bodie of Chriſt, which the wicked alſo do vſe. But hereof I ſpeake too much, and eſpecially with you, which in one worde vnderſtande the ſtate of the controuerſie. As touching N. N. which you write of, I alſo doe both know and ſorowe that it is ſo. He doth not ſincerely admit the doctrine of predeſtination. And as I can perceiue, he agreeth altogether with Philip: yea and he expreſſeth many things which euen Philip woulde not ſubſcribe vnto him, which I iudge meete at this time to be kept in ſilence. But I ſee no iuſt reaſon that can bee alledged why he ſhould denie the breade and wine to be the elements of the bodie and bloode of Chriſt. Which reaſon although he could ſhewe, yet would I iudge that we ought rather to giue credite vnto the diuine ſcriptures than vnto him, whereby as well the breade as the cup are commended as Symbols or figures of the bodie and bloud of the Lord. Yet woulde I graunt vnto him that the verie action it ſelfe, that is, the eating and drinking, is a figure of the moſt ſweete foode of ſoules, and of the whole reſtoring of our nature, which figure we receiue by communicating in the Euchariſt. And whereas he ſaith that the naturall bodie of Chriſt is not giuen to be meate, I ſo vnderſtande him, as though in ſpeaking this, he ſtode againſt them which vainely bable that the bodie of Chriſt is let paſſe into the belly by the mouth of the body, by the teeth, tongue, roofe of the mouth, and by the Iawes: but if he meane any otherwiſe, let him take heede. Verily this am I moſt aſſured of, that whatſoeuer nourliſhment or ſpirituall foode is receiued of vs by the bodie of Chriſt, that is had by his true and naturall bodie, which heereafore was nailed vpon the croſſe for our ſake, and now ſitteth in heauen compaſſed about with the higheſt glorie. For whatſoeuer foode there is (as doubtleſſe there is verie much) drawne vnto vs by faith, who will ſay that that faith is carried vnto a feigned or phantaſticall bodie? Truly none that regardeth the truth and honour of faith will ſo affirme: For faith apprehendeth things euen as they bee. Wherefore ſeeing the body of Chriſt is not vnclothed of his nature, neither heretofore vpō the croſſe, nor yet nowe in heauen, it is by faith receiued of vs a naturall bodie as it is. But while I write vnto you theſe things of N. N. beholde another thing commeth to minde whereof I am moued for iuſt cauſe to demaunde, and alſo to write what I my ſelfe iudge of it, which, as I doe boldly, ſo it ſhall be free for you when you be at leaſure to ſhew what you iudge thereof. For I doe not vrge an anſwere, knowing that you are ouerpreſſed with profitable buſineſſe. As touching the communion which wee haue with the bodie of Chriſt and with the ſubſtance of his nature, all men are not of one opinion: and I thinke you ſhall heare the cauſe why. It is a thing of great importance that he which is of Chriſt, ſhoulde vnderſtand by what meanes he is ioyned vnto him. Firſt I ſee, that he by the benefite of his incarnation, (as it is ſaid vnto the Hebrewes) Hebr. 2. 14. would communicate with vs in fleſh and bloode. For ſince that the children were partakers together of fleſh and bloode, he himſelfe alſo would be a partaker thereof. But vnleſſe that an other kinde of communion had happened therewithall, this woulde be verie common and weake: For ſo many as are comprehended vnder mankinde do now after this maner communicate with Chriſt: for they be men as he was. So as beſides that communion this happeneth, to wit, that vnto the elect, faith hath acceſſe at the time appointed, whereby they beleeue in Chriſt, and ſo they are not onely forgiuen their ſinnes, and are reconciled vnto GOD, wherein conſiſteth the true and ſounde reſpect of iuſtification, but alſo there is added a renewing power of the ſpirite, whereby our bodies alſo, fleſh, bloode and nature, are made capable of immortalitie, and become daily more and more as I may ſay faſhioned vnto Chriſt: not, that they caſt away the ſubſtance of their owne nature, and paſſe in verie deede into the bodie and fleſh of Chriſt, but that they no leſſe drawe neare vnto him in ſpirituall giftes and properties, than they did naturally euen at their verie birth communicate with him in bodie, fleſh and bloud. Nowe therefore we haue here two coniunctions with Chriſt: The one naturall, which by byrth we drawe euen from our parents, but the other commeth vnto vs by the ſpirite of Chriſt, by whom at the verie time of regeneration we are made newe according to the image of his glorie. But I beleeue that betweene theſe two coniunctions there is a meane, which is the fountaine and originall of all the celeſtiall and ſpirituall ſimilitude which we obtaine with Chriſt: and that is, whereby ſo ſome as we beleeue, wee attaine vnto Chriſt our true heade, and are Ephe. 4. 16. made his members, and ſo (as Paul ſaith) his ſpirit floweth and is deriued from the verie head, by the ioynts and knittings together into vs, as into his true and lawfull members. Wherefore this our communion with the heade is the firſt at the leaſt wiſe in nature, although perhaps not in time before that latter communion, which is brought in by regeneration. And here as it ſeemeth vn-

That our bodies alſo are partakers of the fleſh of Chriſt.

A ſimilitude

to me, naturall reaſon helpeth vs. In things ingendered, firſt (as the ſame teacheth vs) the heart if ſelfe is ingendered in young ones, from thence by a certaine veine is powred out a ſpirite from the heart, and doth ſomwhat pearce the prepared matter of the liuing creature, and there ſhapeth the heade, whereupon by that veine, whereby the ſpirite procéedeth from the heart, the head is ioyned with the heart. From whence againe by an other veine a ſpirit floweth from the head, and after a certaine ſpace formeth the liuer, which kinde of entrall communicateth with the head and with the heart, by the arteries or veines which knit together. From the liuer alſo and from the other principal members there are other arteries or veines ſtretched to the other partes of the [ingendred] matter, whereby that ſame ingendring ſpirit paſſing through, faſhioneth the reſt of the Members. Whereupon it commeth that all thoſe doe communicate together, and are principallie ioyned to the heart, that is to wit, to the fountaine of life: not in deede in place or immediate touching (as they terme it,) but that becauſe from thence they drawe a quickening ſpirit and life by the wonderfull workmanſhip of the higheſt artificer. And although that this ſimilitude ought not to be curiouſlie vrged as touching all the partes thereof, yet doth it after a ſort laie the matter before our eyes, and doth ſhewe vs, that after we be now men as he was, this firſt communion with Chriſt, that we are made his members, enſueth. For as Paul teſtifieth, God gaue him to be the head of the Church. For according as the ſpirit floweth from him, he faſhioneth and ioyneth vnto him ſometime this member and ſometime that, and by the ſpirit it ſelfe, maketh the ſame like vnto him in properties and temperature, forſomuch as they naturallie agree nowe together. Wherefore Chriſt while we are conuerted is firſt made ours and we his, before that we become like vnto him in holineſſe and righteouſneſſe abiding in vs. This is that ſecret communion whereby we are ſaid to be ingraffed in him. Thus doe we firſt put him vppon vs, ſo are we called by the Apoſtle, fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones: And by this communion now declared, that latter is alwayes perfourmed while we liue here. For the members of Chriſt doe euermore regard this, that they may become more like vnto him. Neither doe the diſtances of places hinder this myſticall communion, but it may be had while we liue in the earth, although that the verie bodie of Chriſt ſit and raigne in heauen with

the father. It sufficeth aboundantlie that we are knit vnto him by certaine spirituall knots and ioyntes, which bondes or knittinges together doe depend, and are deriued from the head it selfe. And these thinges speciallie are faith, the word of God, and the sacramentes. Through these the spirit flowing from our head, wandereth vp and downe in the Church, and by a iuste proposition quickeneth and maketh his members like in iuste proportion. These communions with Christ doe I admit, others (to say the trueth) I vnderstand not: which I chiefelie say, the rather because of that which some of the fathers allo tying in, especially Cyrill, which so make the substance of the flesh and bloud of Christ to be our meate, that they saie, it is mingled in verie deede with our substance. Neither doe I see but that while they thus say, they are constrained to affirme, that the verie same our flesh & blond, which is so nourished, both passe into one and the selfesame person with Christ, and that his bodie by this meanes both spread abroad into innumerable places. Let (on Gods name) the sacramentes and the word of God be tokens and signes of the true communion with Christ, which as I could, I haue now declared: also let there be ioyntes and knittinges together, whereby the spirit of God so there be a faith, is made effectuall, in which men he may haue place. Neither let these thinges be vnderstood as though we tye the grace and spirit either to the outward word or sacramentes as if it cannot by anie meanes be, that some man may be ioyned vnto his head, I meane Christ without these thinges. One necessarie ioynt and knitting together there is in them that be of ripe age, namelie faith, whereby we are ioyned vnto Christ himselfe, and that inseparablie. This is it which perhappes the fathers meant by their excellent speeches, which while they immoderatelie vsed, they ministred no small occasion vnto errors. I doubt that I haue spoken more at large than your businesse may endure, and perhappes haue said lesse than can fullie expresse my meaning. I pray you when you shall thinke good, hide not anie thing of your opinion from me.

Martyr called to Geneua.

Now it remaineth that I make aunswere vnto the choyse of our Italian Church, and I will dispatch this point in fewe wordes, for that the cause semeth vnto me to be easie. Assuredlie I am desirous, & it would delight me verie much, that yet once at the length I might doe seruice to my owne countrienen of Italie. For I am not made of brasse, and my flesh is not of Iron. Wherefore euen as Paul desired [saluation] to the Iewes, so I principallie desire that my Italian countrimen might be saued. Howbeit as you your selfe knowe, I am not at mine owne libertie. This Commonweale and Church hath had me bound vnto it welneere the space of twelue yeares. For when I went into England, I went with the goodwill of this Magistrate and Church, I hoped when I did returne to be dismissed: which if it had happened, I was minded to come directlie vnto you. But when the matter was propounded in the Senate, I had no leaue to depart, nay rather I was appointed againe to my former place and yoke. Further because manie benefites are shewed vnto me by this Senate and Church, I feare least I should bee iustlie accused of inconstancie, or else of some other greedie desire, if I should attempt to withdrawe my selfe from hence without some iuste occasion. What shall I pretend? That the Italian Church is destitute of a Pastor? They haue at the leastwise Celsus, who is as deere vnto me as my owne soule, and whom I verie well knowe to be an honest man, learned, graue, and fit to gouerne the Church. Shall I say, that I would assist him with my counsell in thinges that be of ỹ greater importance? But you are appointed there to be a Superintendent, who of your charitie will neuer denie him your helpe and Counsell. Undoubtedlie there is not euen anie honest colour whereby I can craue of this Magistrate to be dismissed. Further, although I performe not in the schole so much as I ought, yet as I thinke, my labour is not there vnprofitable. They which heare, are both Germans and other Strangers: And it is diligentlie prouided that they shoulde not bee taught those thinges which ought afterward to be vnlearned againe. And while Zanchus and I which be of verie great familiaritie doe thus proceede, there is no place in the schole for error. Besides this the French Church intreateth me not to depart. You are wise in Christ, consider you these thinges diligentlie. I will stand to your iudgement, that which you shall iudge meete to be done, I will doe. But yet this I willinglie promise, that if euer anie honest occasion shall be offered, whereby I may by iuste meanes vnwind my selfe from hence, there shall be nothing that I wil more desire than to goe thither, that especiallie with you and with my countrimen, the rest of my life I may line to Christ. Fare well you man of God and in manie respectes most reuerenced

ced of me. Sturmius, Sleidan, and Zanchus doe most dutifullie salute you. From Strasborough the 8. of March, 1555.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

15.

Reuerend sir I lately receiued this packet of letters, but I meant not that they shoulde bee deliuered vnto you without letters from me. I haue my health after the vsuall manner: and I was glad to see the Maister of Saint Andrew your fellowe Minister, of whom I plainely vnderstoode the affaires of Geneua which I verie much desired, because of the sundrie rumours which were spread. Blessed be God, the father of our Lorde Iesus Christ, which forsaketh not them that be his. The Sarons are not at quiet. They haue set forth a verie vaine Bolimonge, for so they call it. They gather certaine sentences out of the Fathers, and also out of Luther, Philip, Brentius, Pomeranus, and such other. They adde thereunto Bucer, Illiricus, and Ioachim Westphale, to the intent they may sheelde themselues to agree among themselues. Also they haue inserted certaine Epistles written sometime against vs. But they touche neither you nor me, by name. They shamefullie rebuke Iohn a Lasco, not in deede that he maintaineth a priuate opinion, but onelie vnder the name of a Sacramentarie. And (for soth) in this fragment they haue a speciall Title, that the bodie of Christ is euerie where. This now they doe openly defende, and this article they handle in three or foure leaues, and vse no other reason than that the sonne of God toke the nature of mã into one and the selfe same substaunce. At the last they haue added a place touching the duetie of a Magistrate, which I thinke they did for no other cause but to inflame Princes against vs: yet do they so vnwiselie and fondly speake all things, as they haue more neede to be pitied than confuted. What will our Philip Melanchthon say? They cite him euerie where for a witnesse. Howbeit your selfe shall the better iudge when you see the booke. Molinæus is returned hither from the Mariage with the Princes. I heard of him that he iudgeth certaine things amisse touching Freewil, and that he would publish the same. I called the man to me, I shewed him what great hurt he should doe all wel to the peace of the Church as vnto the faith. He seemed to be perswaded, and promised that he would not doe it: yea and he denied that it was euer in his minde to publish those things which he wrote of this matter. Moreouer Doctour Baldwine when we were talking together of other matters, saide that you let him vnderstand that Molinæus complained of him, that he posselleth his place amongst vs. Truelie if he so say, I maruell verie much: for when he was here, he coulde not agree with the Maisters of the Scholes: wherefore he went to Tubinge, and there receaued a place, and almost a whole yeare professed the lawes. Afterward he went to Mombelgard, & toke the same state againe. And while he was there he sent me letters of commendation by Maister Baldwine which came hither: So that this place was then voide, wherefore in my iudgement there is no iuste cause why he should complaine. Furthermore, as I heard this day, there is a booke set forth by Ioachim Westphale, as they say against you, or more trulie against the Sacramentaries: I haue not seene the booke. It is a wonder that these men neither can write well, nor yet will holde their peace. All these things of theirs they haue caused to be printed at Franckeforde, perhaps because they maie trouble the Frenche and Englishe Church which be gathered there. Garnerius is departed from hence, and is gone to the Landgraue. Our Church beginneth againe to take breath, and if it be the Lordes pleasure, it will one day be at some more rest: but of a perfect quietnesse I doe not easilie assure my selfe. Verily they which disquieted Garnerius, doe still remaine; they be, as they haue euer bin, of a troublesome nature. Peter Alexander procedeth with his worke begun, & teacheth well and effectually enough. Baldwine, as I suppose, will goe to Heidelburgh. I knowe nothing for certaine, for he dealeth closely, and he doth not openlie speake that which he hath in his minde. If he depart, I would wishe that Holomanus were appointed in his place. But, (so far as I see) Molinæus will sticke here; for he seeketh, as Iean gelle, to obtaine eyther this place or a place at Heidelburgh. Howbeit yet he shal not easilie succeede him, since God hath not giuen him the gift of teaching: For no man in a manner vnderstandeth him when he speaketh. Truelie I am sorry for him: for hee is learned in his faculte, and he hath not laboured in vaine against the Pope. If he would apply his mind to wryting and defending of our cause, and had some place about a Prince, I thinke it were a good turne for him: but the man lacketh constancie: wherefore to say the truth I cannot certainly tell what he shoulde doe.

I commende vnto you as earnestly as I can our Italian church, although I thinke there is no neede for mee so to doe. I lately receaued letters out of Saxonie from a certaine Pastor, my olde Friende, who is not onelie learned but also godly, and iudgeth well as touching this controuersie. He saieth, he hath manie brethren about him which iudge after the same sort that he doeth, but that they are ouerpressed with multitude. The rest, he saieth, doe rage, so that in the Pulpits they haue almost no other voice, but that we bee Heretickes, false Prophets, Wolues, Suermerians, and Sacramentlosers, and he addeth, that they doe chiefely rage against you. I thinke, that if they can, they will deuise some kinde of excommunication. I beseeche GOD withstande their indeuours. That same good man is in great hatred, because he will not crie out vppon vs, as others doe, and because he hath receiued into his house certaine English men which are fled out of their Countrie, whom others haue reiected, and because he sometime communicated with ỹ Church of Phriseland. Wherefore he doubteth that neither his owne Church, nor yet Saxonie will bee able long to holde him. But because these Lutheran Papistes to stirre vp enuie against vs, perswade the multitude that all their Churches are condemned by vs, and doe easilie perswade euen what they will vnto those that bee ignorant, he thought it woulde bee profitable, if by the common consent of our Churches, there were set forth a writing vnto the children of the Church of Saxonie, whereby this slaunder might bee tried out, and that verie absolutelie there might bee giuen an account of our faith, which, although after a sort it hath bin done at other times, yet he iudgeth that the same would verie much profite at this time: especiallie if there were a subscribing by the Churches: for the aduersaries bragge euerie where, that there is a great disagreement among vs touching this matter. These things I thought not good to keepe in silence, because you may vse your iudgementes about the same. The packet of letters I sent before, because I thought that Westphalus Booke was included therein: and I was minded to sende these letters by the Maister of Saint Andrewe, but because (as I heare) he departeth into the lowe Countries I did not thinke to differre it any longer. I beseeche GOD keepe you long safe among vs. From Strasborough the 23. of September, 1555.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

RIght worthie sir most nerely ioyned vnto my heart in Christ, I am verie much delighted with your little booke which you sent vnto me. The same did I not reade ouer but rather deuoure in one night. For when the carier had deliuered it vnto mee, he would be gone the next morning. Thus doe I iudge thereof: he that diligently readeth ouer the same, shall with one labour obtaine two thinges, and those not small. First he shall throughly knowe and perceiue the controuersie about the Eucharist: which it pleased God of his goodnelle in our age to make manifest againe to the Churches of Christ. For in such sort was it obscured, and so folden by in darkenelle, that there scarcely appeared anie small steppe of the trueth thereof, because in verie deede it was acknowledged of verie fewe. But I iudge the manifestation thereof to bee so great a good, as without it, God cannot bee sincerely worshipped in his Church. There be such as for common quietnelle sake, woulde haue this cause to lie buried and in silence. But I for my part thinke, that vnlelle this fountaine of manie euils be abolished, there shall want a great part of Christian doctrine in the Church of Christ. Wherefore the last weeke, when N. was with vs, I sent a large Epistle to the Churches of Polonia, wherein with great indeuour, I did sincerelie and plainely shewe the true sense of the holie scriptures concerning the question of the Sacrament. I beseeche God that he will not suffer my letters to bee vnprofitable. The other commoditie of your booke is, that Westphale and his fellowes which cannot be satisfied with courteous and milde speeches, are by this kinde of inchauntment to bee driuen againe to their dennes, whence they fled, that after the manner of Serpents, they may feede and delight onelie themselues with their owne venim: but dare not spread the same among others, and kill them any more. Will they complaine that you haue bin sharpe and vehement in writing? Who demaunde why Westphalus did of his owne accorde procure to himselfe these mistie cloudes, showers, haile, thunder, and lightening? Will it grieue them that the conflict of this contention was so bloudie? Who will againe replie vppon them: that the Centauri and Cyclops coulde not by any other meanes be vanquished. Will some of them complaine of to much bitternelle, and as they haue saide at other times that wee deale by a scurrile or vile manner of speeche: Wee will answere that wee haue incountered with Westphalus his professed shamelesse audacitie not by the scoffes of Hitchcorners, but by strong argumentes and most firme reasons. Briefely let other men loke howe they iudge: that which you haue written, verie much liketh mee, and I allowe wel thereof. Wherefore I giue you heartie thankes, aswell for the wel ordering of the worke which you haue written, as for the litle booke which you sent vnto me. Fare you well my deare and welbeloued brother in Christ, who long keepe you safe among vs. Zanchus saluteth you. I pray you vouchsafe to salute the brethren in my name, and especiallie the Parques. From Strasborough the 16. of Februarie, 1556.

To Maister Caluin.

EVen somuch as N. N. returneth from hence vnto those parts, I determined to write somewhat vnto you, whereby you might both knowe that I am in good health and that I earnestlie desire, that you maie at the length be deliuered this winter time from the feuer wherein you haue beene long sicke. Which if God, for his goodnelle sake will graunt, I shal be marueilous glad, and will giue him thankes for restoring of your health. Here was latelie the seruaunt of Alasco, who telleth that in Polonia the Parliament is dissolued, and that the affaires of Religion is put ouer vntill September next. But this moreouer hee signified vnto me, which I was verie sorie for and was disquieted in my minde to heare, that Blandrata the Phisition had insinuated himselfe into the friendshippe of N. N. vnder pretence of giuing him Phisicke for his olde disease. Which when I hearde, I feared least hee woulde deceiue that old man. Not as though I thinke that the errors of the Phisitian can by anie meanes be obtruded vnto him, but for that hee, as he is accustomed, when hee will dissemble a thing with learned men, and while he with goodlie smouth wordes will pretend as though he nothing disagreeth with the right professors, will cast forth all his venime against the vnskilfuller and ruder sort of men. For this, as I perceiue, is their manner of doing: they beginne with the weake sort, but vnto the learned and chiefe men they altogether dissemble themselues to be such as they are. Therefore haue I directed letters vnto N. N. wherein I haue painted out the man in his colours, I haue disclosed his nature and errors. And nowe I thought god to aduertise you of the matter, that if there be anie occasion offered you of writing letters into Polonia, you omit not to write those thinges which you iudge will profite the safetie of the Church. It is stedfastlie affirmed here that there is a peace made betweene ỹ two Kings, but the conditions thereof are not yet knowen. I pray God they consipire not against Christ and his Church, which notwithstanding if they shall doe, wee will hope well of Gods helpe: for he is not deade nor yet euer will die: and he hath a thousande deuises and infinite waies to deliuer them that be his. I commende not him vnto you that carrieth these letters, since he is well enough knowen vnto you. Hee hath liued here with me these three monethes past, and delighteth me verie much with his courteous manners, doctrine and erudition. He marueilously desireth to profit his countrie by furthering of Religion. A hard matter it is especially at this time. What counsell I coulde? I haue giuen him, which also I thinke he will in anie wise desire of you, and I am sure you wil giue him that counsell which shall be full of wisedome and godlinelle. Fare you wel right worthy man and reuerend brother in Christ. From Zuricke the 16. of Aprill. I pray you salute in my name all the fellowe Ministers.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

IT is long agoe, (Reuerend Sir) since I wrote vnto you; truelie not because I had forgotten you or that I am nowe of an other minde towarde you than I was wont to be, but because it happeneth ỹ whē the Cariers be here, I am not at leasure: and when I haue leasure, I lacke a Carier. But nowe that I haue aswell the one as the other, I woulde not omit to write vnto you. And hereof I desire you, (which you of your selfe haue alreadie done, and I doubt not but agam wil do) namely to comfort mine or rather your countie Maximinian our most deere brother in Christ, in this visitation of his. For as I vnderstande that by the death of his most deere wife he hath receiued a verie great wounde, but yet of the Phisitian: the

which ought to bee no small pleasure vnto Chzistians. Foz our Sauiour Chzist knoweth what will further our saluation, and that a great deale better than our selues can deuise. Here there is nothing else done than was done at the first. This is written foz certaintie, that in the Parliament are declared the disputers which shall méte together in ẏ next moneth of August at Wormes and shall dispute together concerning (Religion, with the same fruite no doubt as wée maie guesse by that which is past) that hath béene done thzise before. But if you aske who they be, they are these: Vicelius, Iulius Pflug and Afotus are foz the Pope. And foz vs are Philip, Brentius, and Marpachius. What will you say, is Saul among the Prophets? The matter is come to thzée men. There houlde be néede of earnest letters from you oz rather our Pauo. In the meane time you, and Bullinger, (to passe ouer my selfe as one borne before his time) are accounted Samaritans, and which are not accounted worthie of the aire which we breath, much lesse of Chzistian méetinges: & yet neuertheless whether they will oz no, we belong to the twelue tribes of Israel, although we inhabite the Region beyonde Iordane, and are lesse in number than they. They imagine & crie out that we haue builded an Altar foz ẏ setting vp of a straunge Religion. I woulde to God they did once vnderstande that wee are a great deale moze carefull of pure and sincere religion than be they. King Philip is passed ouer into England, where hee expecteth bandes of souldiers which houlde sayle vnto him out of Spaine, and he craueth both monie and souldiers of the Quéene. Gribald was here this other date, neuertheless hée taried but one night, he talked not with me, whome hee alreadie hearde to mislike verie much of his opinions. But as I heardé, hée saide vnto some, that Vergerius should shortlie come, and that the affaires in the Parliament of Polonia were not altogether ill ended. Yet we doe not plainelie vnderstande howe it was: whereof when I haue moze certaine knowledge, I will straightwaie certifie you. I am desirous that your fellow ministers and the rest of the brethzen, but especially the Lozde Marques should be saluted from me. Fare you well and loue me as you doe: foz euen I doe verie much honour you in the Lozd. From Zuricke the 8. of Aprill. 1557.

To Maister Caluin.

What you did write vnto mee a fewe dayes since of the confession of Farellus and Beza, séemeth to be euen as you saie: to wit, that all things were done simplie and sincerelie of them. Wherefoze foz my part I thinke well of it, neither haue I perceiued anie offence in anie other thing whereby the consent and ecclesiasticall vnity houlde be one iote diminished in anie respect. And herewithall happened the edition of your booke wherein you admonithe the vntractable man Westphalus, and make answere to the men of Magdenburgh, frō whom and from Westphalus it séemes that a certaine rage and invincible obstinacy hath now of late taken awaie their right iudgement. Wherein doe you so syncerelie, clearely and plainelie shewe the controuersie of the Sacrament, as indéede there can appeare no knot, much lesse haue anie bin left in the rith. And of small iudgement doubtlelie, I will not saie, of none at all, are they to be esteemed, which in that matter desire either anie further light oz teacher. Uerilie I sée that the booke doth marueilouslie delight all men, and I allow of it in the best maner. Wherefoze I giue you thanks foz this writing: and that God hath so aboundantlie blessed your labours, I doe not nowe sparinglie & shamefastlie, but frélie and boldlie reioyce with the Church of Chzist. It is saide that Melanchthon is come to Wormes. And this hath comfozted me verie much: I haue read certaine fragmentes of his new interpretation of the Epistle to the Colossians, wherein hé writeth verie faithfullie of the humane nature of Chzist, saying that the same is truely & pzoperlie in heauen: and he also affirmeth with Augustine that he hath a place certaine according to the measure of his bodie, neither houlde he require an allegozie in the wozd Heauen. Whereby the errōz of the Vbiquistes is manifestlie conuinced. If hee publishe those writinges, me thinkes it shall be verie pzofitable to the Church: not that the doctrine of the Gospell maie by the testimonie of anie mans writings of what sozt soener the men be, be made any thing truer than it is indéed, but because that séeble wits are very much confirmed therein thzough the consent and authozitie of godlie men. Also our Gwalter, (in my iudgement) hath set fozth a learned and pzofitable booke vppon the Actes of the Apostles. Furthermoze there was a rumoz spzeade that Countie Martinengo was dead. Wherefoze when I had taken great sozrowe foz him as was méte I houlde, the letters which Bullinger receiued of you were a great comfozt vnto me. Foz you wzote that he indéede was verie soze sicke, and that afterwarde he being recouered of his disease fell againe anewe into the same, but that he is nowe out of danger. I pzay and beséech God that he will long pzeserue him amongest vs. I haue not what else to wzite: but of this I assure you, that I earnestlie pzay vnto God that you maie line in saletie and bee pzofitable occupied in ẏ Church as you are. Wherefoze I in like manner desire you on my behalfe, that you will not fozget me in your pzayers. Fare well my singular and welbeloued friende. From Zuricke the 29. of August 1557. I salute the Marques and the Countie. Also I wishe all health vnto the fellowe ministers.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

When N. returned hither, hee marueilouslie set fozth your curtesie and goodwill towards him: wherefoze I am glad that my commēdation was of some weight with you, and that he had an occasion giuen him to loue you as you deserue. And truely I hope that (vnlesse I be deceiued) he will hereafter doe his part and will liue quietlie and peaceablie. Wherefoze I heartily thank you, & if any occasion be offered, that you shall commende any to me, I will gladlie declare what account I make of your goodwill. I heard of some trouble that was in the Italian Church. Foz which cause I was so sozie, that my minde coulde scarse be at quiet neither day noz night. After the rumoz was brought vnto vs, hither came George the Phisitian. Fozthwith he talked with me, and as I coulde perceiue by him hée thought that I woulde determine somwhat on his side. But he was verie farre deceiued: foz if any man doe most detest this errour I confesse it is I. Twise oz thzise I conferred thzoughly with the man, and perceiued the thing to be as you wzit: namely, that by these men is appointed in the diuine nature a monarke of the father onely, & they affirme not that there is one essence of the father and of the sonne. And since they will haue a distinction oz diuersitie in the diuine essence, they cannot auoide but that they confesse a multitude of Gods, which Gribald in plaine termes (as I heare) did affirme. Indeede in his wozds he denieth so much, but yet hee will haue those thinges to be graunted him, which being graunted and set downe, this musk of necessitie followe. I referred the matter vnto Bullinger. He misliked it and desired me (which I also of my selfe wished) that I would breake off the talke so sone as I coulde, because such kinde of mindes are not easilie cured. Therefoze when I had nowe shewed vnto that man whatsoeuer as I thought might be saide, I began to desire him that he would reconcile himselfe vnto your Church, that otherwise he should haue no place graunted him among vs. And behold letters, in verie good time were deliuered from you vnto me, wherein I heardé to my great ioy that the Church of ẏ Italians were at agrément, and a certaine fozme of wziting giuen, whereunto they all subscribed. Doubtlesse the remedie is pzofitable, and is not straunge from the auncient maner of the Churches. And thereof I toke a rule many wayes to perswade George vnto the vnitie of the Church, and desired him that with a pure and sincere mind he would subscribe vnto a fozme of wziting set fozth which the Church had allowed: foz so much as that was the onely way both of reconciliation and edification of those whom he had troubled and offended. But I perceiued my selfe to spende in vaine both my wozds and labour. Which being perceiued, and Bullinger being aduised both by Wolphius and by Gwalther, he willed me to perswade the man to depart, otherwise that the magistrate houlde commaunde him to goe his way. When I had this done, he went his way, and eased me of no small trouble. He saieth that he will go into Transiluania: but I feare that he will tarie a while at Basil. He had another with him whose name is Iohannes Paulus Pedemontanus, who also departed & as I thinke went to Clauena. I would to God that he would bzidle sathan: he séemeth to be at liberty in this age of ours: foz both he consumeth the children of the church with fiers, and by all meanes cozrupteth them with peruerse opinions. But this I desire of you foz Chzist his sake, whom you serue most faithfully in spirite, that you will not foz this cause either trouble the Italians, oz loue them any whit lesse than yée did before. Foz if among many the most beare shéepe of God, he suffer some goates to lurke, and to go their wayes: yet they which tarie still doe belong vnto Chzist, and as I hope shalbe cured by your ministerie. Neither haue I added this in the ende, as though I mistrusted your goodnesse and indeuour, but to the intent I might powre my desire into your bosome. Farewell my singular and welbelo-

ued friende. Long may God kéepe you safe in his Church and aboundantly blesse all your labours. From Zurick the 11. of June, 1558.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

WHereas you write hither more welcome, than either your selfe desire, or I would wish, it doth not so much moue me that I should suspect I am the lesse beloued or the lesse regarded of you, because I knowe it for a certaintie, how you haue bin hither to afflicted with sicknesse, and in a maner ouerwhelmed with great and manifolde businesse. I would to God, as I knowe this very wel, so I could some maner of way ease you. But I trust that the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who is the fountaine of seasonable helpe and found consolation, will so at the length be present with you, as both you may be in better health of bodie, and that the troubles wherewith you are pressed beyond your power, shalbe somwhat mitigated. I am verie sorie that the matters of France do fare so ill, although I iudged before hand that things would so come to passe. For I perceiued nowe that they would some beare the way into whose hands if the chiefe ruler should come, it was easie to be iudged what a fal the state of religion should haue. Others perhappes do maruell at the Duéene: But I maruell not: for I neuer perceiued hitherto any token of her godlinesse towards sincere religion. Howbeit it séemes to be verie new in the king of Nauarra, that hee which appeared before to fauour with a full spirit the Gospel of the sonne of God, should shew himselfe now when most néede was, to be voide of godlinesse. What shall we here doe? Hée that is the king of kings and Lord of Lords, shall defende and promote his owne cause without the kings and Lords of this world, and as I hope will be a defendor and maintainer of your citie also: For he is not wont to faile the faithfull in such times as they be oppressed. And since he hath not hitherto omitted this towards any, we are not to thinke that hee will nowe begin with you. Howbeit since it lieth not in vs any other way to helpe, we doe assist your state with earnest prayers vnto Christ: & we mistrust not but that according to his godnesse wee shall at the length be heard. I haue saluted Bullinger and the rest in your name, who in like manner wish you verie much health. As for the young man whom you haue commended in your letters, I will willingly gratifie all the wayes I can. I pray you commende me heartily to your fellow ministers, and especially maister Viret and maister Beza, for whose sake Letius gaue me the institutions of your College, which I greatly reioyce that you haue erected, and for that cause I also giue God great thanks, beseeching him that he will happily prosper that which ye haue well begun. Truelie I would with all my heart haue written now vnto Beza, suing that the carrier made to much hast. Fare you wel most louing Sir and reuerent brother in Christ. From Zurick the 16. of September.

To Theodore Beza.

MY good friend and louing brother in Christ I receaued by one Himmanuell, ỹ broke which you deliuered him for me whē he departed from vs. Wherefore I giue you thankes for the gift alwell for the excellencie and worthinesse thereof, as also because I now perceiue there is a way open, whereby we shall not silentlie shut vp in our selues our good will which we haue thyough Christ and his Gospell, but shall hereafter exercise the same by our mutuall letters and salutations one to an other. Truelie you began this excellent and comfortable kinde of coniunction: wherefore it is not méete that it should cease in me. This therefore did I receaue as méete it was with great delight and pleasure: and for continuance thereof, these few lines I thought good to write, whereby I might reioyce with you for this happie stile [of writing,] this aboundance of learning and sincerities of faith, which excellent giftes (no doubt) since you acknowledge to be giuen you by God for the profit of the Church, now vse you them diligentlie when they be most néedefull for the flocke of Christ, and when your yeares are in state to doe the same. Howbeit, because it is but superfluous to admonish him that is wise enough of himselfe, therefore I will not make manie wordes. An other thing that I thought to signifie vnto you is, that I, & as I thinke together with me all the godly and so manie as loue the saluation of the Church doe giue you singular thankes, for the labour which you take in writing. And euen this would I should be a spurre vnto you, to proceede as you haue begunne: and that

that the greater number of enemies of the trueth there be, the greater forces and the stronger campe you prepare against them. God long preserue you safe among vs, and graunt that you may happilie line to Christ and his Church. I pray you salute in my name Viretus, and ignifie vnto him, that the matter of the French Church hath at the length had a happie end. From Strasborough the 18. of Nouember, 1554.

Vnto Theodore Beza.

I Am assured (right worthie Syr) & welbeloued brother in Christ, that you looked I should long agoe haue aunswered your two learned and courteous letters. This in verie déede I had done, but that I lackt trustie and sure carriers. And I am of that minde that I thinke not that letters should be committed vnto euerie man. Now at length I doe write an aunswere, and I pray you beare with this my slacknesse, séeing it hath not happened, either because I made small account of your letters, or for that I esteéme you but after a common manner, or loue you but coldlie, but rather for ỹ intent that those things which I write, might be straightway caried whither I appointed. I vnderstand it to be a verie profitable and necessarie thing that the doctrine of predestination should be retained pure in the Church, and be truelie and plainelie taught: which because we se it not to be done as both of vs doe wish, it greeueth me verie sore. Zanchus and I according to the strength and power giuen vs of God, haue not failed of our part, but alwell by teaching as disputing haue plainelie and openlie defended the truth. The cause I write not, because as I thinke it is to be all one generallie, so I know you are not ignorant thereof. And whereas you for making of the matter no lesse profitable than it is withstood, haue determined amongst mē so to declare it as you may also in certaine painted tables set it before mens eyes, explane it, and make it euident. I both commend and verie well allow therof. As for my counsell, which you of your gentle nature and of a certaine modestie of minde, doe require, I doe not thinke that you haue anie néede thereof, which neuertheleste if you should néede I might not giue the same according to those descriptions which you sent vnto me by Sampson, an Englishman: For although I finde in them a compendious division, and that there is diligentlie obserued a fit way of teaching, yet can I not perfectlie comprehend what is the whole doctrine while there is not added some exposition, nor the places out of the holie scriptures be set downe. Yet neuertheleste as I can coniecture of ỹ Lyon by his clawes, I doubt not but that it is circumspectlie deuised, & diligentlie comprised of you. Wherefore I not onelie counsell you but I also warne and desire you, that you will finish that which you haue begunne, and that you will bring forth and publish that which you are traueling in. Now it remaineth that I should aunswere vnto those thinges which you demaund as touching our communion with Christ. And omitting that which Iohn a Lasco a famous man both in learning and godlinesse hath iudged of this matter, I will onelie in fewe wordes open what is my faith as touching this mysterie. For I indeuour to be short, especiallie sith such is your learning and sharpnesse of wit, as you can by fewe wordes vnderstand what my meaning is. Somewhat is the coniunction of one and the same nature which we haue common with Christ from his incarnation. For it is mentioned in the second Chapter to the Hebrues, where it is thus written: Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and bloud, he also himselfe tooke part with them. Yet neuertheleste it is not proper vnto the Christians, for the Turkes and Iewes, and as manie as be compzehended among the number of men are on this wise ioyned with Christ. Wherefore it behoueth that there come an other likenesse whereby the nature of euerie Christian, as touching soule, bodie, and bloud, be ioyned vnto Christ: and that is it when by the helpe and indowment of Christes benefites we are renued vnto all thinges, and being adorned with diuine properties, are made holie and iust, and thyough the giftes of God, doe claime vnto our selues the gift of immortalitie and of eternall glorie. Now then we consist no more of our weake and fæble flesh, nor of faultie and corrupt bloud, neither of an vnsauourie and sicklie soule, but we are clothed with the flesh of Christ, we are watered with the bloud of Christ, we liue & are moued by the soule of Christ: not that we haue as touching nature cast away our flesh, bloud, and soule: but because we by the heauenly giftes, which thyough beléeuing we haue obtained, doe beginne while we line here to haue the same nature (which by the benefit of the first creation was all one in nature with that which Christ in his byth take of the Virgin) adorned

The doctrine of predestination necessarie to be taught in the Church.

Of our communion or coniunction with Christ.

Heb. 2. 14.

A certaine coniunction with Christ common to all men generall.

oyned and dailie moze and moze reſtoyed, and finallie made perfect when we ſhall be come to the bleſſed reſurrection. Pe haue therefoze (my ſingular good bzother) in fewe wozdes compzehended the beginning and end of our communion oz coniunction with Chziſt: When doe wee beginne after ſome ſoꝛt to be like vnto him when we be bozne men, and finallie when by the faith of Chziſt we are reſtoyed vnto his merites, giftes, benefites, and pzoperties: which, as we at our conuerſion beginne to obtaine, ſo ſhall we not haue it fullie perfect befoze we be aduaunced vnto the eternall life by the bleſſed reſurrection. Howbeit betweene the beginning and end of this communion, we muſt needes graunt and beleeue that there is a meane, which is ſecret, and much leſſe perceaued than thoſe two extreme communions rehearſed: yet neuertheleſſe it is perceiued, if with a faithfull attention we conſider the holie ſcriptures. Foꝛ thoſe vndoubtedlie ſhewe that ſo manie of vs as beleeue, are the members of Chziſt, and haue in common one head, namelie Chziſt ſo ioyned to euerie one of vs, as from thence, by ioynts and knittinges together (as is ſaid vnto the Coloſſians and Epheſians) we dzawe the ſpirit, heauenlie life, and all the pzoperties and vertues of God and of Chziſt. Therefoze betweene the firſt coniunction, which I name to be of nature, and the latter which I may iuſtlie ſay is of likeneſſe oz ſimilitude, I put this meane the which may be called a coniunction of vnion oz of ſecret myſterie: thereby doubtleſſe we are ioyned to Chziſt as to our head, and are fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, ſeeing in that webeleeue, we are all wholie quickened in him, we are increaſed, and ioyned together with other members. And of this inward coniunction, aſwell Baptiſme, as the Supper of the Lozde, be moſt aſſured and firme tokens. Foꝛ ſtraightwayes ſo ſone as we beleeue in Chziſt, we are made partakers of this communion: and foꝛ becauſe that in a pzofitable receiuing of the ſacraments, faith muſt be had, therefoze by it is the ſame coniunction both confirmed and increaſed while we doe vſe the ſacraments. Wherefoze thzough faith we are lifted vp from the degree of nature ſo as we be ioined vnto Chziſt as members to their heade. Furthermoze, from the immoꝛtall and heauenly heade, which we doe nowe in verie deede poſſeſſe thzough faith, are deriued vnto vs ſundzie giftes, heauenly benefites, and diuine pzoperties. Theſe are the things moſt deere bzother which I thought to ſhewe as touching the coniunction we haue with Chziſt: yet doe I not ſo vnderſtand that meane cõiunction, as though I ſhould thinke that the very ſubſtance of ẏ fleſh & blond of Chziſt is mingled indeed with ẏ ſubſtances of ẏ fleſh and blond of euerie one of vs, oz as if the body of Chziſt were really (as I may ſay) diuided among al men: but I beleeue a certaine ſecret & myſtical communion, wherby he is truely become our heade, as the holy ſcriptures doe teſtifie. Whereof it comes, that I will not ſo eaſilie ſubſcribe to Cyrill which affirmed ſuch a communion as thereby euen the ſubſtance of the fleſh & blond of Chziſt, firſt is ioyned to ẏ bleſſing (foꝛ ſo he calleth the holie bzeade) and then that it is alſo mingled by ẏ meate, with the fleſh & blond of the communicants. You ſee therefoze what my iudgement is of this matter. I beleeue ẏ there be thze degrees of our communion with Chziſt, and doe perceiue that the ſame meane, ſecrete, & myſticall degree is expzeſſed in the holy ſcriptures vnder the metaphoz of members and the head, of the huſband and of the wife. And euen as the ſubſtãce it ſelfe of the head, is not mingled with ẏ ſubſtance of ẏ foote oz hand, although it be knit and ioyned vnto them by moſt ſtraite knots: Againe, as the ſubſtance of the bodie of the huſbande groweth not by vnto one and the ſame bodie with the wife, although by a ſingular bonde it be coupled together with it: ſo are we by a wonderfull and inward ſocietie ioyned with the bodie and blonde of Chziſt, although that our ſubſtances of ech part remaine vnmingled.

Col.2 19. Ephe.4.16.

But now ſir I ſee that I haue diſcourſed moze at large with you than was conuenient, your learning being conſidered: wherefoze if I haue vſed ouer many wozds, pardon me accoꝛding to your curtiſie. Betweene our two opinions there is but a little oz no difference at all. I beleeue Chziſt that he will bzing into his Churches concoꝛde where yet there is none: and that where it is, he will vouchſafe to nouriſh and increaſe it. Fare you wel, and loue me as you doe. I pzay you in my name ſalute Viretus, Zanchius my aſſociate deſired me to ſalute you.

To Theodore Beza.

24.

My deere and welbeloued bzother in Chziſt, the letters which I ioyned vnto theſe of mine did your friende and mine, yea our common friend Gaſper Oleuian wzite vnto me: but becauſe there want cariers to come to you, and that hee hath not much leaſure, he pzayed me, that reading them

them ouer, I ſhould ſtraightway ſend them vnto you, to the intent that your ſelfe might not bee ignozant what hee doth and what daungers he ſtandeth in foꝛ publiſhing the Goſpel. Merilie that which the good and Godly man hath deſired of me, I moſt willingly do foꝛ two cauſes, firſt to gratifie Oleuian himſelfe, whom I make great account of, foꝛ his great learning and ſingular indeuoꝛ towards Religion, then becauſe there is offered a iuſt occaſion of wziting vnto you, which I take willingly and of my owne accoꝛd, foꝛ the good loue which I beare vnto you. Foꝛ otherwiſe I was deſirous to giue you thanks foꝛ the little booke which N. deliuered to me in your name: wherin you haue elegantlie compzehended (as you do other thinges) the lawes of your newe erected ſchoole. Wherefoze I doe exceedingly reioyce with you, your Church and common weale, foꝛ the vniuerſitie which yee haue erected: And I pzay and beſeech God, the father of our Lozd Ieſus Chziſt, that it may be dailie increaſed with greater giftes: and that it may become fruitfull, as well vnto religion as vnto policie accoꝛding to your deſire. Surely there couldе not bee deſired of you a moze pzofitable thing eſpeciallie in theſe dayes. Pzaiſed be god, which ſo directeth you in the greateſt perils, that you moze largelie thinke vpon the aduancement of his gloꝛie than manie others doe, which on euerieſide abounde and be full of ſecuritie and idleneſſe. No doubt but God will bee pzeſent at his woꝛke, and that which you haue to verie good purpoſe begun, he will not onely defend, but as I aſſure my ſelfe, and all good men doe hope, he will pzoſper with plentifull and large increaſes. Neither couldе they better pzouide foꝛ your newe ſchoole, than to chooſe you to be the guide and gouernour thereof. Foꝛ you accoꝛding to your dexteritie and wiſedome wherewith God hath adoꝛned you, will ſo direct and temper all things, as vpon thoſe foundations which ſhalbe laid of you, others ſhalbe able, in a manner without any paine, to build rightlie and ſyncerelie. As foꝛ my part, if I can do nothing elſe, I will yelde vnto you which run rightly and valiantly, no deade but liuely and moſt euident reioyſings. But to returne to Oleuian; the moze he is indangered foꝛ Chzikis cauſe and the Goſpell, the moze readily and chèrefully ſhould he be holpen by pzayers. Neither would that exhoꝛtation be vngratefull noꝛ vnfruitfull which ſhoulde comfoꝛt and refreſh him in ſo great a contention and gzeuous a conflict. But there is no neede foꝛ me with my counſels to giue you light, who ſeeth clẽrelie and euidentlie. Farewell faithfull ſeruant of God, and moſt louing bzother in Chziſt. God bleſſe your labours. I pzay you in my name ſalute maſter Caluin and maiſter Viret, and the reſt of the miniſters and fellowe labozers. The daunger wherein yee liue doeth no leſſe touch me and other good men, than if we were there pzeſent in your place. We will not be behind with our pzayers'. I pzay God of his mercie graunt that we may beare that things come to paſſe accoꝛding to our hope. The 4. of October, 1559.

To a certaine friend of his.

Dw (moſt woꝛthy ſir, to whom I am foꝛ many cauſes beholding) I ſend ouer vnto you accoꝛding to my pzomiſe a fewe dayes paſt, that ſame written confeſſion ſealed vp with little twigges as I receiued the ſame. And when I doe thzoughly conſider thereof, I doe not thinke that it was exhibited by our ſoꝛt in ſuch wiſe as it is written. Foꝛ there is no mention made of appzehending the bodie and bloud of the Lozde by faith, not with the mouth of the bodie, which ſeemes to bee the whole key of this controuerſie. Certainly I am not offended at the name of ſubſtance, becauſe I know that our faith is not carried to a vaine and fained bodie. But I maruell at this, that in the ſecond Article it is ſaid, that ſignes haue alwaies ioyned with them the thing it ſelfe that is ſignified, and that in the thirde is declared the manner of that coniunction, which is ſaide not to bee called onely figuratiue oz ſhadowing. Merilie foꝛ my part, I knowe none other coniunction of the fleſh and bloud with the ſignes, than that which is of ſignification: which neuertheleſſe I affirme not to bee of ſmall foꝛce, but an effectuall coniunction, becauſe the holy Ghoſt vſeth the ſame as a certaine inſtrument, euen as he vſeth the outwarde woꝛde. And no leſſe obſcure is that which is added: Which may truely & certainlie repreſent vnder the ſhew of viſible things. If the verbe, To repreſent, doe note a type oz figure, it is well: but if it be to appoint a thing to be truely pzeſent as it doth oftentimes ſignifie, it is not true, and an occaſion is giuen of ſinning. And ſeeing in theſe things it behoueth to deale with derie great perſpicuity, doubtleſſe in my iudgement there needed a moze large expoſition. Againe in the ſame thirde Article it is wzit-

ten,

ten, that the controuerſie is onelie about the manner of preſence, which is knowen to God alone, but mée thinkes that it hath alwaies bene confirmed by one ſort, that the ſame manner is the apprehending of a liuelie faith. Wherefore I doe not thinke that ẏ manner of this preſence is to be accounted obſcure or doubtfull. The manner of the Lutheran preſence cannot be vnderſtoode: For while they affirme a reall and ſubſtantial preſence, they eyther extend the Lordes bodie vnto an infinite greatneſſe, or elſe they pronounce it to be in a thouſand places at once, which in verie déede goeth beyond all truth and reaſon. And briefelie I ſée not that in this profeſſion our true coniunction with Chriſt is any where ſignified to be ſuch as may abide a diſtance of places betweene vs and the bodie of the Lorde, ſo that here among vs is not required his reall or ſubſtantiall preſence to the end wee maie truly be ioyned with him. Theſe things onelie I was minded now to thewe, which would ſomewhat diſquiet me, if I thought that it were ſo written and confirmed by the brethren; but becauſe I cannot perſwade my ſelf thereof, I am the leſſe gréeued: yet gréeued I am, becauſe I heare that ſuch things are caried about vnder our name. And I doubt not but you will perceiue moze things who haue no neede of one to thew you, and ſome things I doe interprete fauorably, and doe wholie perſwade my ſelfe, that you will take in good part thoſe things which I haue written, ſince you are not to doubt but that all procéedes from a good heart: but I will no longer let your buſineſſe. Fare you well, and loue me as you doe.

To Henrie Bullinger.

26.

THoſe things which you wrote vnto mée right worthie Sir, doe fullie teſtifie what minde and good will you beare mee, for the which cauſe I giue you moſt heartie thankes. And in the meane time I knowe not what elſe to aunſwere, but that I haue you all, the Church I meane, the ſchole and moſt honorable Magiſtrate, within my heart and bowels. I continue ſtill of one minde, and wholie determine with my ſelfe to come vnto you: neither, as I thinke will my deſire bée in vaine. Indeede there be manie impediments, ſo as this delay which our honorable Senate required, for to deliberate of the matter, is no leſſe troubleſome to mé than to you. For manie times there come learned men vnto me, ſuch as are of ſome authozitie, and my verie familiar and ſpeciall friendes, which indeuour all they can to ſtay me from departing. The French church which is of our profeſſiõ are againſt it. And there be manie in the ſchole and in the Senate, which trulie fauouring our doctrine, ſay that my departure will cauſe great detriment: but yet by the grace of God theſe things doe not hitherto mowe mée, becauſe I ſée that the Germane Church it ſelf is vterly againſt me as touching doctrine: neither doe I thinke that any reconciliation can be hoped for. Howbeit becauſe I haue bin required by my Lordes, that I would comprehend in a certaine briefe writing my opinion of the Sacramentarie thing touching the Euchariſt, to the intent it might be perceiued thereby howe much the preachers of this Citie doe differ from mee, I did not ſtaie to doe it: and our opinion I haue written, in fewe wordes in deede, but yet ſo clérelie and euidently, as they which vnderſtande it not bée as ſenſeleſſe as ſtones. Wherefore I thinke that our aduerſaries will rather depart from hence, than ſuffer that it ſhoulde be taught and diſputed in the Schole, or bée written of any profeſſor of this Citie. I expect what anſwere they will make: I know they will not depart from their obſtinacie. I in the meane time will vſe your benefite, which I doubt not but is offered me by God: whom beléeue mee I haue deſired welneére theſe three yeeres, that either he would make this vocation tollerable vnto mée, or elſe that he would prouide mee of another. Nowe ſince he hath hearkened vnto mée, and vpon the ſodaine hath offered that which I deſired, vnleſſe I would imbrace it (as the common ſaying is) with both the hands, I ſhould bee vngratefull. The writing which I gaue to our noble and honorable Citie, I would now ſende vnto you, but I haue no Copie with mee except that which is written with mine owne ordinarie hand, which in no wiſe you can reade: but as I hope I ſhall my ſelfe ſhewe it vnto you. Thoſe things which you admoniſhed me of I like well, and I will take as much héede as I can that I bee not deceiued. In the meane time I am to thanke you in two reſpectes for the vocation which you haue offered mée. For yée haue prepared a commodious, méete, and honeſt way for me to depart from hence: and by this meanes there is giuen an occaſion that I haue here now openly and before the Magiſtrate twiſe confeſſed my faith and meaning as touching the

the Euchariſt not onely by worde of mouth, but alſo by writing, which I hope by the fauour of God will not bee vnprofitable. As touching D. Zanchius, I beléeue that which you write, that it would in déede be profitable for him that I ſhoulde tarie here: but when he ſhall ſpeake with me himſelfe, I am perſwaded ẏ he will be content with our iuſt determination. In the meane time fare you well, and let mee not be without the voyce of your prayers. Of my comming, ſtande you in no doubt: I doe all thinges and I ſet all thinges a worke that I may bee diſmiſſed. From Strasborough the 22. of May, 1556. I praie you that you will excuſe mee to our fellowe Miniſters, that I did not now write. For by reaſon of the abſence of Marpachius and Zanchius, I am ſo ouercharged with buſineſſe as I haue no leaſure at all.

Verie heauie newes are this day written vnto vs from Anwarpe, namely that Maiſter Cheeke an Engliſh man, Scholemaiſter vnto king Edward of godly memorie, a man verie agréeable vnto vs in doctrine, and notable for his learning and godlie life, together with Maiſter Peter Caro, are taken betweene Anwarpe and Bruxels, in a litle towne called Fulforte. There is no hope of their life. And it is ſayde that they ſhall bee ſent into England to the Queene: and I feare leaſt ſome grieuous example ſhall be thewed vppon them. Theyr be two excellent men, as all the Engliſh men know. Wherefore I beſeeche you and your godlie Church, that you will powre out for them your prayers as a ſweete ſmelling ſacrifice, that either they maie be deliuered frõ ſo preſent a danger, or elſe that there may be giuẽ them a true and ſound conſtancie in the confeſſion of Chriſtes name and his truoth. Fare you well againe, and loue mee as you doe.

To Henrie Bullinger.

27.

THat meſſenger which departed from hence eight dayes ſince, and had letters from your ſonne vnto you, made me not priuie at all of his departure: wherefore good Sir and reuerende brother in the Lorde, you muſt not marueil that I wrote not vnto you; for I was much deſirous to haue done it, and was verie ſorie that the occaſion was ſo loſt. Nowe at the length haue I gotten leaue. It was graunted me vppon Saint Johns Eue. Which I beſeech God maie turne to good and bee luckie and fortunate. For the Magiſtrate differred the time euen vntill that date. He protracted the time a great while, and labored much to kéepe me ſtill, and finallie conſelled to my owne ſelfe that hee did vnwillinglie let mee goe. I am preparing for the iourney, and when the faire is at an ende, I hope that I ſhall depart from hence. Wherefore I will not write much, becauſe I truſt to bee preſent with you ſhortlie. I come with a glad minde and with all my heart, and I doubt not but with a willing and readie minde I ſhall be receiued of you. I heare that your ſonne hath written vnto you touching a houſe: which I my ſelfe did not aduiſe him to doe. But nowe that he hath done it, I am glad, and I giue him thankes. But ſée how bolde I am, I aſſure my ſelfe of all thinges, euen as I in like manner am readie to doe anie thing for your ſake. Numius maketh haſt: and I euen at this preſent time am occupied in the ordering of my bookes, therefore I ende my letter. I deſire that all the fellow Miniſters may be heartilie ſalnted from me, and that it maie be tolde them, that there is nowe nothing I more deſire than by my preſence to pleaſure them, whome I entierlie loue and honour in Chriſt. God kéepe you long ſafe amongeſt vs. From Strasborough the 29. of Iune, 1556.

To Henrie Bullinger.

28.

MOſt louing and reuerende man in the Lorde I receiued your letters ful of great courteſie & Chriſtian loue, whereby I perceiue that you in appointing a ſucceſſor in place of the good and godlie olde man that is dead, were verie mindfull of your Martyr. I knowe that I haue not deſerued ſo great an honour, but whatſoeuer I vnderſtande to bee moſt friendlie done by you and your aſſociates, that doe I wholie attribute to your goodneſſe & Chriſtian affection. Wherefore doubt you not but that I ſhoulde moſt thankefullie haue accepted your calling of me: ſauing that our Schole and Senate toke the ſame grieuouſlie. For manie indeede haue indeuoured by diuerſe wayes and meanes and yet doe indeuour to diſcourage me from conſenting vnto your calling of

me. But I which preferre the consent of Religion and godlinesse aboue all thinges, am stedfast in my determination, and being demaunded of our noble and honozable Senate what my minde was, I nothing at all dissembled, but saide that leaue to depart woulde be verie acceptable vnto me, truely not that I am vnmindfull and vngratefull for benefites receiued: for I knowe that I am much indebted to this noble Commonweale, from the which doubtlesse I wouide not suffer my selfe to bee plucked awaie, if I coulde agree with their ministers in the matter of the Sacrament. But since I am in no hope thereof, I haue openlie shewed how desirous I am to goe whither I am called by my most louing brethren: and hauing an occasion offered, I complained to the Magistrate that our doctrine of the Eucharist shoulde in open audience be so vnmeasurably and shamefully ill spoken of by the ministers in this citie. And I added, that I wondersullie marueil and am sorie that they will not teach and dispute of this matter openlie in the schole, whereas neuerthelesse in the Churches they bitter speeches verie outragious and bitter. Briefelie I haue nowe twise pleaded the cause before them, and sometime by such as were appointed to talke with the apart. And I thought that this matter woulde haue bene altogether dispatched in foure dayes: but this daie the Senate aunswered me that they perceiued the causes were reasonable for the which I desired leaue to depart, howbeit that they thought not that anie thing should be done rashlie in so great a matter, and therefore I was desired, that I woulde at the leastwise abide patientlie the respite of one moneth for an absolute answere. For then they promise that either they will offer mee such conditions, as I maie with a quiet conscience remaine among the, or else they will set mee at libertie to goe vnto you as I desire. This request of our Magistrate, vnto whom I am much beholding, and who I knowe is much of our opinion, I coulde not in right and honestie refuse, especially since they added that there bee certaine causes for the which they might not for the sudden giue me an absolute answere, and so against my will I yeelded to that space of time which they required. But I pray you bee of good cheere: I will not desist as much as in me lieth that your calling of me shall not be in vaine. A moneth space will some slip awaie. Wherefore according as you desired me by your letters, I will be present with you at the feast of Iohn Baptist, if the Lord graunt (as I hope he will) that the matter may be brought to an end. But how much I am beholding to your puissant and wise Senate for the vocation which they haue offered me and for the letters which they haue sent hither, doubtlesse I haue signified by my letters and haue giuen them thankes. But I beseech you my singular good friende that you also will yet more at large testifie the same vnto them. Also I giue thankes vnto al your associats, and my most louing brethren in Christ, vnto whome I had now most willinglie written, but I was let of these affaires and talke which I haue with friends, who by reason of this matter doe euerie hower come vnto me. I pray you vouchsafe to excuse me vnto them, for I will write vnto them so farre as I can, or else my selfe will be present with them before they be aware. I detained your messenger with mee two daies longer than reason woulde, but this I did, because I hoped that this thirde day I might haue dispatched the matter. I pray you therefore that you will take this his tariance in good part, and procure that I maie not be blamed for the same. Salute you all the fellowe ministers and associates. Fare you well and happilie maie you liue in Christ. From Strasborough the 7. of Maie, 1556.

To Lodouick Lauater.

29.

I Am not a little delighted (my dere brother) with your courteous letters: For by your reioycing with me for my deliuerance out of the Englith perils, you shewe your singular great loue towardes me: which although it were well enough knowen to me before, yet is it now made farre more manifest. I stay as yet at Strasborough, but I haue not yet determined what I will doe: whereof when I am resolued, I will giue the meanes that you also shall vnderstand it. They haue not hitherto restored me to my former state. And what the lette is that I haue not bin hitherto receaued, you your selfe can better gesse than is requisite and safe for me to expresse by letters. And if it happen that I tarie, I will not suffer either my lippes or my tongue to be depriued of that libertie of speech which you exhort me vnto, vsing neuerthelesse both moderation and fit opportunitie. Wherefore if it be my chaunce to labour here in the field of the Lord, I shall by mine alone prayers and by the prayers of other godlie brethren, obtaine of the Lord, that I may

may at the length gather such fruite as I nede not repent me of. For the lodging in your house which your willinglie offer th if I come thither, I giue you thankes, neither doe I refuse your good turne or rather courtesie. Wherefore if I come it may well be that I will turne in to you. As for the setting forth of my bookes we will talke more thereof at an other time when leasure shall serue. In the meane time liue and fare well in Christ, commending me to al your associats and fellowe ministers, especially to Iohn Abulmis, whom you shall see him. From Strasborough the 30. of December, 1553.

It is at length decreed that I shal remaine here at Strasborough, and they doe restore my former place vnto me which I had heere before my departure into Englande. The Calendes of Ianuarie, 1554.

Vnto Lodouicke Lauater.

30.

MOur letters (worthie Lodouicke) I receiued full of curtesie and loue towardes mee: which I accepted most thankefullie for two causes, aswell for that by so friendlie and gentle sending of letters you shewe that I am continuallie remembred of you as also because you certified mee by what strange sightes men be there warned of God. As the first cause doth not a litle delight mee, so it perswadeth me to wish and desire you to continue remembring mee as you haue doone: For I also in like manner will not be forgetfull of you. And as touching the other cause, I thinke it meete by prayers stirred vppe with a singular faith and some amendement of life, to desire God that he will turne awaie his wrath. If that the Ethnickes, as we reade in Liuie and other good writers, when they vnderstood of strange sightes and wonders shewed in anie place vnto diuerse and manifoulde kindes of sacrifices, to the intent that those thinges might not take effect: what ought we to doe which be instructed with the true light of Christ? Wee haue no slaine sacrifices saung Christ Iesus alone, but yet prayers, repentance, and holy life (whereby oftentimes are diminished the scourges hanging ouer our heade) be set forth vnto euerie one of vs in the holy scriptures. Great vndoubtedlie is the slothfulnesse and most deadlie securitie in euerie place; therefore it is no marualie, if the heauenlie father for his mercie sake prouide that we may be stirred vp by such kinde of strange sightes. For he called not vs vnto his holie Gospell, that we should sleepe in idlenesse: therefore he seeing that men are not in such sort moued as they ought to bee by the word of preaching, and by the doctrine of the holie scriptures: hee also giueth warning from heauen, not to the intent hee would terrifie those which he accounteth for his most deare children, but that he may stir them vp to goe forewarde in their indeuour, and to lift vp their heades, because they perceiue that their redemption draweth neere, yea to be euen at hande. Of these kinde of signes from heauen are the wicked afraide, who doe wholie depende on the seconde causes of nature, neither haue they stedfast hold of the diuine promises not yet of the most safe anker hoalde of faith, whereunto they may cleaue. Whereas contention is renued about the sacrament, it is to be lamented: but since that the strife is growen by the obstinacie of others, it is not meete for our men to leaue the trueth vndefended. And for my part I am fullie perswaded, that this is the Lordes doing who will not that to good and so necessarie a cause should be set at naught. Wherefore I commende our men which haue written, and I doe earnestly allowe of their studie, labour and faithfulnesse: neither doe I mistrust, but that they shall at length obtaine that god successe which is desired. Lastly I warne you that you neuer doubt but that your letters will be most acceptable vnto me. Wherefore I wish that you may liue happily in Christ. Haue a diligent and faithfull regarde vnto your vocation, and let not your studies of the holie scriptures either decaie or rest. For they which either nowe be spent with age or within a while shall bee spent, will leaue the lamps vnto you that be young men. Wherefore it is your part to prouide that they may safely and fruitefully be committed vnto you. Praie vnto Christ for mee, and most friendly salute in my name Maister Pellican. From Strasborough the fourth of Aprill, 1556.

Whether the minde be as quick prophetes sightes.

Why he sendeth prodigious tokens.

To Lodouicke Lauater.

31

SInce hitherto (my learned friende and verie louing brother in Christ) I had nothing sure or certaine to write to you as touching my comming vnto you, therefore you haue hitherto receiued no letters from me. But nowe at the length I write signifying vnto you that vppon Saint Iohns day leaue was giuen mee

to depart. In which matter I so greatlie laboured, as I never in al my life otherwise anie thing with greater difficultie. All the good and learned men earnestlie withstood my purpose. The magistrate draue me not euen vntill this time, and when he gaue me leaue, he testified in plaine termes, that he did it against his will. And afterwarde when I toke leaue of my auditorie, (which was a verie great number) all that were present did weepe at my departure. These thinges haue I therefore rehearsed, to let you vnderstand that I had a great desire of comming vnto you. Pour therefore my Lauater and others your fellowes, haue that which you desired. I come and am now wholie occupied in preparation of my iorney, which I might much sooner and more commodiously haue done, if I could sooner haue bene discharged. I will write no more, because I hope verie shortlie that I shall mine owne selfe inioie the presence of you all, fare you well therefore, and loue me as you doe, and commende me to all the Brethren. From Strasborough the xxi. of Iune, 1556.

To Philip Melanchthon.

32.

Since I iudged (right worthie and reuerent man) that you should be incredibly occupied in this assembly of Woormes, I thought good to forbeare troubling you by my letters. But nowe that I had knowledge of those things which our reuerend friende Maister Bullinger tolde me of, I could not be drawen from writing vnto you. I see that it hath happened there which in times past happened in the Synode of Nice, where the Bishops which mette together, leaning in a manner the cause which was to be dealt in against the Arrians, discredited one another with accusations and libels. But this difference I perceiue to bee betweene the maner of our assemblie and their Synode, that the Nicene Councell was gouerned by the godlie Emperour Constantine, who repressed the inconstancie (I will not say the lewdnesse) of the vnwise Bishops, and at the length helde them in their duetie: but in our assemblies there was no such authoritie of godlie Princes that coulde so much as staie the broad worshipping Diuines frō departing. This haue I therefore called to minde, that since we perceiue the lot of Christes Church to be such, as it is assaulted both within and without, we may perceiue that there hath no newe thing happened vnto vs: of which kinde of consolation, although you that are a strong captaine of the warres of the Lord, haue no neede, yet haue I rehearsed the same that I might lament this infirmitie of godly men which happened long ago, onely it hath not bin perpetuall. You no doubt as you haue done the office of a good man, and of a faithfull defender of iustice: so haue you marueilouslie bounde all our heartes vnto you, who accounted it no iust wasie that they shoulde bee condemned, which haue neither deserued ill of Religion, nor yet were either cited or heard nowe in your iudgement. In deede a cleare conscience is a great comfort vnto vs, but nowe doe we reioyce more aboundantly: because God hath through you being our principall and courteous patrons prouided, that euen our cause which we assuredly trust to be good, shoulde not be condemned by a newe and vnaccustomed forme of iudgement. Wherefore I most heartilie thanke you: and I beseeche God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, that he wil graunt good successe to the indeuours of you & your fellowes: which I doubt not but will come to passe, howsoeuer they departed which would haue had vs to be condemned. For by the benefite of GOD, there be many wayes (as Pindar saieth) of well doing. But because I knowe that you haue no leasure at this time to reade long letters, I will not write any more. I pray you salute your sonne in lawe Peucerus, a singular man for his godlinesse and learning, and also that verie godly and learned man Paulus Heberus. From Zurick the 20. of October, 1557. God preserue you long in safetie to vs and to the Church of Christ. Fare you well therefore, and loue me in Christ: for in him I doe make great account of you.

To M. Peter Alexander.

33.

The letters (my deare and reuerende Peter) which you sent vnto mee the thirde daie of Iune, I receiued the xxiiii. day. And I doubt not but with a good and faithfull mind you shewed me of those things which indeed happened not according to your merites and innocencie. For why should not I giue credite vnto you? Or why shoulde I suspect you of a lie? I see no cause for you to lie: Neither is there anie cause why your faith should not be most approued vnto mee. Wherefore I did not onelie beleeue those thinges

thinges which you wrote vnto me, but (as matie it was) I take great sorrowe thereof. And where it seemes to you that I excuse the slaunderers, perhappes it was for that sith I saiwe not their letters and testimonies, I might not easilie think the worst of such kind of men, who when I did expostulate with them touching this matter, answered that against you they wrote nothing at all, which either they thought not to be true, or which did excede the bounds of Christian modestie: And that of themselues they would neither haue written nor spoken any thing of you, had they not beene inforced and earnestlie intreated thereunto by the Mombelgardensin Church. Whē I heard these things of them, I beganne thus to thinke with my selfe: that perhappes the matter was shewed more bitterlie vnto you, than it was written of them. Hereof it comes, that I maie seeme in my letters to lessen and mitigate their doinges. What shoulde I heere doe? I am of such a nature, that I cannot easilie giue credit to a suspicious accusation of those men whome I thinke to be honest. But now because you protest with your selfe, that the matter is altogether euident, let them take heede what they haue done, for I haue no minde either to maintaine or excuse those thinges which haue beene ill done either of them or of anie other. But this I saie vnto you, that with the god and wise men no part of your good name and credite is diminished through this trouble and mishappe which you haue sustained. The Mombelgardensin Church is to be lamented, which hath bin brought into these ruins & grieuous euils which you write of. These thinges as they be bitter and heauie to the minds of godlie men, so must we pray that at length there maie be some end and measure of them. I salwe the Apologie which you wrote vnto the Prince, and it liked me verie well: and I saide, that me thought it would doe well to send it to D. Marpachius. For I hope that if the Prince shall reade it, he will not afterwarde suffer anie ill suspition to remaine in his minde. God graunt that successe which we desire. Your purpose of expecting and imbracing an honest vocation when it is offered, I verie well allowe: and I doubt not, but that God will quickelie sende you into his worke. For he will not long suffer the guiftes wherewith bee hath adorned you, to be without vse. Now hearken what hath happened touching other matters. The last weake in Englande were burned seuen good men, which with a peaceable mind and stedfast constancie gaue testimonie of their faith. The Queene hath not yet beene deliuered of childe, and as it is written, thee saide, she shall not happilie bring forth till thee haue burned euerie one of the heretikes which she hath in prison. Hereby therefore you maie vnderstande that my Lorde of Canterburie is nowe in great perill. It is saide that they of Wormes will graunt the French nation a Church which, that same diuine your friend will erect, who was sometime with Lord my of Elie departed: and as I thinke is called Philip. The kingdom of Polonia hath receiued the Gospell: and at Augusta as all men thinke peace shall be giuen to the Churches of the Augustane Confession: which peace shall be confirmed in the Parliament by a decree of the Emperor. De Lasco is at Frankeforde: For he was constrained to depart frō Phrygia. Iulius and his wife, salute you and your good wife and so doe I litewise. But I pray you take the paines to salute in my name those excellent men, Viret, Beza, and Eustachius. From Strasborough the 18. of Iune, 1555.

To Robert Cooch a letter

yet extant of his owne hand.

34.

You will marueil and that not a little (deare friende in the Lorde) that I haue differred so long to write againe vnto you. You must knowe, that that came to passe not through any contempt of you, but for that being distracted continually with great businesse, I am not able to performe all things at all times as I would and as I ought. Wherefore if thalbe your part not to impute this delay to negligence, but rather to ascribe it to those vrgent cares wherewith I am ouerpressed. And againe, not to dissemble with you: this did somwhat hinder my desire to answere, that in the question which you moue, I perceiue you sticke to those arguments wherewithall by speech you delt with me. Whereupon insomuch as you finde not your selfe satisfied with that that then I answered, nor my selfe coulde finde better reasons to perswade mine opinion: I thought mine answere would be of small importance. I answere therefore rather, least I shoulde seeme to want curtesie than that I thinke you can be remoued from that conceit wherein so stifly you haue setled your minde. Howbeit to your obiections I will answere in such order as they are propounded of you. You say that Higinus the bi-

thop of Rome did firſt inſtitute the baptiſme of children: which how ſtronglie it may bee prooued I cannot finde. Indeede I read that he ordained certaine things concerning the godfathers of them that were baptiſed: but that the baptiſme of children was an inuention of his, I neuer founde. And if you know any other decree of his hereof, I pray you vouchſafe to ſhewe it me. The teſtimonie which you adde of Tertullian is not of ſo great moment, that it ſhoulde much moue vs. For as you know, he fell to Montaniſme, and as he condemned ſecond marriages and addicted himſelfe to that damnable kinde of prophesie, ſo refuſed he the ſoundneſſe of doctrine in this point of baptiſme, when hee teacheth that children muſt be kept away from the ſacrament. And if a man doe diligentlie weigh his woordes, ſcant any age ſhall be fit for baptiſme. For that he thinketh it to be denied to young mē alſo & to them that be vnmaried, as perſons ſubiect as yet to temtation and faults, as if al̃eit old men be leſſe with luſt inflamed, yet they be not vexed with greeuous kinds of temptations. Neither was Tertullian ſo neere of one time to Higinus as you ſuppoſe. For Higinus was biſhop in the yeare of our Lorde 140. but Tertullian flouriſhed vnder Eleutherius in the yeare 210. Nowe whereas Higinus doth onely decree of the Godfathers to infants, it appeareth they were wont to be baptiſed before that. For he that ordaineth the manner of a thing doth ſurely deale in a matter that was extant before. I denie not, that in the primitiue times, baptiſme was ſometimes differred: for all were not baptiſed in their infancie. Yet none of right beliefe denied baptiſme to infants, if they were offered to receiue the ſame. Which if you thinke not ſo to be, it were conuenient you ſhould ſhew ſome one who withholde children from the ſacrament of regeneration. There was indeede one among them who gaue aduiſe that baptiſme ſhould be differred till three yeares end if it might be in reſpect of the childrens ſtrength, which happily he ſuppoſed, becauſe children of three yeares old begin then to remēber ſomwhat. But he in any wiſe denied not, that they ſhould be baptiſed before three yeares, if they were in daunger of life: or if it ſeemed good otherwiſe to their parents. In ſum, the time of baptiſme, at the beginning was not preciſelie ſet, yet was it neuer denied to children yt were offered. Concerning Origen it is certaine he ſaith, that the baptiſme of children is a tradition of the Apoſtles: And this reaſon he alledgeth, becauſe euen they alſo haue their corruption to be waſhed away: and your allegations are found in his commentarie vpō the Epiſtle to the Romanes, and are to be vnderſtoode of them that be of riper yeares. For in thoſe dayes many of elder yeares were conuerted vnto Chriſt, and many that were borne of Chriſtians differred their baptiſme for certaine yeares, when (as we haue alreadie ſaide) no time was preſcribed. Of ſuch then doeth Origen complaine, that in that age the ſacrament of baptiſme was not ſo plainly and clerelie declared, as in the Apoſtles times: and that the Apoſtles began baptiſme at them that were of riper yeares, there is no queſtion: But that they did not baptiſe children withal, by what ſcriptures will it be prooued? To Ludouicus Viues vpon the 26. Chapter of the firſt booke *De ciuitate Dei* what elſe ſhould I anſwere, but that he is deceiued, when he ſaieth that none but of ripe yeares were baptiſed of olde? For Cyprian (who was after Tertullian about 40. yeares) reſiſted them in the Councell, who thought that the eight day was to be tarried for in baptiſing of children: whereby nowe you ſee, that euen then children were baptiſed, and that the queſtion of the time onely was diſputed of. Wherefore both Viues and Eraſmus might in this matter haue ſpoken more warily. But where you ſeeme to denie baptiſme to infants, for my part I doe contrariwiſe by al meanes affirme and beleeue the ſame, as a thing which out of the ſcriptures is cleere ynough vnto me. Now if you admit Originall ſinne to be in children, and yet will not permit them to be baptiſed, you are not of Origens iudgement whom I cited before vpon the Epiſtle to the Romans. But that Ruffinus rather than Origen ſhould be authour of thoſe thinges that there bee read, howe ſhall we knowe? So the ſame might be ſaide of his Commentaries vpon Geneſis, Exodus and other bookes. Truely I am faine to reade Origen as he is tranſlated, ſith the Greeke coppies are not commonly extant. And as you alledge for your opinion Origens teſtimonies, both out of theſe Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to the Romans and out of his Homilies vpon Leuiticus: ſo ſhoulde you likewiſe admit thoſe thinges, that we take from thence. Which neuertheleſſe, whether you haue gathered them out of his Commentaries or out of his Homilies vpon Leuiticus or vpon the Numbers, they make but to this; that verie manie at thoſe dayes of ripe yeares were admitted to the Sacrament of Baptiſme. And the like woulde at this day come to paſſe, if God would graunt that the Turkes ſhoulde receiue Chriſt. This (deere

deere friend in Chriſt) is that which now I would ſhortlie runne ouer. Which I pray God you may at the length acknowledge with me to be true. Certaine it is, that Paul had no power but to edification. Nor doe I (who do eaſilie acknowledge the meanenelle of my giftes) thinke my ſelfe to haue receiued any thing of the Lord which is not due to the edification of the Church of Chriſt. The cauſe of religion I am for my part readie to further in all things which I ſhall iudge agreeable to holie writ. But if you be not yet of the ſame mind that I am, God may bring to paſſe, that one day you will thinke as I doe. The queſtion of childrens baptiſme hath beene once or twiſe diſputed of here for ſcholaſticall exerciſe ſake, not that (God be thanked) I haue founde anie heere who deeme otherwiſe thereof than the Church at this day beleeueth. To write vnto you what foundations in the ſcripture our faith of childrens baptiſme dependeth vppon, I haue thought ſuperfluous: partlie for that I diſcourſed them vnto you at large when you talked with me, partlie for that you may reade them in bookes publiſhed by men moſt notable aſwell for their learning as for their Godly iudgement. I wiſh you in the Lorde well to fare. From Oxforde the firſt of December, 1550. Yours Martin Borhaus his ſalutations I thanke both him and you.

Of your ſaluation in
Chriſt moſt deſirous Peter
Martyr.

Here followe letters of M. *Peter Martyr to certaine Engliſhmen.*

To a certaine friende of his.

35.

SEe your Letters full of courteſie which you wrote vnto me, were ſo welcome as I do giue you exceeding great thankes for them. Vndoubtedly herein I receiued moſt comfort by them, that I vnderſtande you are ſo mindefull of me: and doe perceiue that this is done for no other cauſe, but that you haue a verie great loue of godlineſſe and to the holie ſcriptures. Therefore ſince you loue God in me and the labour (though it bee verie ſmall) which I beſtowe vppon the Church, I reioyce in this your good will and affection. And I pray and beſeech almightie GOD againe and againe, that he wil daily more and more increaſe, the ſtudie of godlineſſe & holie doctrine wherwith he hath hitherto adorned you. For nowe vnſpeakeable that there is euerie where in England ſo great a penurie of the woorde of God: and ſince they which are bounde to feede the cheepe with the doctrine of Chriſt, are of ſuch faint courage as they vtterlie refuſe to doe their duetie, I knowe not with what teares and weeping it maie be ſufficientlie lamented: But I truſt it wil come to paſſe that we ſhall ſee things in better ſtate. God grant that I be not deceaued of this my hope. Howbeit ſo long as the Paſtors of Churches doe leaue off the function which God hath appointed thē, both indeuor you to confirme your ſelfe through the woords of God, and to your power be a furtherance to your houſehold: which if you doe, you ſhall gouerne your familie not onelie in the fleſhe but alſo in the ſpirite. And theſe things I write, not that I thinke you to be ſlouthfull, but that I maie incourage you to the more earneſt doing of that which I iudge to belong vnto you. As touching the controuerſie, which you would haue me to declare, I thinke there is not much to be ſaid: for ſomuch as you your ſelfe haue by your owne iudgement declared ſo ſound and godlie an opinion, as I doe wholie conteſtend vnto that which you haue allowed. Wherefore ſince theſe bee thinges indifferent, they by themſelues make no man either godlie or vngodly: yet euen as you alſo iudge, I thinke it more expedient, that this garment and others more of that kinde, ſhoulde be taken awaie when it maie conuenientlie be done, to the end the eccleſiaſticall matters maie bee moſt ſincerelie executed. For while that the ſignes which be not ſuppoſed by the woorde of God, be defended and retained with ſo obſtinate a minde, there you maie verie often times ſee that men are not deſirous of things themſelues. And where that which is but a vaine ſhewe is holde in great price, it comes oftentimes to paſſe that the thing which is of great importaunce is greatlie neglected. O immortall God, howe manie Eccleſiaſticall men (as they woulde ſeeme to bee) are there at this daie, whs if you ſhall pull from them the garment and the cappe, haue vndoubtedly nothing that repreſenteth a miniſter of the Church? But if we ſhoulde giue place vnto wrath, there woulde be no ende of quarels. The young man of whome you write vnto mee, I will as faithfullie and

Garments in the eies of diuine ſeruice counted as indifferent things.

earneſtlie as I can commende vnto Doctor Cookes when he commeth. And if there be anie other thing that you woulde haue with me, be bolde to commaund me, you ſhal haue me readie at your commandement. Fare you well, and loue me as you do, in the Lord. Since I haue no newes that I iudge worthie for you, to knowe, this onelie I ſignifie vnto you that all thinges are in the ſame ſtate, that they were when you were here preſent. From Oxforde the firſt of Iulie, 1550.

To a certaine friend of his.

36.

WHereas I write not againe vnto you by Abels ſeruaunt a fewe daies ſince, I would not haue you ſo to take it as if your letters were not greatlie to my liking. Truely I was minded to write, but being let by the ſhortneſſe of time, becauſe he made ouermuch haſte, I was conſtrayned to put ouer vnto this day, which I determined then to doe. It was verie welcome vnto me to heare that which you wrote as concerning our friende Maiſter Cheeke: For conſidering the vnhappineſſe of fortune thoſe thinges may after a ſort be borne withal, ſo he ſhewe it in deede that his faith rather staggereth than is broken or extinguiſhed, which is in a manner vncredible vnto mee that he can perfourme, ſo long as he remayneth in Englande. For my part I will deſire God, the father of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, and that with moſt feruent prayers, that he will ſo by his ſpirite repaire his ſhipwracke, as he may at the length with as ſmall loſſe as is poſſible arriue at the hauen of ſaluation. Concerning my Lorde of Canterburie his booke againſt Antonie, which, as you write, is nowe in the preſſe, I reioyce: ſo farre is it off that I ſhould be anie thing moued for that cauſe: ſeeing I looke for nothing to come from that man, but ſuch as is eyact, wittie, and diligently handled. But I feare leaſt that which you haue heard be not true, ſo great a deſire thereof haue you kindled in mee. I haue no newes at this time to write vnto you. We are all in good health; and I teach here as I was wont before time to doe with you. God graunt that I may not labor without fruite. Italie is nowe in part troubled with greuous warres and in part ſeemes that it will hereafter be miſerablie handled, and that through the diſpleaſure of the Pope alone. But God almightie which gouerneth all things by his prouidence will perhappes by this meanes wake the kingdome of Antichriſt, and will ſo diminiſhe it in this age, as he will one daie giue the ſame to the godlie to be deriued and billed at, which I beſeech Jeſus Chriſt may come quicklie to paſſe. Fare you well and loue mee as you doe, and ſalute in my name euerie one of the Engliſh brethren. From Zuricke the 15. of March, 1557.

This Epiſtle ſeemes to bee *written to the reuerend Father,* Iohn Hooper Biſhop of Glocester, although in the Authors owne copie there is no name put thereto.

37.

RIght reuerend and welbeloued in Chriſt Jeſus, the letters which you ſent vnto mee a fewe dayes ſince, I determined before this time to haue aunſwered, but I haue bin hindred by ſo great and manifolde buſineſſe, that til this preſent, I could neither ſatiſfie mine owne will nor perhaps your deſire. Wherefore it is in your good nature and wiſedome to take this delay in good part. Thoſe things which you haue put in writing touching the controuerſie riſen betweene you and the reuerend Lord Biſhop of London, concerning the garmentes of the Miniſters of the Church, I haue both read them as you deſired, and according to the ſhortneſſe of time haue conſidered of them as heedefully as I could. Which I therefore ſay, becauſe I could not keepe your writing any longer than one night. For the meſſenger, by whom I receiued the ſame, departed vnto Cambridge the next day verie earelie in the morning whither you wiſhed that by the ſame mã I ſhould ſend that I had read vnto Maiſter Bucer. Which I did with diligence and without delay. In that ſhort ſpace of time which then was giuen, I ſo comprehended with my ſelf the whole cauſe, as firſt I was not a litle delighted with your ſingular and ardent zeale, whereby you indeuour that Chriſtian Religion may againe aſpire to the vncorupt and plaine purenesſe. For what ought to bee more deſired of all godlie men, than that all things may by litle and litle be cut off which haue but litle or nothing at all that can be referred vnto ſounde edifying, and which of godlie mindes are iudged to bee ouerchargeable and ſuperfluous?

ons? Merilie to ſaie, as touching mine owne ſelfe, I take it grieuouſlie to bee pinched awaie from that plaine and pure cuſtome, which you knowe all we vſed a great while together at Argentine, where the varietie of garments about holie ſeruices were taken awaie. That cuſtome haue I alwayes moſt allowed of all other, as that which is the purer & moſt fauoreth of the Apoſtles Church. And I beſeeche the immortall God, that both in that place it may euermore be preſerued, and that at the length it may bee receiued whereſoeuer the church of Chriſt is reſtored. You ſee therefore that in the chiefe and principall point I doe not diſagree from you, but doe earneſtly deſire, that the ſame which you indeuour to bring to paſſe, may take place. My deſire is kindled partly for that in Ceremonies I would come as nere as might be vnto the holie Scriptures, and would continue in the imitation of the better times of the Church: and partly that I perceiue the Popes followers indeuour ſtill by theſe reliques to renew at the leaſt wiſe ſome ſhewe of the Maſſe: and doe more cleaue vnto theſe things than the nature of things indifferent can require.

But yet neither theſe things nor yet the reaſons alleaged by you doe bring me to that paſſe, that I ſhoulde affirme the vſe of ſuch garments to be verie wicked, or that in their owne nature they be contrarie to the worde of God, which in any wiſe I thinke to bee a matter indifferent, being not ignorannt that thoſe things which be indifferent, may ſometimes be vſed and ſometimes ought to be remoued. To eate a thing ſtrangled, is an indifferent thing, but yet it behoueth ſometimes to ſet aſide the vſe thereof: and another while it is in the free choiſe to eate the ſame. And by this meanes although I ſaide, that I thinke a diuerſitie of garments ought not to be retained in holy ſeruices, yet neuertheleſſe woulde I not ſay, that it is a wicked thing, ſo as I would be ſo bold to condemne whomſoeuer I ſhoulde perceiue to vſe the ſame. Certainelie if I were to perſwaded I would neuer haue communicated with the Church here in Englande, wherein there is as yet kept ſtill ſuch a diuerſitie. For although (as I haue ſaide) I alloWe but a litle herein, yet doe I ſee that ſometimes in theſe things indifferent, ſome things, although they be grieuous and burthenſome, are to bee borne withall ſo long as it cannot otherwiſe bee, leaſt if wee contend for them more bitterly than behoueth it may both be a hinderance to the proceeding of the Goſpel, and thoſe things which in their owne nature be indifferent, may be raught by our vehement contention to be wicked. Which things, vnleſſe I be deceaued; bring with them two moſt grieuous diſcommodities. For if we woulde firſt ſuffer the Goſpell to be ſpread abroade and to take deepe roote, perhaps men woulde better and more eaſilie be perſwaded to remoue awaie theſe outward attires. While a man is ſicke and is ſomewhat vppon the mending hande, he grieuouſlie ſuffereth certaine light and vnfit things to bee removed from him aſwel in meate as in drinke: but yet the very ſame man hauing recouered health, doeth euen of himſelfe reiect them as things vnacceptable and vnprofitable. If England were firſt wel and diligently inſtructed, and confirmed in the chiefe and moſt neceſſarie points of Religion: ſo farre as mee thinkes I ſee, it will not at the length take in ill part, that theſe things in ſome ſort ſuperfluous ſhoulde bee removed. But nowe when there is brought in a change in ỹ chiefe & neceſſarie points of religion, and that with ſo great diſquietneſſe, if wee ſhoulde alſo declare thoſe things to bee wicked which be things indifferent, al mens mindes in a manner woulde be ſo alienated from vs, as they woulde no more hewe themſelues to be attentiue and patient hearers of ſounde doctrine and neceſſarie Sermons. Greatly beholding doubtleſſe is your England vnto you, for ſo much as you haue laboured verie earneſtly in teaching and preaching: and on the other ſide you haue wun to your ſelfe by ỹ ſame England great fauour and authozitie, wherebу you may profitablie bring many things to paſſe to the glozie of God. Onelie beware of this, leaſt by vnſeaſonable and ouer ſharpe Sermons you be a let vnto your owne ſelfe. Howbeit doe not gather hereby that I iudge we ſhould neuer contend by the Miniſterie of the Goſpell, for alluring the trueth of the ſcriptures and doctrines. This doe not I affirme, who continuallie oppoſe my ſelfe in diſputations both publike and priuate, and in the greateſt controuerſies for Religions ſake: but this I ſay, that theſe things which be of leſſe importance ought not to be a let through our contention. Neither is there any great account to be made of them either if they be brought in, or being brought in, be confirmed. Further if we proceede in diſſwading from theſe indifferent things as being pernicious and wicked, wee condemne manie Churches which are not ſtraunge from the Goſpel, and to earneſtly reproue innumerable Churches which in times paſt were celebrated with ſingular great praiſe. I am not ignoraunt that the authozitie of Churches whether

A ſimilitude

ther they be present or pall ought not to be of such force, as by them the trueth of Gods worde shoulde be pressed, for that must remaine firme and vnshaken, although the whole world shoulde faile in his foundation: but this I stande to proue, that for thinges indifferent, I holde we may not worke that either they be condemned, or that we speake otherwise than well of them. And because I perceiue that you iudge not these to be indifferent things, perhaps it will bee profitable to examine the reasons whereby you perswade your selfe hereof. Wherefore to continue them in briefe as you doe, I will gather them chiefely into principall pointes. First you say that the Priesthod of Aaron, whereunto this diuersitie of garments seemeth to belong, must not be restored. For since wee haue Christ for the Priest, the ceremonies of Aaron are abrogated, neither ought they with the safetie of godlinesse bee called againe. Another foundation of your reasons is: that these are the inuentions of Antichrist: and since that wee ought to bee straunge not onelie from the Pope, but also from all his false inuentions, you woulde that the diuers apparellings and attirings of ministers should be abolished. Since these be your two principall Arguments, we will first consider of them, and then will we adde what we shall else remember to be brought by you for the confirmation of your opinion.

A distinction of the ceremonies of the old Fathers.

In the lawe of Priesthod of Aaron there were sacraments by which it pleased GOD to seale the promises of Christ to come, all which I knowe were abrogated, and wee must beleeue that Christ is alreadie giuen, not to be giuen: and seeing there bee other pledges giuen by the Lorde himselfe vnder the Gospell, I meane breade, wine and water, we ought not to renewe againe the olde tokens. Neuertheless some thinges were there so appointed as they cannot properly bee called Sacraments: for they serued vnto comelinesse, vnto order, and vnto some commoditie, the which, as things agreeable vnto the light of nature, & furthering some vtilitie of ours, I iudge might both be reserued & retained. Who seeth not that the Apostles for quietnesse sake and for the better liuing together with the beleeuers, commanded the Gentils to abstaine from strangled and from bloud: These things vndoubtedlie were of Aarons Priesthod, if you will haue all thinges generallie to bee comprehended which were in the lawe. Also no man is ignorant that tythes are instituted at this day in infinite places for to maintaine the ministers of the Church. That Psalmes and Hymnes should be sung in the holie congregation, ye cannot easilie finde by the Scripture of the new Testament, which most manifestlie appeareth was done in the olde. I passe ouer that Ambrose while he interpreteth the 14. Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians most manifestlie saieth that the custome of prophesying taught there by Paul being taken from the synagogues, was deriued vnto our Churches. Further if I should somewhat diligently search and examine which the time will not suffer, I might finde manie thinges which our Churche hath borrowed of the decrees of Moses, yea and that from the first times.

Acts.15.20

Verse.26.

And not to omitte this: wee haue feast dayes in remembrance of ỳ Lordes resurrection, of the natiuitie, of Whitsuntide, and of the death of Christ. Shoulde all these thinges be abolished, because they be steppes of the olde lawe? By all these thinges I thinke you see that all the thinges belonging to Aarons priesthod are not to be abrogated, as nothing of them may be retayned or vsed. And say not vnto mee that there will bee straightway open a windowe vnto all abuses, vnto holie water, censing, and other infinite thinges of like sort: for the aduersaries will aunswere that there must be appointed a measure in those thinges which they renue and retaine, that the congregation of the faithful be not burthened with this kinde of thinges nor any worshippe or effect of religion placed therein, as wee see to be done in holie water or censing. Moreouer we must beware that Christian religion be not put in hazarde, that although in some respect they be restored, yet that there be no such store made of them as though they should bee necessarie to obtaine saluation: But so ought we to suffer such thinges as when they shall appeare to profite but a little they may bee layde a side: euen as I haue testified what I thinke should be done at this day as touching this diuersitie of garments. For this in verie deede I would to haue beene laide aside: but when it happened not according to my minde, I thought it meete to suffer the same till better times should be graunted. I would to God that the Churches which be in Germanie with this one losse might redeeme their auncient libertie, although I wish by all meanes, that no superfluous thing should be obtruded vnto them. But nowe let vs weigh the other argument whereby the vse of these garmentes seemed not lawefull, because they were inuented by the tyrannie of the Pope. Here doe not I perceiue howe it can be firmelie proued, that we may vse nothing

Feast of the Nativitie, Resurrection, &c.

Popes Lawe how many vse many thinges that were vsed in Popes Church.

thing that is accustomed to be done in poperie. Doubtlesse we must take heede, that we presse not the church of Christ with too much bondage, so as it may not be lawefull to vse anie thing that belonged to the Pope. Certainely our forefathers receiued the temples of Idolles, and conuerted them into holie houses wherein Christ should be worshipped, and the reuenewes consecrated to the Goddes of the Gentils, to playes of the Theater, and to the vestall virgins, they take to maintaine the ministers of the Church: whereas these thinges did first serue not onelie Antichrist but the deuill himselfe. Yea and the verses of the Poetes which were dedicated vnto the Muses, and vnto diuerse Goddes or vnto fables to be done in the Theater for pacifying of Goddes: when they be commodious, and excellent and true, the Ecclesiasticall writers vse them, and that by the example of the Apostle, who disdained not to cite Menander, Aratus, and Epimenides, and that euen in the holie scripture which bee deliuered: and those words which otherwise were prophane, bee made agreeable to the diuine seruice, vnlesse perhappes you will say, that his wordes described in the holy scriptures, serue lesse to the worshipping of God, than the visible wordes vsed in the sacramentes. Who moreouer vnderstandeth not, that wine was consecrated vnto Bacchus: bread, vnto Ceres: water, vnto Neptune: the Oliue, vnto Minerua: learning, vnto Mercurie: song, vnto the Muses or to Apollo: and verie manie other thinges of this sort you may find in Tertullian [in his booke] *De Coronamilitis*, where he treateth in a manner of the selfe same argument: all which thinges neuertheless wee feare not to vse at our owne will, aswell in holie as in prophane vses, though they were dedicated vnto deuilles or Idolles? For straightway doe I graunt that these diuersities of garmentes had their originall of the Pope, seeing wee reade in the Ecclesiasticall historie that Iohn the Apostle, at Ephesus ware an ornament called Petalum or a pontificall plate. And of Cyprian the Martyr Pontius the Deacon testifieth, that when he was within a while to suffer death he gaue his *Birrum vnto the executioners, his garment of dalmatia vnto the deacons, and stode in his linnen garmentes. Moreouer Chrysostome maketh mention of the white garments of ministers of the Church. And the olde writers testifie, that the Christians when they came vnto Christ, chaunged their garmentes, and in stede of a gowne put on a cloke. For which, when they were mocked of the Ethnickes, Tertullian wrote a verie learned booke intytuled *De Pallio*, of the cloke. Neither doe I thinke you to be ignorant, that vnto those which were entered into Baptisme was giuen a white garment. Wherefore it appeareth that before the tyrannie of the Pope begunne, there was some diuersities of garmentes in the Church. But admitte that these thinges were inuented by the Pope, yet doe I not perswade my selfe that the impiety of the popedome is such, that whatsoeuer it toucheth it doth altogether defile and pollute it, whereby goodlie men may not be allowed to put it to a holie vse. Nowe doe I thinke you vnderstande what my iudgement is for the reuiuing or retayning of the Popiscall or Papisticall Rites. Wherefore nowe that we haue briefly noted the two chiefest points of your reasons, I come vnto that which your selfe also confesseth that all mens inuentions must not straightwaie be condemned. Otherwise it is a deuise of man, that we communicate rather in the morning than in the after none. And it was a deuise of man, that the prices of thinges that were solde in the primitiue church were laide at the Apostles feete. I confesse, euen as you do, that those garmentes are the deuise of man, and that of themselues they edifie not: but it wilbe thought of some, that it is profitable to haue them suffered for a time, because this perhappes will bring to passe, that these contentions shalbe auoyded, whereby greater fruites and more ample commodities are in danger to be hindred and left, as wee see it comes to passe, the mindes of men shoulde straightway be turned from the gospell. I passe ouer, that they which defende these thinges, might pretende some honest and due signification not strange from the scriptures. The ministers of the church be Angels and messengers of God as Malachie testifieth. And Angelles haue in a manner alwayes shewed themselues cloathed in white garmentes. Howe can we perswade the Church of this libertie that it may not signifie some thing by her actions and rites, the same being done, without placing any worship of God therein, modestlie and in fewe thinges, so as the people of Christ be not burthened with ceremonies, and that better things be not letted. But you will say, let them shewe themselues to be Angelles, let them not signifie it. I heare what you say. But the selfe same might haue beene aunswered vnto Paule, when he decreed vnto the Corinthians, that the woman should haue her heade couered, and the man vncouered, for he onelie weigeth a reason of the signification. For anie man

All mans inuentions must not be condemned. Acts.4.37.

Malac.3.1.

That not onelie the thinges, but the figures also are to be retained.

1.Cor.11.5

Petalus seu Lamina.

* Birrus an ornament that Bishops did vse.

of

of the Church of Corinth might haue answered: let the man shewe himselfe to bee heade of the woman, and let the woman in her wordes and life shewe her selfe to be subiect vnto the man, let them not contende to shew this by signes. But the Apostle sawe this also to be a profitable thing, that we should not onely liue well, but that also wee should by wordes and tokens bee admonished of our duetie. But and if hereby there be giuen an occasion of errour vnto the weake, let them bee warned howe they should beleeue these indifferent thinges, let them be taught by sermons that they iudge not the worshipping of God to consist herein.

But whether the eyes of them that stande by be withdrawen through the diuersitie of garmentes from the cogitation of weightie matters, perhappes all men will not iudge it so to be. For first our aduersaries might answere that this would not come to passe, if those garmentes which haue béene vsed be without exceptions, and be verie plaine and such as haue béene hitherto vsed about holie seruices, for vse and cheapenesse taketh away admiration. Yea and perhaps they will answere, that it is likely that they béeing throughly moued by that admiration, will the more attentiuely thinke vpon the things that be earnest, vnto which end the signes of the Sacramentes séeme to haue béene deuised, that euen by the verie sight and sense wee maie bee rauished to thinke of diuine thinges. Neither doe I thinke that tyrannie is straight waie brought in if any indifferent thing be taken in hande to bee done in the Church, and be constantlie kept of manie. At this daie, we to administer the Eucharist in the morning time as in the after none wée will not haue the communion in the Church: But who will say, that this is tyrannical because we doe it with the like will and consent of all men? Undoubtedlie it would like me best, as I haue alwaies saide, that wée should doe onelie that which Christ did and deliuered to his Apostles. But yet if anie things indifferent be added, I would not now therefore sharpelie contende, especiallie séeing we perceiue that they by whom the light of the Gospell is greatlie aduanced in England, and maie yet be aduaunced more, are against vs. I acknowledge indéede with you Ro.14.23. That whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne: but yet that in our actions wée may haue a quiet conscience, that séemes speciallie to further Titus.1.15 which in the Apostle is written vnto Titus: 1.Tim.4.4 Vnto the cleane all thinges are cleane. And vnto Timothie: Euerie creature of God is good; And it is not necessarilie required that we shoulde haue in the holie Scriptures an expresse mention of the particular thinges which we vse. This generallie is enough to knowe by faith, that thinges indifferent cannot defile them which liue with a pure & syncere minde and conscience. These things haue I shortlie abridged, as touching the controuersie which you propounded vnto me out of which I wish with all my heart that you maie happilie vnwinde your selfe. And those thinges which I haue written I praie you to take in good part: For if I could haue written either better or more plainly, perhaps I might more haue satisfied your request. Howbeit because it is not giuen to all men to write aptlie and readilie hereof, you must pardon me. Further you shall finde mee alwaies readie to giue place vnto the trueth, if I shall be otherwise perswaded. Neither am I latelie perswaded in my minde of this opinion which I haue nowe declared, but I iudged euen from the first that I applyed my minde vnto the Gospell, that these diuersities of garmentes shoulde not be vsed: but yet thought that the vse of them, (if other things which are prescribed vnto vs by the worde of God might remaine found) are neither vngodlie nor pernitious of themselues or of their owne nature. I beséech almightie God preserue you safe and founde with all your houlholde through Iesus Christ our Lorde. My wife and I salute you heartilie and your good wife. Fare you well. From Oxforde the 4. of Nouember, 1550.

As touching diuorse I do not write vnto you, partlie because you your selfe differ the matter vnto an other time, and partly because I knowe verie well that you vnderstande of what minde I am together with the Church of Strasborough and all other brethren in Christ.

To a certaine friende of his into Englande.

38.

MY good friend I see in your letters you are afraide on both sides. For if you reiect the ministerie, you séeme to breake off an occasion of well doing. But if you shall take vppon you the function offered, you iustlie and for good cause feare least you shoulde séeme to agrée vnto those ordinances, which not onelie diminishe and deface the pure worshipping of God, but doe also corrupt it and marueilouslie make it to decaie: although that vnto men which are not well confourmed towardes the Gospell, they maie séeme to haue but small weight and importance, for they account all thinges as indifferent. Howbeit a man that is somewhat better instructed in religion, séeing you being a messenger of Christ an & earnest preacher of the Gospell, to bee apparelled with garmentes at the Altar, to pray before the Image of the Crucifixe, to recite holie wordes and to distribute the Sacramentes, will hée not also thinke that these rites are not onelie suffered but also allowed of you? Wherupon afterwarde when you teach otherwise he will not giue credite vnto you. For he that teacheth otherwise than hee doeth, buildeth those thinges which he destroyeth, and againe destroyeth those thinges which he buildeth. Neither can the example of the Apostle be coloured by such a fact, who for a time retained the Iewish ceremonies with a safe conscience. For the ordinances of Moses were in old time brought in by the authoritie and lawe of God, not founde out by mans counsell, neither were they condemned for worshipping sake. But these things of which we nowe speake, were both instituted by men without anie diuine oracle, and did gorgiouslie serue the worshipping which at this daie so manie as bee godlie doe detest. Woulde to God they which iudged that thinges ought to be kept had perceiued that the Gospell is not firme enough so long as these thinges remaine. Undoubtedlie if we would hate superstitions from the heart, we would be by all meanes prouide that the verie steppes of them might bee rooted out. Woulde to God that the peruerse indeuour of our aduersaries coulde haue made vs somewhat the better learned. They doe diligently shunne all thinges whatsoeuer by anie meanes sauour of our religion, and of set purpose so much as they can, doe depart from the plaine worshipping of Christ, and from the most auncient custome of the Apostles. Why doe not we in like manner prouide to be most far off from their pernitious decrées, and to followe the Apostolicall simplicitie, not onelie in doctrine but also in administration of the Sacramentes. I cannot see howe these thinges being retained of you can rightlie be iudged thinges indifferent. Certainelie vnto the beholders they represent an expresse shew of y pestiferous Masse, whereby vngodlie men doe exceedinglie delight themselues. For they will saie that the Masse was so holie a thing, as the noble Image thereof coulde not displease euen vs: For although wee retaine not the same, yet doe we imitate it manie & singular waies. Who moreouer shall let it, but that such as stande by, in whose inward partes Poperie as yet cleaueth, will worship the Image of the Crucifixe? Vnoubtedlie they will doe it, neither can the motion of their minde be hyddue without. But will the chiefe workers of these counsels saie that this is not done through their fault, but through the fault of thē which are to much addicted to their owne superstitions? Howbeit they cannot denie, but that they giue the occasion: and woe vnto them by whō the offence cōmeth. Neither can they bring for their opinion, any one prowfe either out of y holy scripture or out of the decrées of the primitiue Church. But if the indeuour onelie of making a newe couenaunt doe driue vnto these thinges, let vs remember that the couenaunt made of olde betwéne vs and God, is more excellent than mens couenantes: and let vs take most diligent hæde least while we séeke after ciuill thinges, there be not a losse of heauenly thinges. Wherefore my most déere brother in Christ, séeing things stande in this state, I aduise you of two things: first y you retaine still y function of preaching, & ceasse not publikelie & priuatly to defend y truth of doctrine & to abolish the rites which be full of offence & occasions of falling. Secondlie y you for a while abstaine frō the ministerie of y Sacraments, vntil these intollerable blemishes be taken away. By this meanes shal not be lost the occasion of wel doing, neither shal you by your exāple confirme others in superstitiōs. And this is not my counsel alone, but y same is also y opinion of the reuerende y excellent man M. Bullinger. I remember that I wrote an answere of the former question: perhaps the letters either went not the right waie, or else are intercepted. And I woulde nowe againe haue aunswered them, but where your letters are I knowe not, nor coulde finde thē when I sought for thē. And if you desire to haue an answere of thē, take you to much paines as write againe of y which you demanded. Salute you all our friends. Here M. Bullinger, my wife, & Iulius with his wife and the rest of the household doe salute you. I particularly commend me to your wife and to Iane. The 15. of Iulie. 1559.

Of garments in the Sacramentes seruice and of the ceremonies.

To the same man into England.

39.

THose letters which you sent vnto me y 27. of August, I receiued about y end of October. Wherefore if I aunswere somwhat late, the fault is not in me especially since for the most part we haue no trustie carriers at Argētine. Howbeit as touching

thing al ỹ matter wherof you now make request, I know I haue writte at large in other of my letters: wherefore either my letters went another way, or else when you wrote these thinges you had not yet receiued them. Howbeit because you shall not be disappointed herein of my trauel & coũsel, I wil repeat those things which I wrote before. As touching impropriations. Of Impropriations. why you should trouble your self. For it belongeth not to you whereof & how the Quẽne wil pay stipends or liuings vnto Bishops or Curats of Churches. But & if they shall sẽme to hunger, you your selues may intreate & make meanes for thẽ, or if you do aboũd you may impart somwhat of your alowance. That no conversion must be had about garmentes worne out of diuine vses. Also as touching the round cap or habit to be worne out of ỹ holy seruices, I think ye ought not to shrine more than is requisit: for superstition sẽmes not properly to take place therein. But of garments, as of holy things to be vsed in ỹ ministery it self, sẽing they represẽt the forme of ỹ masse & be mere relicks of popery, maister Bullinger iudgeth that they should not be vsed, least by your example ỹ thing which causeth offence should be confirmed. Howbeit I although I haue bene alwayes against such kinde of ornaments, yet because I saw a present daunger least you should be deprined from the office of preaching, & that perhaps there wilbe some hope that euen as Altars & images are taken away, so like wise shalbe taken away those shewes of ỹ masse, if you & others comming to be bishops, will wholly applie your indeuours therunto: which perhaps would not goe forward, if an other shal succede in your place who not onelie would not care to put away those relicks, but would rather defend them, no⁊ith them & maintaine them: therefore was I ỹ slower to perswade that you should rather refuse a bishoppricke than receiue the vse of those garmẽts. Howbeit because I saw that offences of that kind must be vtterlie auoided, therefore did I willinglie yelde vnto his opinion. Verily where Altars and Images are preserued, I my selfe of mine owne accord affirme euen as I haue written in other letters, that yee must not minister. This is as much as I can write of the present matter. And loke you to this that you doe not any thing against your conscience. But if feare left my letters come verie late: whereof neuerthelelle I am not in fault, sẽing I suffered no opportunitie of writing to scape. Finally this I woulde haue you to vnderstande that the questions of this kind are also hard vnto vs, and therefore counsell cannot be so easilie giuen. My selfe when I was at Oxford wouldne neuer vse those white garments in the Quire although I was a Canon. I salwe a reason for mine owne doing: Wherefore I counsel you also to take good aduise. I knowe that my example ought to be no iust confirmation vnto you. But that which mowed me and yet moweth me & perhaps may mowe you, is that I should not doe those things which my conscience alloweth not. You willed me to write briefly. I haue briefely written: Take you it in good part, Praise for me, salute my friends. Mr. Bullinger, my wife & Iulius with his wife salute you. Fare you well my most louing brother and most reuerende Lord in Christ. From Zurick ỹ 4. of Nouember, 1559.

To the same man into Englande. 40.

Touching letters at once (my most deare brother in Christ & right reuerend Lorde) the one dated in the moneth of October and the other in December, I receiued together namelie, the 24. day of Ianuarie. Wherefore you se howe slacklie they are brought to my handes. Vnto your demaunds I haue answered now twise before: Howbeit if the letters be intercepted, or that they be verie slowlie deliuered, I am not to be accused of negligence, but rather the ill succelle of our letters is to be lamented than we to be condemned as though we haue intermitted our dutie of writing. But setting complaint aside I come to the matters themselues whereof you demaunde. First I exhort you that you withdrawe not your selfe from the function offered, since there is so great a want there of ministers. Wherefore if you which be as it were the pillers that refuse Ecclesiasticall offices, both the Churches shalbe destitute of Pastors, and you shall also giue place vnto Wolues and Anticrists. You liuing without function, shall not amende those things which you mislike, nay rather you shall fearlelp retaine those things which be granted. But if you sit, you sit in ỹ places of gouernment of the Church, there is a hope that you may amende many things, although not al. You say they haue taken away ỹ lands, but consider ỹ you haue not alienated them. These things were done without you ỹ priuilie, therefore there is no blame heere to be laide vppon you. In the meane time what stipende is left for the Curats of Churches: They must be fedde of Bishops. Here must we put our trust in God, who will shewe some way and meanes for the sustaining of them. He feedeth the foules of heauen, and clotheth the lilies in the fielde: neither doeth he forsake any man rightly walking in his vocation. But yee must take heede That the taking away of the ecclesiasticall lands must not hinder engagemẽt from their tuition. Mat. 6. 26.

heede leaste yee be iudged of them which seeke occasions, that you haue regarde vnto commodities and riches. As touching the square cappe and the rochet, I thinke wee are not much to dispute sẽing it is without superstition, and especially in that kingdome, it may haue a ciuill respect. Concerning garments which they call holie, I confesse that the case is nowe hard, and which troubleth my selfe not a litle: so as I maruel that they be thus earnestlie retained. For I would wish that all things shoulde be doone in the plainest sort. Whereas yet I thinke that if betweene the Churches of Saxonie and our Churches there might be obtained an vnitie, as touching the principall points of doctrine, there would be no separation of these kinde of garments: For although we woulde not allowe of them, yet woulde wee beare with them, reioysing with our selues ỹ we haue made them of no force. Wherefore these garments you may vse either in preaching or in ministering of the Lords supper, yet so, as you should continue speaking and teaching against the vse of them. But I would neuer counsell you that either when you should preach or minister the supper of the Lorde, you should haue the image of the crucifix vpon the table. As touching the correcting of Papists for thinges that be past, the same hath beene sundrie times discontinued for peace sake: and that in the Church there hath beene somtimes ἀμνηστία, that is a forgetting of iniuries or as it were a law of forgetting, and that heretikes haue bene receiued with their former honours and degrees, so they woulde subscribe vnto sounde religion. This must bee forseene of you, that hereafter they commit nothing against the religion now receiued. But as for them which are presented vnto you by patrons, by reason of aduousons, they ought not to be instituted by you, vnlesse they will subscribe to the religion which is now in force: which if they will not doe, I thinke it is free for you to reiect thẽ. As touching vnleuened bread vsed at ỹ holy supper you your selfe know ỹ al our Churches do not contend nay rather they do al vse it euery where. And whereas you write ỹ manie are offended with ỹ forme of Bishops apparell & with the holie vestmẽts as they call them: I beleeue it wel. But ther cin shal you auoid blame, if you wil shew in your sermons that those do displease you also, & doe indeuor as much as you can, that they may at the length be taken awaie. But as concerning those processions in the Rogatiõ weeke, which seeme to haue flowed from the * gangings or walkings about of the Ethnicks, I know not wel what counsel to giue. This I sais, that all superstitions must in any wise be auoided. But and if in those walkes, onely prayers bee made to God, that for his mercie sake, he will both graunt us liberallie newe fruites, and also good vse of them: and that therewithall thankes bee giuen for the fode of the yeare past, superstitions perhaps will seeme to be auoided. Albeit euen against such a kinde of Rite both the Magistrate & the people must be taught: And you must trauell all that you may to haue them ridde awaie as relicks of the Amorrhits. These were the things my brother that I had presentlie to write. I beseech God to perswade you how, or to tell you what is better. Of all this matter I conferred with maister Bullinger who giueth his content and sendeth you heartie salutations. Also my wife with Iulius and Anna would haue me send our commendations to you and all yours. From Zuricke in the Calends of Februarie, 1560. Diuerse in the Church. Of square Cap & other ornaments of a Bishop. Of walkings in the Rogatiõ moneth. * Ambaualiones.

To the same man into England. 41.

To the letters which you wrote vnto me the 6. of Ianuarie I answered not before, because I receiued them in the Calends of March, neither haue we any store of conuenient cariers at Tigure. Now must you perswade your selfe of this, that those things which greeue you and such as you be do also very much greeue me & my brethren. To answere againe vnto your questions I thinke it not much needefal, because I thinke that all my letters came vnto you: whereunto I haue answered as I coulde, not perhaps so much as ỹ matter required, or somuch as you your selfe desired: yet I said that which seemed then to serue to the purpole. That which you feare, wee cannot turne away from you other wise than by prayers, which (beleeue me) we carefullie doe and will doe. Finallie to come to your last question: namely, to haue the signe of the crucifix vpon the holie table while the Lords supper is ministred, I do not account it among things indifferent: neither would I aduise any man to distribute the sacraments with that rite. Howbeit you that are in the verie conflict, loke not for counsell from hence, for we bee farre from you: consult vppon your owne grounde, a vocation is not lightly to be cast off nor yet to be taken in hand with iniury of the truth. To be briefe, the worshipping of images must in no wise be suffered, neither doth maister Bullinger nor I account such for indifferent thinges: nay rather we refuse them as thinges forbidden. Howbeit except you be compelled to these things doe not The Images of the Crosse.

you refuse the ministerie which is freelie offered to you. As concerning the writting of letters to the Quéne about this matter, this much vnderstande, that I am nowe so ouerwhelmed with businesse, as though I haue neuer so much minde to doe it, yet I cannot. For these two monethes together I alone teach in the schole: and I iudge that the cause is not to bee committed vnto letters. And besides this I thinke that my letters will be of no great weight. Truely I haue written twise publiklie and priuatelie, neither coulde I vnderstand whether the things that I wrote were well accepted. Furthermore, if it be the determination of your men as it is reported that they will imbrase the confession made at Augusta, and that they reuet the league of the Protestants, you your selfe may consider of what credite my letters and the letters of such as I am will be accounted. That one thing which I can, I will not faile to doe: namely to praie, that your kingdome and Church, together with your most mightie Quéne, may most happilie liue in Christ. Notwithstanding, as you willed me, I haue delt in the cause with maister Bernardine. Hee is sickle, both by reason of age and through the diseases that come vpon olde men: yet he refused not the labour of writing but promiseth to doe it when he shalbe able. I doubt not of Bullinger but that hee will write, for he is verie well incouraged in this matter. Although he haue read your letters, hee hath not yet shewed me any thing whereof I may giue you to vnderstand. Fare you well. Bullinger, all the fellow ministers, my wife, and Iulius with his wife salute you. A sonne was borne vnto me the 2. of March and died the 10. day of March. Salute in my name all your friends, and cease not to loue your Martyr. The 20. of March, 1560.

To a certaine friende of his.

42.

AVerie well knowe by your letters (my godlie and learned friende, and my most beloued in the Lorde) that you throughlie vnderstande my meaning as touching the supper of the Lord. Wherefore I shall the lesse neede to make aunswere to your most courteous & learned Epistle. The state of the question (as you rightlie gather) is whether according to the increase of faith, (which both of vs agrée to be giuen vnto the faithfull in the vse of the Eucharist,) we bee more vnited & incorporated vnto Christ our Lorde and by him vnto God: which I affirme but you denied, as thinking that although our faith increase yet that coniunction which wee haue with Christ, is not for that cause increased thereby. But I minding to confirme my opinion, thought it verie requisite to bring forth places of the Scriptures, by which our increase in Christ is most manifestlie declared. Paul vnto the Ephesians the 3. Chapter saith: That ye maie be filled with all fulnesse of God. By these wordes of the Apostle is opened and taught that vnto the faithfull belongeth euerie daie to be fulfilled and perfected. But the same Apostle testifieth, that it is Christ alone, by whom we be fulfilled and perfected: yea it is he, who is both fulfilled and perfected in vs. For we read in the verie same Epistle that the Church is the body of Christ and fulnesse of him that filleth all in all thinges: that while one member of this bodie is augmented, Christ maie be saide to be increased in it, that is, become greater and more nére vnto it. In the 4. of the same Epistle to the Ephesians it is saide that there are giuen vnto the Church Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, Pastors and teachers, who in verie déede doe not deale but by the worde of God and Sacramentes: for the restoring of the saintes into the worke of the administration into edifying of the bodie of Christ, vntill we all meete together into the vnitie of faith, and knowledge of the sonne of God, vnto a perfect man, vnto the measure of age, of the fulnesse of Christ, that hence foorth wee maie be no more children. Vnto therefore maie these Ministeries of the Church and Sacramentes bee saide to pertaine, that euerie man maie bee strengthened in his vocation & ministerie, and that hee doe not alwaies liue an vnperfect age, but be increased in the bodie of Christ, and be made at the length of full age and perfect stature, that hee be not a babishe and childishe member of the perfect and manlie heade I meane of Christ. Neither is there anie other augmentation of the members to be appointed, than that Christ himselfe should be amplyfied and made greater in euerie of his members: and this is done if the faithfull be euerie daie made more partakers of him. And streight way after the same Apostle saith: But we following the trueth in loue let vs in all thinges growe vp vnto him who is the heade, that is Christ. And hee addeth: In whom al the bodie being coupled and knit together by euerie ioynt, for the furniture thereof (according to the effectuall power in the measure of euerie part) receiueth increase of the bodie vnto the edifying of it selfe in loue.

more encouraged vs to confesse Christ.

Whether we be by the increase of faith be more vnited vnto Christ.

Increase in Christ is encreased.

Ephe. 3. 19.

Ephe. 2. 23.

Eph. 4. ver. 11. 12. 13. & 14.

loue. In this place also we heare of an increase of the bodie as touching each part according to the measure thereof: and the manner of increasing is shewed, namelie that each member by the ioyntes and closures whereby it is ioyned to the head, hath the same flowing into it from the heade. Which doubtlesse what else is it, than daylie more & more to be made partakers of ỳ heade? You haue moreouer in the same Epistle the seconde Chapter: Nowe therefore are ye no more strangers and foreners but citizens with the saintes and of the houshold of God built vppon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes, Christ Iesus himselfe being the head corner stone, in whom all the building coupled together, groweth vnto an holy tẽple in the Lord: In who ye also are built together to be the habitatiõ of God by the spirit. The Apostle, as you heare describeth our increase vnder a metaphor of building, which not only hath Christ to be ỳ foundation; but to be also ỳ chiefe cornor stone. Wherefore euẽ as wals do after a sort grow vp and rise from ỳ foundation, & do tend vnto the chiefe corner & outwardmost quoyne, so is Christ ioyned to vs from the beginning like a foundation and is placed as the chiefe corner stone of our building: therefore euen as we spring from him by regeneratiõ, so we rise vnto him by increasings and become more nére vnto him euery day. In the Epistle to the Philippians the 3. Chapt. I follow, if I may comprehend so farre forth as I am comprehended of Christ Iesus. Brethren, I count not my selfe that I haue yet attained to it: but this one thing I doe: I forget those things that are behinde, and indeuour my selfe vnto that which is before, and follow hard towards the marke, for the price of the high calling in God. I sée héere ỳ Christ of his gõdnesse and mercie hath ioyned himselfe to euerie one of vs, and by the counsel of God hath giuen to al men a certaine prefined and distributed measure of the participation of Christ, whereunto we perpetuallie tende while we liue, leauing the vnperfect things, following the better, laying away the olde man and putting on the newe. And while we liue héere it behoueth that none of vs doe cease as though hée thoulde thinke that hee hath attained. Whereuppon it comes that all the godlie doe alwaies in this life goe forewarde, and doe growe vp vnto the highest calling. And our highest calling is nothing else but Christ: vnto him we are called, vnto him I say, who while he was vpon the earth, sayd vnto his: Come vnto me, or followe me. So at this present he calleth vs no other way but vnto him: wherefore they which profit more and more, are not vniustlie saide to be ioyned more and more vnto him. Vnto the Colossians you haue the selfe same thing: And houlderh not the heade, whereof the whole bodie furnished and knit together by iointes and bondes increaseth with the increasing of God. Adde withall that Peter sayth in the first Epistle the seconde chapter: Desire ye as new borne babes the milke not of the bodie but of the minde, which knoweth no guile, that ye may growe thereby to ripe age. This Apostle also attributed to them that be new borne in Christ their increases. Séeing it nowe plainlie appeareth that Christ doth increase in vs and we in Christ, there remaineth that we sée from whence we haue this thing: whether of our selues, or of our owne strength. No forsoth, for we haue it all wholy, so much as euer it is, of the mére mercie of God: although good workes are neuer absent from them that beléeue. The mercie of the true God propounded to vs by the worde and the sacramentes, is not apprehended of vs by other meanes or instrumentes than by faith: therefore are wee saide to bee ioyned vnto Christ by it, which neuertheless no man dare bragge to be of himselfe, séeing Paule manifestly teacheth that the same is the gift of God. Neither must it be cõsidered of vs, as it proceedeth of vs, and as it is drawen from our minde or will, for in this respect, euen as all our thinges be, it hath verie much imperfection: but let vs consider of it, as it is deriued from God the author thereof, and as it resteth in the object of the promises of God. As if you would say, that Christ himselfe according as he shall more or lesse giue himselfe to be apprehended of vs by faith, so much the more or lesse is he ioyned vnto vs. But séeing he graunteth this vnto his faithfull ones in receiuing of the worde and sacramentes, doubtlesse we are then more vnited and incorporated vnto him. Wherefore power is not ascribed vnto faith, so farforth as it is a thing of ours, but vnto Christ himselfe according as he giueth himselfe vnto vs to be apprehended more or lesse. Moreouer it shall be shewed thus to be by an other reason: We eate Christ is verilie to beleeue: but there followeth such an eating, as Christ himselfe sheweth, that Christ dwelleth in vs and we in him, whereof is inferred, that if the eating, that is the faith be increased, the dwelling also, that is our union with Christ doth likewise increase, for this is the nature and power of thinges ioyned together that the one being augmented, the other hath also an increase. The verie

Cola. 1. 19.

1. Pet. 2. 2.

From whence our increase in Christ commeth.

Ephe. 2. 8.

which thing I may conclude in no other manner out of the Epistle to the Ephesians, where it is sayde: Be yee strengthened by the holy spirite in the inwarde man, that Christ maie dwell in your hearts by faith. These things doe note vnto vs that Christ dwelleth in vs by faith: wherefore if it is proued that if faith doe increase, there comes an augmentation to such a dwelling, and that by the laive of thinges ioyned together, whereof if thou make one greater, it followeth that the other also is become greater. These and such other argumentes haue I for my opinion. But here learned sir since you are of an other minde [beerein] than I am, you demaunde whether we are rather ioyned vnto Christ in respect we are apprehended by him, and that (as Paule speaketh) When we were yet enemies, and when he chose vs before the making of the worlde: or else by our faith which both is weake, and hath dailie his increases? And you perswade your selfe that we are vnited and ioined vnto him long since, in that wee haue bene comprehended of him, but not as we our selues apprehend him by faith. But I iudge that this reason must be so aunswered as I graunt that either of both may be done: first doubtlesse that we are apprehended of Christ through loue in that of him we were chosen before the making of the worlde, and to euerie one of vs is distributed a meane and measure of ioyning and cleauing to him, vnto which meane and measure appointed vnto vs we long by continuall faith to attaine, indeuoring as Paule sayde vnto the Philippians, and I before cited, to apprehende so farreforth as we are apprehended by Christ Iesus. Wherefore the ende of the augmentations of our faith thalbe, that it may come so farre forwarde as Christ appointed that it shoulde come, and by the increases thereof wee mose and more apprehende Christ; although not beyonde the bounnes and limittes of apprehending, wherewith he himselfe imbraced vs when wee were enemies, and before the foundations of the worlde were layde. You defende also your opinion by this argument: Our faith is not verie perfect, it is weake and oftentimes wauereth: why therefore will wee that our coniunction with Christ should depend of the increasing thereof? And seeing that fulnesse of faith which is required of eche one of vs can neuer be hadde, we shall erpect in vaine that Christ shoulde more and more be vnited vnto vs by the increasinges and augmentation thereof. Further indeede I will not denie the weakenesse of faith, as I doe iudge and you doe obiect. Howbeit this infirmitie thereof is no cause at all but that faith should be accounted the meane and instrument whereby we apprehende Christ, eternall life, forgiuenesse of sinnes, and other such promises, as it most euidently appeareth out of the holie scriptures. Wherefore, if that faith to it be a true faith bee it neuer so litle, obtaineth these thinges, I sis not howe it can be, but that afterwarde, the selfe same also shoulde bee iudged to apprehende dailie more and more when it hath greater and more increasinges, as you your selfe confesse it hath. Nor in my iudgement is it a firme argument: Faith is neuer had of vs full and perfect, therefore by the increasinges and augmentations thereof we are not more faltened and vnited vnto Christ. Let vs bozowe a similitude of charitie: the same is alwaies vnperfect while we liue heere, and no man doubteth, but that wee are ioyned thereby vnto our neighbour: woth it not therefore followe that charitie of this or that man hath an increase, therefore he is more vnited and ioyned to his neighbour? I thinke it followeth, & no man that is wise will reiect that kinde of argument. Furthermore the profite which you declare that comes by the exercises of faith: namely that it may be a helpe for our infirmitie, leaft in verie deede we should fall therefrom by suffering the same to lie idle and vnoccupied, this I willinglie imbrase: yet so neuertheleffe, as to this of yours I will also ioyne an other commoditie, to wit, that the exercises of faith are not onelie auailable to the retaining therof, but do also make it stronger & greater, and the same the more it is strengthened & increased, the more it serueth to the apprehending of Christ, so as we are thereby more vnited vnto him when it is increased than we are by it when it is sable and lessened. And if you chunne, as you say you doe, the wozdes of vniting or incozpozating, I doubt not but you haue a god meaning therein: For why shoulde I suspect the contrarie of you, whom I see to be so clearely instructed by God in pietie, learning, and holinesse? Howbeit, as I thinke, it thall not be amisse to declare why I on the other side doe not mislike of those wozdes: for besides that they verie well serue to the opening of this matter, it hath this withall that they are not strange from the holy scriptures. For we haue vnto the Ephesians the thirde chapter: That the gentiles might be coheirs, and of the same bodie. As if you would say: If they might be incozpozated namely one with another into Christ, they might also be copartners of the promises

Whether the continuing of Christ be done by him or by our faith.

Rom.5.10.

Phil.3.13.

That the weakenesse of faith letteth not our coniunction with Christ.

promises of Christ. And in the seconde chapter of the same Epistle: That hee might make of twaine one newe man in himselfe, making peace, and that he might reconcile both vnto God in one bodie by the crosse: & so forth. Wee heare the Apostles teach that Christ brought two sorts, namely the Gentils & the Iewes into one, and that in himselfe, because they cannot be one in themselues, but in respect that they bee vnited and coupled together in Christ. And he addeth, that they be reconciled together, but yet in one bodie, that is to wit, of Christ himselfe, for he addeth: By the Crosse. By which thinges I gather that the wozdes of vniting and incozpozating are agreeable to the holy scriptures, and therefore I refuse them not as straunge wozdes and inuented of late dayes: but and if any doe abuse them, they doe not well. But what? If the Heretickes will abuse the holy Scriptures, shall the faithfull abstaine from the vse of them? I trowe not: wherefore it is better to correct the abuse, than to auoide the lawfull & profitable vse of these wozdes. But here maie euerie one abounde in his owne sense, whatsoeuer Paul or I say: And whereas you write at the last that I say wee are the more vnited vnto Christ by the vse of the Sacraments, I denie not but this I said so it be not laide to my charge that I attribute any thing to the elements (or as they speake) to the wozke wrought: but to declare in fewe wozdes, this is my opinion, that euen as by the holy wozdes while they bee either heard or read, our faith is stirred vp, waxeth feruent, and is increased: so doeth it also happen while we receiue the Sacraments, which be the wozdes of God, but yet visible wozdes that our faith is made more firme and increaseth: by the benefit of which increasing, because in very deede it is of God, we are become more & more ioyned & incozpozated vnto Christ. In deede you say that wee first had this vnion or incozporation with Christ, but that the same in receiuing of the Sacraments is sealed. Which I denie not, for the holie scriptures teache vs the same, but mee thinkes that y must also be affirmed besides, which doeth follow vppon the sealing. For euen as deedes in writing if they be sealed doe the more cause credite to be giuen to the trueth of that which is contained in them, so Sacraments being ioyned to the giftes of GOD doe make them to bee more certaine and manifest. So as by the light and brightnesse which is added by the sealing, the minde is stirred vp, so that it beleeueth the more: and the more it beleeueth the more earnestly it apprehendeth Christ,

Verse.15.

Verse.6.

How our vniting with Christ is augmented by the vse of the Sacraments.

The wordes of vniting & incorporating.

and both commeth and ioyneth nerer vnto him. These were the things (learned sir) that I had nowe to answere you by writing. And I am verie well assured, that you will take them in good part, since I perceiue you to bee endued no lesse with humanitie than with other giftes of God. Fare you well and doe not thinke that I will euer for this diuersitie of opinion which is not great, either loue or honour you any thing lesse than I did before, &c.

To a verie honourable Prince in England.

43.

FOr manie and great causes am I verie much bounde vnto your highnesse most noble Prince. For I being but a poze silie man and of lowe degree whom you saw scarcelie once in England, you beare such affection towardes mee, as you haue with singular courtesie and god will intertained Iulius which dealeth in my affaires, and haue shewed him not small, but verie great fauour in the perfourming of his businesse: for the which cause I giue your Honour exceeding great thankes: and besides this for that you haue sent letters vnto me, letters doe I say, yea rather prayles and commendations both of my learning and vertues: which although I doe not acknowledge to be in me, yet could I not but reioice in your iudgement, because I vnderstode it to bee a most certaine testimonie of your loue and god will towardes me. Neither doe I thinke my selfe to be loued of you for any other cause, than for godlines and religions sake. I will not rehearse the singular desire that you shewe to haue mee returne againe into England, which you also affirme that the godlie and learned men doe desire together with you. But how great a fauour is that that you haue put the Muenes Maiestie in minde, that there must be some consideration had of my calling, and haue put mee in her Maiesties fauour? Finally you haue promised to doe mee all the pleasures and commodities you can: and you haue declared the causes and those verie singular of this your affection, namely the loue of your Countrie and the exceeding care of setting forward the wozke of God. Such a Prince who can but loue? Undoubtedly if I should euer be forgetfull of this so great a

Peter Martyr called as game into England.

god will and of so many benefites, I shoulde not onely be voide of godlinesse but of humanitie. Wherefore I will indeuour, and that by all meanes I can that they may neuer slip out of my minde. But nowe as touching my returne into England, and if I am not able to answere that which I would earnestly desire, I beseeche your honour that you will of your courtesie take in good part ỳ answere which I write vnto you. First I would not haue you to thinke that I desire any thing more earnestly than the sound saluation of England in the Lorde. Wherefore I haue desired now also, no lesse than in times past, to further the commodities and building thereof, and to doe that which might be as well acceptable as profitable to your kingdome and Church. But at this day, it standeth thus with mee, that I am appointed to the Citie and Church of Tigure, and therefore I am not at my owne libertie. Wherefore as touching this matter I sought the iudgement and god will both of the Magistrate and of the Ministers. And certainlie I founde in them a singular indeuour and readie minde to satisfie your desire. For thinke not that anything is more acceptable and deare vnto them than the trueth of the Gospell to be most largely spread. But on the other side, they no lesse prudently than louingly consider of the constitution of my bodie, my state and age: and they are somewhat afraide least I being laden and as it were broken with age, cannot abide the trauell of iourney which is somewhat long, variable, & not euerie where easie. They see moreouer ỳ in diuers places are like to come no small daungers. Further they consider, that I am called abroade to much more painefull labours, than I doe here abide. For which cause they easilie coniecture that I shall bee able to serue neither them nor you. So as they iudge it much better, that I should here tarie, that by teaching, writing, and publishing that which I haue commented, I mais to my power be a helpe vnto them, to you and to others. But in these two kindes of answere the first part semes to haue a likenesse of trueth. For I my selfe also doe feare that I should not be able to endure iourneies and labours. But in the other I doubt that they themselues be deceiued which thinke that I by tarying and resting here can profite so manie: for they make more account of my workes than they deserue. Verilie for my part, vnto whom the slendernesse, nakednesse and simplenesse of my learning is knowen agree vnto them to tarie for the first cause onelie. For I am easilie perswaded to beleeue that by iourneying and labours I shall some bee weakened and cast downe, so as I shall bee made altogether vnprofitable. Wherefore I first of all beseeche your honor, secondly those godlie learned men, that they will accept of my good will, where they cannot because of my weaknes obtaine the thing it selfe which they wish to be done. For necessitie is a harde weapon, against which to striue semes to bee no other thing than to tempt God. But this in the meane time I woulde haue you right honourable to remember, that wheresoeuer I shall bee in the worlde, I will alwaies thinke my selfe most bounde vnto you. And on the other side I desire you, that you will not onelie retaine the loue of your Countrie and the care of furthering religion, but that you will indeuour euery day more and more to increase the same in your Christian heart, whereby the Feathers sometime cut off from the Gospell of the sonne of God, maie growe againe, and so growe as it may with a fruitfull course goe through all your prouinces, Cities and townes. Assuredly if you shall perpetually as you haue begun, be inflamed with this double care, both almightie god will like of you, and all discrete and godly men will honour you as a god Citizen and a profitable Prince. God through Christ maintaine you long in health and felicitie. Giuen at Zuricke the 22. of Iulie 1561.

To Maister Iewel Bishoppe of Salisburie.

44.

To the Bishoppe of London his indeuour (most worthie Prelate and my verie good Lorde,) was brought a copie of your Apologie for the Church of Englande, the which had not beene seene before, either of me or of our companie. Doubtlesse in your last letters you rather gaue an vnkling that it shoulde come forth, than plainelie signified the same. Howbeit so great was the iourney bither as it came not vnto vs before the Calendes of Iulie. Hereby you may weigh in your minde howe great a losse wee often times sustaine by the distance of places. Verilie the same hath not onelie satisfied by all meanes and respectes me who alowe and marueilous well like of all your doinges, but it also appeared vnto Bullinger and

An Apologie set out for the Church of England.

and his sonnes and sonnes in Lawe, and vnto Gualter and Wolphius so wise, marueilous and eloquent, as they neuer cease praysing of the same, neither doe they thinke that anie thing in these daies hath beene set forth more perfectlie. I greatlie reioyce for the excellencie of your wit, for this edifying of the Church and for this honor of England, and I beseech you that you will proceede to treade with your steppes in the way wherein you haue entered. For although the cause that we haue be good, yet in comparison of our enemies number, they are but few that defende the same: and they seme so to bee awakened as by the goodnelle of their stile and by their sophisticall Argumentes, they giue themselues much credite among the vnlearned multitude. I speake of Staphilus, Hosius, and manie other writers of this sect which at this daie be strong Patrons of the Popes lies. Wherfore since in that most learned and eloquent Apologie of yours you haue stirred vp so great a hope of you, knowe you for a certeintie, that all good and learned men doe nowe assure them selues that the euangelicall trueth while you are aliue shall not bee wronged of the enemies without reuenge. Doubtlesse I doe verie much reioyce that I haue seene that daie wherein you are made the Father of so noble and excellent a childe. God our heauenlie Father of his bountifull goodnelle grant that you maie oftentimes multiplie the like fede. But as touching other thinges that your are there doing, I am as ignozaunt as is the Parthian or Indian of the affaires of Germanie. But I perswade my selfe that your affaires are in a good oz else in an indifferent state. For we haue experience of the thing it selfe, that there is no messenger swifter than he which bringeth tydinges of the miseries, calamities, and destruction of friendes: but their felicitie, ioy, & prosperous state is much & long kept secrete frō vs. But whatsoeuer it is, we ought to hope ỳ best one of an other, seeing it is a most certaine thing ỳ God is continuallie present in al places and ỳ after a gratiou manner vnto those that bee his, of which number are we. But as toueching me, if you be desirous to know throughlie howe I doe, vnderstande that in minde I am merie in Christ, and am occupied in the verie same labors wherin I applied my selfe when you were present, but in bodie I am not so strong and lustie as I haue beene: for the burthen of age wareth euerie daie more beauie than other. Nowe by the space of a yeare and a halfe I am waxen altogether to the lesse, neither doeth my stomacke serue me whereby I might haue an appetite to my meate. Furthermore I am troubled with the Stone: vnto which euils happen no small griefes of my legges because of two vlcers wherewith I am otherwhile greatlie disquieted. Wherein, though the bodie properlie and by it selfe be vered, yet by reason of the consent which the Ozetians call Sympathia, the minde also cannot chuse but be afflicted. These thinges which I am sure for the god will you beare me you will bee sorie to heare, I would not haue inserted in these my letters, fauing that I shoulde haue verie great nede of your prayers which I haue perswaded my selfe that I shall obtaine to bee more earnest because of the necessitie wherewith I am vzged. Of the French affaires I write nothing, because I assure my selfe that they are no lesse knowen vnto you than vnto me. The Synode of Trent seigneth as though it woulde proceede, but it goeth so slowlie forwarde, as in these fiue Sessions thereof it hath decreed nothing that maie serue to the purpose. Those thinges that it doeth define bee olde and mouldie, so as they cannot seeme to doe the part of fathers but of beetles, which alwaies turne ouer the selfe same dongue of traditions. Fare you well most worthie prelate and more than one half of my soule. God log maintain you, keep you, and increase you in al kinde of godnes, both to the Church & to the Commonweale. All friendes and learned men doe salute you. From Zuricke the 24. of August. 1562.

Lauater hath set forth his Commentaries vppon the booke of the Prouerbes.

The Commentaries of Lauater vpon the Prouerbes.

To the Church of straungers at London.

45.

It seemes that Hadrian hath dealt verie vnprofitablie, who hath disquieted the Church in mouing of that controuersie whereof our aduise of late was asked. Further herein is he the lesse to be allowed because hee defendeth that opinion whereby the hearers are rather destroyed than edified in the true and right doctrine of faith. For whereas he affirmed that the peruerse opinion touching the flesh of Christ brought from heauen, and not taken of the blessed virgin, doeth not deprive the Anabaptists of saluation, they continuing obstinately therein, but that they being yet of that opinion, belong as well vnto Christ as vn-

whether obstinate heresie as touching the person of Christ excludeth Anabaptists from saluation.

vnto the Church, doeth not this extenuate both the weight and mischiefe of that heresie: And doth it not confirme those wretched men in their errours? And doth it not call backe others from the carefulnesse to shunne and auoide that errour? But he saith, They which are touched with the feare of God, will giue place to those which shewe them that they liue in a great and dangerous errour. Howbeit I would faine knowe how grieuous an errour, or how horrible a daunger that is, which plucketh not men from eternall saluation, but suffereth them still to be both members of Christ and also parts of the Church. The Apostle, when he would exaggerate certaine sinnes aboue others, 2.Cor.6.8. saith, They that commit such things shall not possesse the kingdome of God. If the faithfull ministers of Christ, although they by assured testimonies of the worde of God confute & earnestly speake against this opinion, namely, that such as so erre shall perish vnlesse they repent, bring not to passe that they will yeeld vnto the trueth, shall we beleeue that they will sooner yeelde and bee healed, when they heare that their opinion though it be false and against the word of God, doth not exclude them either from saluation or from Christ? It is not likelie: nay rather, when they shall be taught things which bee true and contrarie vnto their dreames, they will saie vnto a sounde teacher: thou lossest thy time and thy labour. I depart not from that opinion which I haue taken vpon me to defend, wherof I alow, because it doth not separate men from eternall life. Furthermore the faithfull men will saie: Why doe we so diligentlie shunne and auoide these men since to keepe them companie is not pernitious? For if we should bee infected with their contagion, we shal be in no daunger at all in the end. Hadrian who otherwise is against the Anabaptistes, and as we haue heard is commended for sinceritie of life, did negligentlie consider of these thinges, therefore he supposeth that it is answered by that his Dilemma: He with whom we deale either feareth God, or else is destitute of his feare. If he doe not feare, but doe rather despise him, he loseth his labour, seeing through such a contempt he is made blinde. But if he be indued with the feare of God, he will assent vnto him y rightlie admonisheth. Howbeit both parts of the argumēt are easilie refelled. He that feareth not God, and when the punishment of eternall death is set before him proceedeth in contemning of him, procureth vnto himselfe a more greuous indgement, & harder condemnation. But he that is indued with the feare of God, will by applying of more vehement spurs hasten with a swifter course vnto the trueth. Wherefore such doctrine as this hath no fruite and draweth much losse with it. Those things in effect iudge we of the whole cause. Now will we come to examine particularlie the parts and members thereof, which we are faine to doe in fewe words and briefelie, seeing we haue other businesse in hande, which although we would we may not intermit.

This firste of all we cannot chose but maruell at that the Anabaptists are affirmed to haue a true mediatour although they beleeue that his flesh was brought from heauen, not taken of the virgin. Undoubtedlie, a mediator he cannot be, vnlesse he both be, and be comprehended by faith according as God hath ordained him, and reuealed him in his promises. But he decreed that he should haue flesh of men: and this he testified by euident and plaine wordes in the holie scriptures. So as they, which attribute vnto him a heauenly flesh, haue not the mediatour promised by God, but him whom they haue inuented to themselues and imagined of their owne braine. It is obiected, that those men doe not see nor perceiue that such a mediator is set forth and promised by God, as ought to haue taken flesh of Marie. What they can see, or what they cannot see, it maketh little or nothing to the matter. This doubtlesse are they driuen to beleeue, that in the holie Oracles it is left vnto vs for a most certaintie, we doe not affirme, that they doe see these things. But this be we assured of, that not to see nor professe those things, but with full mouth to denie them, remooueth them from saluation. As touching the Iewes of our times which crie out that they cannot finde by the holie scriptures that Messias is yet come, but say that they do beleeue in him as did the Patriarches & Prophets, and as their forefathers beleeued: what will Hadrian iudge? Will he saie that they be not out of the kingdome of heauen? Let him saie what he will, we will saie with Iohn that they be antichrists which say that Christ is not come in the flesh. A blindnesse in those things which the scripture teacheth concerning the mediatour remooueth not damnation from the vnfaithfull. That blindnesse is laide vpon vs as a iust punishment of former sinnes which when it transgresseth the lawe and bounds of faith, it taketh not eternall damnation away, but rather procureth the same.

Whether the Anabaptists do acknowledge the true mediator.

Matt.1.25. Luke.2.7.

A iudgement of Hadrian touching the Iewes.

1.Iohn.4.3.

They that denie the consequent, denie also the Antecedent.

Neither is it truely saide, that it comes oftentimes to passe that they which denie the consequent doe not denie the antecedent; for they in deede doe denie this, although in wordes they seeme so much to graunt it: For the ouerthrowing of the consequent is so repugnant to the antecedent, as they can not stande together. But thou wilt say, that vnawares they take away [the antecedent of Christes humanitie]. I graunt it: but ignorance as touching naturall & prophane thinges is counted but a light matter, but in articles of the faith it bringeth the extremest and chiefest losse. And it is not nowe called ignorance but incredulitie. But that Christ was borne of the virgine Marie, no man of sounde religion doubteth but that the same doth belong to the chiefe pointes of faith. And for man to be borne of a mother, is not onelie to passe through the wombe of her, and this euen children themselues doe knowe. Further we confesse that he was not onlie borne of a virgin, but that hee was also conceiued of her. And who I beseech you will say, that those things which passe through the wombe are conceiued? Howbeit we are not nowe about to bring forth testimonies of the scriptures, whereby the Anabaptists may bee conuinced, & that it may be shewed to them that the flesh of Christ was receiued of his mother, but to the intent wee may proue, that they which denie this which truelie belongeth to a mediatour, doe vtterlie take awaie the mediatour himselfe, although by mouth and wordes they professe that they beSimilitude leeue and confesse him. If in anie kingdome a man should teach that we should not for anie cause obey a king: and yet neuertheless would confesse him to be lawfull king, and that he holdeth the same kingdome by right of inheritance, hee should as I thinke be punished by death, neither should it anie thing auaile him to crie that he saeth not the dependencie or connection betweene the consequent and the antecedent. But they which were wise or had anie knowledge at all of politike gouernement, would say vnto him either thou seest or seest not this knitting together, by denying this y is the consequet thou ouerthrowest also the antecedent. Neither are the papistes deliuered from the curse and euerlasting destruction in this respect that they thinke themselues to preach no other gospell than that which the Apostles taught, and they themselues moreouer denie, that they doe see a iust and effectuall coniunction betweene their doctrine and that which is accursed. Yet for all that, these thinges must not in such sort be vnderstoode, as though we do not thinke that they sinne more grieuoulie who reiect and oppresse the trueth which

they verie well knowe, than they of whome consequentes are denied and antecedentes by wordes and false opinion affirmed, but in vaine, since these may not consist with the contraries of the consequent. These men in deede doe sinne somewhat lesse, yet so grieuoulie notwithstanding, as vnlesse they at the length repent them, they shal perish eternally, seeing they haue no true mediatour but such a one as they themselues haue forged. That the Anabaptists haue no true mediator.

Neither doth Hadrians similitude belong anie thing vnto this matter. The Hebrewes (saieth hee) of a false opinion doe thinke that our Lorde Iesus was nothing else but a mere man, and that a seditious and naughtie man. Wherefore they being deceiued by this errour did raile him to the crosse, which iniurie of theirs, although it proceeded of a false opinion, yet did it breake out against verie Christ, not against a fained Christ. So the Anabaptistes when they beleeue and call vpon Christ which suffered for vs, which rose againe, and by whome sinnes are freely forgiuen, although they thinke that he brought his flesh out of heauen, yet doe they not stray farre from a true mediatour. Here doe we say that vnlesse a man doe diligentlie examine similitudes, he shall easilie be deceiued by them. True in deede it is, that the errours of men doe not change thinges: for the nature of God is not peruerted by the false opinions of men, as being that which alwaies abideth the selfe same, firme, and vnshaken. But yet the actions of men must be distinguished. Some are so conuersant about their subiectes as they imprint nothing at all in them, they change or innouate nothing: such is the action of knowing or beleeuing. For things which be knowen and beleeued, suffer nothing at all of them that beleeue and knowe. But there be other workes which doe defourme and alter sometime to the better and sometime to the worse the matter about which they are conuersant: So the true Christ by the Iewes, although they were deceiued, was scourged wounded and slaine. But in the first kinde of actions, if there happen to be an errour, the thinges themselues are not comprehended, but certaine other thinges farre differing from thē. This will I declare by examples: If anie man that exerciseth his wit in mathematical figures would iudge that a triangle hath foure corners, he should not comprehende in his minde a very triangle, but a quadrangle: vndoubtedly he should erre and by that error it would come to passe, that he should not attaine to the thing which he had thought to doe, A difference of mens actions.

Similitude.

doe, but vnskilfully be occupied about other thinges. So in naturall thinges they which affirme that mans soule is a vanishing blast of winde or a flame that shall be sone quenched, should not comprehende in their minde the true soule of man, but either a vanishing blast, or a litle fire to perish within a while: so as they that erre are commonlie saide to take one for an other. Therefore the Anabaptistes while they dreame that Christ take not flesh of the virgin, since they erre so greuouslie in ẏ same, now do they not beleeue in the true mediatour, neither doe they attaine vnto him by faith, but are caried to one whome they themselues haue forged, not ẏ their erro̱r hath changed the true Christ, but because they are not occupied with their faith about him. And he who they haue feigned dio neither die nor suffer, nor yet is anie where extant. Indeed they take the actions & properties of verie Christ, and fasten them to their Christ whom they imagine, but all in vaine: for since this is done by their onelie imagination, all this is a monster but not true Christ. Ieroboam also and his complices saide, that they in that figure and visible signe worshipped not calues but god. But ẏ scripture in Paralipomenon testifieth that their imagination was made frustrate because they did these seruices not to Iehoua, but vnto diuels. Neither ought anie to stirre vp hatred against vs for Luthers cause. As touching him we deeree nothing, seeing God at the last or while he was dying might lighten him as I am perswaded was done vnto Cyprian, when he shedde his blouide for Christ his sake. Of aboundant greatnesse is the mercie of God: God doth not forsake thē ẏ be his, & those which he seemeth to haue forsaken he helpeth being at the point of death. Howbeit we doe here speake of them which be obstinate and doe not repent. And vndoubtedlie the selfe same question might bee mooued as touching Tertullian, and Origen, and such like fathers, which erred from the trueth in verie weightie matters, when as in diuerse other thinges they wrote verie agreeably to the right faith. Howbeit we iudge not here of men which perhaps by the benefit of God repented them before their death, but of them onelie which of an obstinate minde continue in their erro̱r vntill the last end. Moreouer we affirme that the weight and hurt of this erro̱r is so great, as it damneth euerlastinglie those which abide and indure therin vntil the end. Further this belongeth little or nothing to our matter. For ẏ which is brought as touching Luther belongeth vnto the fact, but we reason of the lawe. Now we haue no other right than that which the holie Ghost hath appointed in ẏ scriptures of God: where Iohn saith, that they which confesse not Christ to haue come in the flesh, are Antichristes.

1.kings. 12.28.

2.Chron. 11.15.

1.Iohn.4.3.

But Hadrian which earnestlie trauelleth in the Anabaptistes behalfe, aunswereth, that they with open mouth confesse that Christ came in the flesthe, although they denie that the same was taken of the virgin. Howbeit it behoueth to vnderstande the o̱racle of Iohn according to his owne meaning and sense. But he when he maketh mention of flesthe, vnderstandeth no other than ẏ which the diuine promises haue expressed: Namelie which shoulde be the sede of Eue, the sede of Abraham, the sede of Dauid, and the inkant of Marie. The holie Ghost is not contrarie to him selfe. Wherefore that which he spake by Iohn, is al one thing with ẏ which ẏ diuine promises haue shewed in other Canonicall bokes. Wee knowe as thou doest, (O Hadrian) that Christ to haue come in the flesh, & to haue taken the same of the virgin, are two thinges, and are in such sort two, as the one maie be beleeued without the other: as at this daie we see it come to passe in the Anabaptistes. Howbeit we ought not to haue respect what they do, but what God requireth of Christian men. He assuredlie wil haue thole two to be ioyned together in one article, whereby the benefit exhibited by the promises which were made before as touching him thoulde not be seuerall.

Who moreouer wil not marueil that the Anabaptistes are reckened among them which (Christ the true foundation beeing preserued,) build vppon him hay, straw and stubble, which thinges although they shal be burned, yet they that haue builded shall be saued because of the foundations. Assuredlie Christ is not the foundation of saluation, except so farre forth as it is laid by God: for he, as the scriptures most plainely testifie, gaue and promised him, as touching the humane nature, to bee the sede of Eue, the sede of Abraham, the sede of Dauid, and the sonne of man, that is of Marie. Why do we not rather by hay, stubble, and straw, vnderstande to bee noted infinite genealogies vaine bablings, vnwritten verities, vnreasonable visions, allegories, and diuers traditions of men which maie or maie not bee beleeued. All these thinges although they bee not plaine repugnaunt against Christ, yet because they builde not, they shall be burned with the fire of the diuine iudgement, although that the authors because of the sound foundation from which they departed not shall not perish euerlastinglie. But to beleeue

1.Cor.3.11

In what respect Christ is the foundation of the Church.

Gen.4.15. Gen.17.7. Psal.132.11

leeue that the flesthe of the Lorde was not taken of the virgin, must not be accounted among those trifles before rehearsed.

That the substance of Christs flesh was taken of the Virgin.

Neither shall it in anie wise be graunted, that the flesh taken of the virgin is not the substance of Christ, but rather (as it is called) a light circumstance, seeing the verie substance of the bodie of Christ was flesthe receiued of the Virgin: For from thence was drawen the bodilie matter and substance of Iesus the mediator of God and men, whereby comes to passe, that it ought in no wise to be referred vnto the circumstances. Wherevnto is to bee added that the generation of man doth rather belong vnto the efficient cause thereof than vnto the circumstance. We are not ignorant that among the Logitians and Rhetoricians, Parentes are placed among circumstances, but this is not done in respect of their bodilie substance, but for their properties and conditions sake, to wit, that from thence may bee deriued probable arguments either of praise or dispraise of Children. For if a man haue had noble parentes, excellent and baliant, bee is therefore commended, and as touching him that he will become such a one, a verie likelie argument is gathered. Also such crafts men haue beene accustomed to put the manner in the number of the circumstances. But flesthe taken of the Virgin belongeth neither vnto the measure nor yet vnto the qualitie of Christ, but is, (as we haue saide) the substance as touching his humanitie. But the manner of his generation maie be thus said to be, namelie, that he was begotten without the sede of man: because not the strength of her husband but the power of the holie Ghost formed and fashioned out the childe borne of the blessed Virgin. These in verie deede I might graunt to be circumstances, but yet so necessarie to be beleeued, as he that confesseth not that Christ was conceiued without the sede of man, and made by the power of the holie Ghost, and also formed of the flesthe of the Virgin, is both estraunged from the Church and from saluation. Wherefore we say, that the flesthe taken of the Virgin is no circumstance of Christ as he is man but that it belongeth to his substance. Againe if we shoulde also graunt that the same doeth belong vnto circumstances, yet it is not gathered thereof that that is not necessarie to be beleeued, since to suffer, to die, to be buried, to rise againe, and to reigne in heauen, being the actions of Christ, are vndoubtedly reckened among his circumstances: which whosoeuer doth not faithfully beleeue, and confesse, doeth vtterlie fall from the hope of saluation vnlesse he repent.

Luke.1.35.

And it is a wonderfull thing to determine as Hadrian doeth, that the taking of the flesh of the virgin Marie was a thing necessarie vnto our saluation, and that yet afterwarde the thing should be so extenuated, as they which beleeue the contrarie are saide to bee partakers of saluation. And I doe not much marueil at this, because he after a sort qualifying a thing of it selfe so harde, saieth, that hee doeth not vtterly condemne them but commit them to the iudgement of God. This is not rightly to diuide the worde of trueth in religion and holie doctrine. Why did Paul pronounce them to haue made a shipwracke of the faith, which saide that the Resurrection was alreadie past? Whether I beleeue you appeareth it more manifestly out of the holy scriptures that the Resurrection shall be, or that Christ is the true sede of Eue, the sonne of Abraha̱, the sonne of Dauid, & that he was the sede of them? The scriptures plainely and manifestly affirme both, and both of them belong to the articles of ẏ faith. For wee confesse, that wee beleeue in Iesus Christ the sonne of God, conceiued and borne of the virgin Marie, not in him which passed thorough her as thorough a Conduite. Paule saieth not that he leaueth them to the iudgement of God, but he openly pronounceth that they were fallen from the faith: and shall not wee account these men worthie of condemnation? Also the Churche did not leaue the Arrians, Nestorians, Eutichians, Ebionites and such like pestilent sectes to the iudgement of God, but by manifest and open iudgement condemned them, who neuertheless ceased not to crie out, that they sawe not the consequentes and collections betweene the wordes of the holie scriptures, and the opinions which the right beleeuers defended. Therefore let vs measure things not according as they seeme good vnto Heretikes, but according as they bee expressed in the holie scriptures.

1.Tim.1. 19.

Neither doeth Hadrian a thing meete for his profession, who therefore putteth vs to businesse, because that children and maddemen haue saluation without faith, whereas notwithstanding ẏ holie scriptures affirme, that by faith men are saued and doe please God: for these things doe belong to the state and condition of the Anabaptistes, seeing they be both of full age, and haue their right wittes, who likewise haue leasure to reade the scriptures and holie sermons, and they may also heare the answeres of godly men. We iudge it also to be a superfluous question touching faith, why God hath required

Hebr.11.6.

the same at our handes, seeing it it had pleased him he coulde haue made men blessed without it. For what nede haue we to disputs of the will of God, seeing that the same manifestly ynough appeareth in the holie scriptures? This rather we ought to labour and earnestly indeuour that wee may by prayers vnto God attaine to the same and to the daily increase thereof, & that those things which we beleeue wee may throughe the perswasion of faith, expresse in our life & dedes, [and thewe] howe great power is placed in vs by GOD. Wee ought not to be such as would knowe the causes and reasons of the diuine counsels.

That moreouer semes more than marueilous that this is decreed by Hadrian, to bee a thing necessarie to bee beleeued vnto saluation, without which may not bee beleeued that sinnes are freely forgiuen vs by Christ. That in verie deede is the chiefe sum and principall point of the Gospell: but see I beseeche you that if a man say he beleeueth this and in the meane time denieth the Resurrection of the dead, whether may he bee saide to embrace the true Gospell of Christ? I suppose he doeth not, nay rather I affirme that he, while he is thus perswaded is not partaker of eternall saluation. Also another will say, that he doeth imbrace that article as a thing out of doubt: who notwithstanding on the other part will denie that the sonne of God is equall and of one substance with the father, and will holde opinion that the holie Ghost is a creature. What shall here be done? Shall wee allowe them saluation and rest according to this rule? And shall we embrace them as the members of Christ and partes of the Church, so as they beleeue that sinnes are freely forgiuen them by the Mediatour?

Nowe let vs come to the knowen * demonstrations and properties. Seeing (sayeth he) there haue bin many; if a man consent vnto all, onely one excepted, vndoubtedly it is absurde and vncharitable to exclude him from eternall saluation, because he reiecteth onely one of those principles. Yea (saieth he) there must rather be a consideration had of the number which he admitteth, than of that one which he refuseth and is against. Here vnto we answere, that all the words of God, so farre forth as they haue flowed from him, are of like weight and authoritie, and therefore it is not lawful for any man at his owne pleasure to receiue one thing, and to confute another thing, and to reiect it as false. Iames boldlie saieth: He that sinneth in one is made guiltie of all. If this haue place as touching the obedience of the commaundements, it shall also be true as touching things which must bee beleeued. And doeth not Hadrian see, that this reason of his being allowed, euen Arrius himselfe must bee acknowledged as a member of Christ? For he will say: I admit all other demonstrations, properties and markes, which other faithful men doe beleeue, onelie one excepted, namelie that I affirme the sonne of God to bee a creature. And not onelie Arrius, but innumerable other Heretickes also, by this mild and remisse censure will fill Church with their Heresies, and in the bodie of Christ there will be such a soule tincke of sects that in the ende all will become most shamefull and vncleane.

Neither is this true, that the Anabaptists, when they affirme that the sonne of God brought flesh with him out of heauen, and that he toke not the same of the virgin doe onely stande against one demonstration, properties or note of the Christian faith: filth this errour of theirs doth drawe with it verie manie other. For all at once they denie that Christ as touching the humane nature, was the seede of Eue: For vnto his substance doth her seede belong, neither is it of an heauenlie nature. Also they denie it to be the seede of Abraham wherein all nations of the earth should receiue blessing. Neither can it appeare vnto him that Messias is the sonne of Dauid which the scripture euerie where testifieth should verilie be: neither can they admit that the virgin conceiued her sonne and brought him forth, as the Prophets and Euangelists doe confirme. Yowe moreouer will they saie with the scriptures that Marie was the mother of Jesus? Or howe will they confesse him to bee the sonne of man? If their saying were true, he shalbe none of our brother, neither hath he beene partaker with his brethren, as vnto the Hebrues it is written that he was.

I coulde easlie also gather other things, whereby I might declare that not onely one demonstration or principall article of the right Christian faith but verie manie are taken away of the Anabaptists through this their wicked opinio. But forasmuch as I thinke thole to bee sufficient which I haue alledged, I will surceasse: & nowe touch that wherein we are saide to deale not logicallie but rather sophisticallie, when we affirme Christ to be no mediatour, if he toke not flesh of the virgin Marie. For man (as Hadrian saith) this is concluded of vs * not absolutely but in some respect, namelie as touching the Anabaptists, but their opinion

*He meaneth the principall points of Religion Whether it be of necessitie to vnderstand all the opinions as touching Christ.

1 Ime.2.10.

The way to confute false opinions.

Gal.1.8.

Verse.8.

Heb.2.14.

That errours are not partes chiefly condemned in the scriptures.

That Christ is no meere man, but he also a man.

*Non simpliciter, sed secundum quid.

opinion transformeth not, the nature of things. I cannot sufficiently maruell what this deuise can make to the confuting of those arguments which be exceeding good & plaine. It is none of our minde there to shewe that Christ is not the true mediator (for they affirme that same for a most certaine and vndoubted doctrine:) but this point wee haue to prooue that by the receiued opinion of the Anabaptists, that thing doth plainelie follow. Neither do they thus arguing depart from the fathers vsuall forme of disputing. For the Ecclesiasticall teachers while they dispute with heretikes are wont to bring forth a sentence, which not onelie is true but common vnto both parts. For they drawe the same out of the holie scriptures, afterwarde they adde the false opinion of them against whom they dispute: thereof they gather some grosse and odious absurditie. But since this cannot be gathered of the common proposition which is verie euident & is true, it remaineth that it follow by the aduersaries owne proposition. It is no rare but a vsuall kinde of argument, whereby those men whom we presse in disputing are driuen to confesse absurdities. So likewise both Aristotle dispute against Parmenides Melissus and others of the olde writers: That he first taketh as graunted which is both verie manifest and most true, then he addeth the opinion of those olde writers: whereof he concludeth most absurde sentences, not being such doubtlesse, as he himselfe will holde but whereby he may shewe vnto them which allowed the opinions of the olde writers into what follies and absurdities they did headlong cast themselues. For not all demonstrations or arguments can be direct and absolute, wherefore manie there be and are founde, which are ascribed vnto some certaine men or their errours, and doe refell onely them particularly and not all others generallie.

Further there semes but small consideration in them to require of vs, that we should shewe a place certaine and euident in the holie scriptures, wherein they are declared both to be damned and to be voide of saluation, which beleeue not that Christ toke his flesh of the virgin. For it is sufficient that we are generally commaunded, to giue credite vnto all those things which the sonne of God and the holie ghost by himselfe, by the Prophets and Apostles hath spoken: This is Matt.17.5. my sonne, heare him. Neither did it seeme good vnto God, to make particular mention in the holie scriptures of all the errours which in time to come should issue out of the braine of heretickes, it was sufficient there to teach those things which were to be beleeued. Vndoubtedlie (as it is said in the schooles by the learned) A thing that is straight or right is iudge both of it selfe and of that which is crooked. That expelling had bene ouer laboursome, and in a manner infinite, if I shoulde praie almost innumerable wayes from the scope which can be attained but one waie. What ende I beseech you should there be of writting, if all the peruerse opinions of them that erre shoulde in expresse words bee discoursed together with their condemnation? It is generallie ynough spoken by Paul: He that shall preach anie other Gospel than we haue preached, let him be accursed. Which saying I doe not thinke he should bee so straitlie driuen as Hadrian thinketh: as though the same ought onelie to be vnderstoode touching that rule wherein it is saide that Sinnes are freelie forgiuen vs through Christ. Indeede the same is the most happiest message of all other: but yet it is the Gospell also which the Apostles taught in like manner of other principall articles. Whereupon Paul in the 2. Epistle to Timothie the 2. chapter saith, Remember that Jesus Christ made of the seede of Dauid was raised againe from the deade according to my Gospel. Beholde nowe in the same place, vnder the name of the Gospell is comprehended the doctrine which teacheth that both Christ is risen from the deade, and is borne of the seede of Dauid. And to preach the Gospell other wise, is nothing else with the Apostle than that which he saide in the first Epistle to Timothie the 6. chapter ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν is to say otherwise to teach. Wherefore it must not be suffered that that same saying of the Apostle shoulde be restrained to one Article onelie. Neither can there be anie reason alligned, while that cannot iustlie be called a good message and gladsome preaching whereby it is testified and declared vnto the worlde that God stode vnto the promises who sent his sonne to take flesh of the seede of Eue, of Abraham and of Dauid, euen as in old time he promised by his Prophets to doe. Therefore since we haue these generall sayings, it is not to be loked for that we should shewe this or that errour to be condemned and suppressed by name and in expresse words in the scriptures. For where shall we finde there that they be condemned and are estraunged from God, which doe not receiue the bookes of the olde testament which opinion neuertheselle was common vnto the Marcionites Manichees and manie other heretikes. Neither are they at anie time condemned by ex-

pzelle wozds which denie that the soules after the death of the bodie do liue, but thinke, that they die together with the flesh, and that as touching life euerlasting, they about the end of the wozld shalbe raised vp againe together with their bodies. Also they which woulde not that pardon and reconciliation should be giuen vnto the brethren that be fallen, are neuer saide in the holie Dracles to be either condemned, oz to be out of the way of saluation. Wherefoze when Hadrian requireth this at our hands, concerning the errour of the Anabaptists, both he dealeth fondlie, and whilest he taketh away one oz two errours, he openeth a verie wide gappe vnto manie. Foz of verie fewe doeth the scripture speake in that soxme and phrase which he nowe requireth of vs.

Lastlie remaineth, that wee should examine the syllogismes which Hadrian brought in against vs as our men had done against him, that those as he thinketh he might cõfute the moze euidentlie: but these I haue thought good foz two causes to passe ouer. Firste because it semeth not verie lawefull foz godlie men to be childishlie subtile, especially in defending of an opinion, the which (as at the beginning hath been sayde) edifieth no man and may hurt verie manie. Secondlie because we iudge that in this question those thinges are to be written which are vnderstode of the greatest part of the holie congregation, and that there be verie fewe which haue exercised themselues in the quirkes and subtilties of Logicke and sophistrie. The trueth it selfe, especially that which is euangelicall is plaine, & is taught and made euident by the apostolicall light and simplicitie. Furthermoze those thinges be alreadie before alleadged, whereby is plainelie and manifestly discouered whatsoeuer deceite is in these trifeling argumentes.

Nowe foz the finishing of this that wee haue written, let vs adde this: namelie, let vs celebrate with high prayses the most ample mercie of God: that in all thinges he discouereth himselfe with maruelous brightnesse and (as Dauid singeth in the burden of his Psalme) glozifieth foz euer, that is eternallie. But yet ought we so to celebrate his prayses, as on the other side the iudgementes of God towardes vnbeleuers and heretikes be not thereby cancelled. This is therefoze written because Hadrian saith, that he was verie much driuen to defende these things which hee defendeth foz that they greatlie auailed to the worthinesse & greatnesse of Gods mercie. Notwithstanding after this manner they also perhappes did excuse themselues, which reckened Caine and Iudas among the number of the saintes and blessed men. Also Origen and his fauozers, hadde vnmeasurable respect vnto the clemencie of God when as they taught that the punishmentes of the godlie should one daie at the last be finished, and in verie deede the fires of hell should not be euerlasting, and since they wrote that euen to the diuelles themselues, after a multitude of ages shalbe geuen pardon and saluation. No inst prayses of the mercie of God are those which ouermuch obscure the soueritie & iustice of God. Wherefoze letting this newnesse of doctrine goe, let vs thinke with ourselues that we must by al meanes seeke the peace and quietnesse of the church. Of intricate and vaine questions vndoubtedlie there is noze enough. Wherefoze it shall be your parte that keeping the trueth safe and sounde, ye spedilie returne into amitie thinking this diligentlie with your selues, that it is a singular benefite vnto you to haue there where you are, both the french and flemish Church. This cannot the diuell abide, and foz that cause stirreth vppe discozdes and contentions among you, to the intent that strangers may be moze and moze hatefull to English men. Wherefoze watch yee with singular care and diligence that the euill spirit haue not his owne desire, and that the Church of the sonne of God receiue no losse. Ye that is repzoued, let him beare it with no lesse patient minde than Peter did when he was repzehended by Paule. And contrariwise they that haue taken vpon them the defence of the trueth, if their brother which hath turned from the right waie, not of mallice as it should seeme, but rather of a certaine errour, giue eare vnto them that admonith him well, let them account him no lesse than before in the place of the minister of God and of a most louing fellowe in office. Fare you well my verie good brethren, assist us with your prayers, bring your indeuour to maintaine peace among you as much as yée can. From Zurick the 15. of Februarie, 1561.

How we are to esteeme the praises of God must be celebrated.

An Epistle to the English Church.

46.

My dere beloued brethren in Christ, albeit wee doe maruellouslie loue your Church, and doe iustly and worthilie make great account thereof, yet are wee verie loath to determine of such nice questions as doe bring none oz in verie deede small edification. Foz since there are among you two sozts, of the which one affirmeth and the other denieth: it might easilie bee, that they which cannot abide doctrine set forth, had rather rent in sunder the Church, than change their opinion. Therefoze since wee be most desirous of the vnitie of ẏ church, we would maruellouslie wishe, that the controuerlie which is sprong vppe amongest you should be pacified, which wee suppose might bee done, if yée will deliuer your children hereafter to be baptised vnto those churches, with whome ye agree in faith and doctrine. Foz if it could be done after this manner, allwell they which thinke this kinde of baptisme, wherevnto we dispute to be vnlawefull, would greatlie reioyse to haue their conscience satisfied, & they on the other side which thinke the same to bee right and allowed, would not foz that cause desile their faith oz conscience in anie point. Besides this in doubtfull causes it most of all becommeth godlie men to imbrace those thinges which they may doe with most safetie. The matter which ye propounde we reade not to be defined by the worde of God extant and pronounced in plaine and expzesse wozdes: Wherefoze wee must dispute thereof according to that which we may collecture by that which we gather out of the holie scriptures. Which prozes and conclusions when all men admit not, thereof commeth a difficult and dangerous handling of these thinges. Notwithstanding foz asmuch as you hauing asked our opinion, we cannot kepe secret our iudgement as touching the question propounded: we will alleage in fewe wozdes those thinges which foz the present time seeme most fit. And if they like you, you shall take it thankefully: But if they doe not, Christianitie being kept safe and inuiolate, embrace yée those thinges which yée shall else where finde better.

Baptisme must be vsed in case of none but such as be of a weake faith.

That Baptisme must not be vsed.

Wherefoze it seemeth good first of all that all faithfull men should be warned, that they doe not renewe the baptisme which is receiued by the Lutherans, euen as wee doe not reiterate that which the Papistes haue ministred vnto vs. But whereas afterwards you demaunde whether it be lawefull foz men that professe the gospell, to receiue baptisme of the Lutherans, we say, that this can not be done of them without fault. Not in verie deede that wee denie their churches to be any churches at all, neither doe we thinke that baptisme it selfe is to be denied, because of the cruelties which their ministers exercise against vs, but wee thus thinke foz other causes and those as it seemeth most iust. First we affirme that Baptisme is a certaine sealing of the faith of him that is baptised: oz else if foz want of age hee be not yet indued with faith, we vnderstande that faith to bee sealed, which the offerers of the partie to be baptised doe professe. Inlomuch then as there is a difference betweene our faith and the faith of the Lutherans, we cannot deliuer our faith to be sealed of them, seeing they doe verie much detest the same: so farre is it off that they will seeme to allowe it by the signe of baptisme. Wherefoze in doing of this, wee shall seeme rather to consent vnto their faith, and that we haue nowe changed our minds and opinion vnto their Church and faith. Moreouer we thinke not that the Church of N. doth baptise into anie other faith than into that which flourisheth and is taught in the same. But that baptisme is a sealing of the faith, Paule sheweth when he saith vnto the Romans that Abraham first beleeued, and that was imputed vnto him for righteousnes. Afterwarde he receiued the seale of the righteousnesse of faith, that is circumcision. Neither can the faithfull doubt but that our baptisme succeded circumcision. Yea and the Iewes would not foz anie other cause haue circumcised a stranger, vnlesse hee being become first a proselite had professed their religion and faith. And they of our religion did not baptise men of perfect age, vnlesse they had instructed them fourtie daies before. But perhappes ye thinke that the controuersie about the Eucharist is a certaine smal sillent, which is not so, seeing in it there is strife about the principall pointes of religion. Further, if the thing be of small importance, why do wee so eagerlie contende foz the same? why doe wee not hide the smalnesse of the difference? But if it be (as we teach it to be) of verie great weight: why doe wee not auoide the shewe of a silent consenting with those churches which we knowe foz certainetie to be in an ill opinion? Why doe we not rather imitate the Lutheran ministers, which would not commit their children to be baptised of our ministers? Moreouer if in deliuering of your children to bee baptised, you should testifie vnto those ministers, that you would haue them to be baptised in that faith concerning the Eucharist which yee retaine and professe, they vndoubtedly would not baptise them. Also the godlie Iewes in olde time, would not haue giuen their children to be circumcised of Ieroboams priests, which worshipped the golden calues together with Iehoua. Also we are not a litle moued by the examples of our forefathers. Foz that same

Rom. 4. 3. & 9. Ib. ver. 11.

great Theodosius as Socrates wrote in the 5. booke the 6. chapter, when hee beganne to waxe grieuously sicke at Thessalonica, and would be made partaker of baptisme called vnto him the bishoppe of the Citie, asking him first of all what faith that church professed, whether the Arrian or the right catholike faith: and when hee harde that it confessed Christ to be one substance with his father, and that it was contrarie to the Arrians, then he with a cheerefull and glad minde required himselfe to be baptised. Yea and Valentinian the yonger when he might haue beene baptised in Fraunce, yet for the suspicions of heresies wherewith the churches were then infected, hee went to Millaine that hee might be there baptised by Ambrose, which Church he knewe did followe the sincere and true professed faith. To these I will adde Satyrus the brother of the selfe same Ambrose, who when hee harde escaped a most dangerous shipwracke, and would not differ baptisme any longer most carefully shunning the churches of the Arrians, repaired with all speede to the catholike Church where hee might be baptised: why would famous men so greatlie haue vsed this caution, if it had beene all one matter to bee baptised of them which were of a right opinion, and of them which were of a the chiefest pointes of faith. Moreouer they that be baptised with the signe of baptisme, are saide to be visiblie ingrafted into the church, and especiallie into that Church in wich the sacrament of baptisme is dispensed vnto them. Therfore since ye will not and that rightlie in verie deede consent with the Church N. why shoulde you offer vnto it your children to be baptised? And herein further my dare brethren (in my iudgement) you are much deceiued, that you thinke those ministers to agree with you as touching the sacrament of baptisme. Herein it is farre otherwise: for they attribute vnto the sacramentes a great deale more than is requisite, and tie the grace of God vnto baptisme interpreting amisse that saying which is in John: Except a man be borne againe of water and of the spirite he shall not enter into the kingdome of heauen: Againe, He that shall beleeue and be baptised shall be saued. Moreouer we heereby gather that they attribute more than is meete vnto baptisme, for that we conuming vnto them, they would not giue vs the Eucharist, whereas notwithstanding they dare not denie baptisme vnto your young children, because they dispaire that those can haue saluation without it. Further they beleeue that young children be indued with faith, which neither you nor we doe beleeue: who thinke it to be sufficient vnto their saluation that they be indued with the spirite of Christ, who is the roote and originall of faith, and who at such time as hee shall thinke good, will stirre vp the same in them. Wherefore since there is no agreement betweene them and vs in anie of both sacramentes we maye not why you should from thence take baptisme vnto your children. Besides this we thinke good to reckon what an offence or stumbling blocke [will be giuen] to the weake ones of your Church when it procedeth not of impietie or pride or too much obstinacie, but of a great desire of the purer religion, and it hath verie good reasons to proue pastors and elders as touth as they can muste indeuour to auoide the same. What commoditie I beseech you or spirituall edification is had at the length by baptisme ministred of the Lutherans vndoubtedlie your infantes are not in iopardie of saluation, if they die without baptisme: forsomuch as neither the grace of Christ, nor the effects of predestination must bee tied to outwarde things and sacraments. Allreadie we are not to beleeue that the children of the Hebrues which for the space of foutie yeares died vncircumcised, did al for that cause sustaine the condemnation of eternall punishment: for they had bin verie straunge from the couenant made with the fathers, and also from the goodnesse of God and his promises. Neither shall the killing of the Lutheran Baptisme be anie dammage vnto the parentes, since it happeneth not vppon a contempt of the Sacrament, but onely in regarde of the conscience and faith. Wherefore wee exhort you my most deere brethren in Christ that ye, at the leastwise for a while will abstaine from this kinde of baptisme, till yee haue taught your weake ones as you call them that it is lawfull to receiue the Sacrament of the Lutherans. For that is either forbidden, or is necessarie to saluation or else it is a thing indifferent. Necessarie to saluation it is not, seeing the grace of God is not tyed vnto the sacramentes. But if it be forbidden of God to be done as we thinke it is, so much the rather must yee abstaine from it. Finallie, if it be a thing indifferent as you may seeme to affirme, if we thoulde graunt you euen this, yet yee ought not to vse it with offece of the weake; seeing Paul in these thinges indifferent, woulde haue the consciences of the weake ones to be prouided for and that at the leastwise for a time vntill the matter as we doe withe maie bee made more manifest vnto them. Neither must we be vnmindefull of the

The opinion of the Lutherans as touching Baptisme.

John. 3.3.

Mar. 16.16.

the rule of Paul, wherein hee spake of all this matter: All thinges are lawfull for mee, 1.Cor.6.12 but all thinges are not expedient. Consider (I beseech you) with your selues, although that the baptisme of the Lutherans shoulde be lawfull, yet shoulde it not bee expedient at this time, and for your brethren. Neither doeth it seeme to be a part of Christian godlinesse, onlie to beare and to be willing to followe, as much as maie be lawfull by the lawes: For other while it behoueth for our brethers sake to omit somewhat of that which is lawful to bee done, especallie in those thinges which be accounted indifferent. But in the meane time you saie, that the discorde betweene vs and the Lutherans is more and more increased. And perhappes it is: but yet it chanceth not through our fault, for wee doe loue them, and manie times would haue accounted them for our brethren: which they not onelie haue refused, but also haue euerie where in a manner condemned vs, and doe indeuour by all meanes to rase vs out of the Church. Neither can it be thought that the discorde will bee therefore diminished, because you seeke to baptise your children in their ministerie. Yea and perhappes your sort will not hereafter through this communion of the sacrament aduenture so valiantlie and constantlie to defende that trueth about the article of the Sacrament, as they haue heretofore with great praise and vertue maintained it. For vnconstant is the nature of man, and is not for anie other cause soner reconciled with them that haue ill opinions than by visurpation of their Sacramentes. These things my brethren did I thinke god at this time to write vnto you as touching this matter, the which take yee in good part, and pray you earnestlie for our Churches euen as we doe instantly pray for you.

To the brethren of the Citie of Luca.

47.

Since we together bee all one bodie, (most deerelie beloued brethren in Christ) it is wholie our part to communicate one with another the affections wherewith wee bee some time moued, especially those which we think may bring any helpe to the comon saluatio. Wherefore I which haue long time liued ioifully in God because of your commendable proceedinges in the waye of the holie Gospell of Jesus Christ (all the faithfull giuing euerie where honourable report of you) I thought it not needefull hitherto to incourage you with my letters, and therefore I regarded this one thing, that I might giue thankes to the heauenlie Father for your abounda[n]t spirituall fruites, and to pray that hee would vouchsafe to increase the blessing that hee hath giuen you, Which to accomplish I was not a little moued, for[so]much as I had at the beginning laide among you some foundations of the Christian trueth, according to the will of the heauenlie Father: weakly indeede at that time, as I before God confesse, yet so, as not by my power, but by the fauour of Jesus Christ that indeuour, whatsoeuer it were, brought no small profite al well to me as to you. Furthermore I was delighted herein, that after these foundatios, such as they were, were laid, you obtained of God other teachers, which were more fitte, through whose prudent trauell, and most sincere doctrine, the husbandrie begunne in you, did increase. Wherefore I reioyced and marueloulie triumphed for your sakes, as for an incorruptible crowne of mine owne: neither was there euer anie mention made of you vnto mee, but that I was wholie replenished with spirituall gladnesse. But nowe when it hath seemed good vnto God, to proue his houlholde by tribulations, and to trie the stedfastnesse of your faith, Alas what lamentable proffes, what vnhappie rfues are there hearde of. For in the steede of expected constancie feeblenesse hath bewraied it selfe. For valiant courage of a Christian heart, a wauering imbecillity, a faint faith, a trembling heart with a most shamefull denying of the trueth. Of which thing, when soudenlie I had hearde so vncomfortable newes, streight waie, all my spirite was filled with sorowe. For seeing the Prophet Samuel bewayled the falling of Saul king of the Iewes, that Ieremie lamented the ruine of the Iewes, that our Lorde Jesus shedde teares ouer Ierusalem for[the]wing the destruction thereof, that Paul to his Corinthians wrote his Epistles with manie teares, howe shall I refraine my selfe from weeping, from teares and from lamentation when I see so pleasant a garden as was the Church of my brethren of Luca, in one moment, by a most vehement winde and cruel tempest, and by diuilish hailestones to

Of the fall in persecution.

1.Sam.16.1 Ier 9.1.& in Lam.

Luk.19.41.

2.Cor.2.4.

be so wakked scattered and rakk here & there, as it might not seme either to haue conceiued before time any good sede, or þ it neuer felt any husbanding or sprinkling of the heauenly thoures of the holie Ghost? They that do not knowe you well, might iuklie haue feared because of the imminent tempest of veratiõns, least you shoulde become an offence: but I could neuer be brought to think that you woulde so greenoulie fall. O my brethren, O my bowels in the Lorde Iesus Christ, who hath thus troubled your minde? Who hath thus chaunged your hearts? I would to god that I were present with you, and that I might with a liuely voice weepe, shed teares, and lament in your dolefull and vnfortunate funerals. Nowe when by reason of present persecutions, a valiant conflict, a glorious victorie, and a most noble triumph was expected: the contraries haue altogether followed: your mindes haue shamefullie quailed, you are banquished with great dishonour, and you are led into horrible captiuitie. When the diueliish furie of Antichrist was nowe opened, and yée saw the danger hang euen ouer your heads, and yet for all that, woulde not prouide for your owne safetie, by the common remedie of weake, men as manie nowadayes call it, that is to wit by fleeing awaie, which I thinke to be a wise prouision, so it be orderlie vsed, he that had conceiued a good opinion of you, thus thought with himselfe: These men doe mislike of flying away, because they be valiant and approued knights of Christ, they will make a way for the Gospell through our Italie, by their death blonde and martyrdome, being moued thereunto by the dailie examples of their brethren the frenchmen Dutchmen and Englishmen. Oh howe manie did this vaine hope deceiue? Oh what a matter of reioycing did this ill successe giue vnto wicked Antichrist? Such marueilous misfortunes doe rather require teares than words. Do not thinke (my most deare brethren) that we here are carefull of our owne saluation onely: there can no wounde be giuen vnto you, but that the stroke doeth also pearce through vs. While you doe fall, our bowels are euen plucked out, and by your fall we fall also. For so did Christ ioyne together all the members of his bodie, which is his Church, as they should communicate affections one with another. Now did þ Lorde require of you the fruits of a long peace and tranquillity giuen you, and since he both called you, and indued you with faith he required a confession: but so farre is it off that you haue cõfessed, as you haue abiured. Will not Christ be ashamed of you, since so wretchedly you were ashamed of him? Will he not denie you since you haue so shamefully denied him? Mat.10.33. If perhaps a friend of yours, or kinsman, or childe, or wife, should perish, vndoubtedlie you would haue verie dolefull funerals: and you care not at all when you your selues haue perished & that euerlastinglie. Ye will saie paraduenture our fact indeede doth not a little greeue vs and wee bewaile the same with great griefe: I would to God yee did. But admit it be so, I demaunde of you what weeping auaileth without amendement. If yée keepe the couenants of your abiuration, if you come into the masse and other vaine superstitions, to what purpose are teares? Awake you at the length I beseech you, if the heauenlie light through this persecution be not vtterly extinguished in your minds, and consider yée what is your present state compared with the former. Before yée seemed to be so strong, as you were readie for þ Christian trueth to indure any thing: but when you were to enter into fight your courage failed euen at the first threats of Antichrist and at his grimme looke. If the violence of torments had driuen you hereto, some pretence indéede you might haue, but no such excuse, namely that the infirmitie of mans nature and flesh was ouercome. Howbeit when as yée sustained neither wounds, nor rackings nor imprisonment, not banishment, yea and were not hurt in any manner of thing, no not the least at all: consider yée what yee are to iudge of your selues. Loe, I neither can nor knowe howe to flatter. My office and ministerie constraineth me to tell the trueth, and to declare the thing as it is: vnlesse that the Church were renowned, both with more ample confessions and martyrdomes, it would go verie hardlie with it, especiallie in these times, wherein by the bountiful goodnes of Iesus Christ, the truth hath so shined in the world, as vndoubtedlie we haue sufficient doctrine, but we want strength, whereby in suffering afflictions, torments and neuer so dreadfull death, it might be defended. These thinges do I not therefore write vnto you most deare brethren in Christ, to make your cause the more greeuous, nor to amplifie the fact committed more than is méete, God is my witnesse: but that I may print in your minds the feeling of the euill wherewith you are oppressed, to the intent that being the more moued, yée thereby may rise vp againe out of the foule & deadly pit, wherinto yée haue fallē. The cause that I write freely and boldlie, happeneth not without my verie great sorrowe, the which

which so iuklie troubleth me as it greeueth me exceedinglie, that I may not so familiarlie talke with God, as in olde time that good Moses did, who when the people had molten the golden calfe, & had yelded diuine worship vnto it (wherupō they prouoked so greeuous wrath of God against them, as they were in daunger of vtter destruction) he fel prostrate in humble praier before God, as many other times he did, & said, True in deede it is that ý people haue most grieuously sinned which haue made to themselues a golden god, neuertheless I pray thee that thou wilt forgiue them and pardon this haynous acte, or else blot mee out of the Booke which thou hast written. With the like affection I also make supplication vnto Christ for you, so greatlie doeth your calamitie pzelle and disquiet me. And it grieueth mé, as I haue said, that my authoritie and my faith is not of so great force with God as ý of Moses was, which is not indéede through default or blame of God, seeing he is nowe the verie same ý he was in olde time: but through the defect of faith and the weakenesse of my confidence towardes him. And hereof it comes that my praiers are more slowlie heard, and thereof also, that ye slacklie bring forth the desired fruites of repentance. Yet doe I goe forward in those prayers, seeing I knowe that euen Paul himselfe desiring to be accursed from Christ for the saluation of the Hebrewes his brethren after the flesh, was so sone heard. And euen as his prayers were not in vaine, so doe I by the goodnesse of God promise my selfe of this that I shall be heard at a time conuenient. But ý I be no longer than is méete, nor yet doe speake without fruite, there appeares vnto mée two thinges to bee considered of: one is ý ye rightly weigh with your selues what hath bin the cause of so great an euill, that the same being knowē, ye may throughlie rote it vp out of your minds. For it cannot bee, that we shoulde bee deliuered from any disease vnlesse the cause of the disease be taken awaie. And so sone as the cause of your euill shall bee discouered, wee will straight waies in the seconde place incline our selues to séeke out a remedie: hauing respect vnto this, that at the least wise the soules may through the grace of GOD bee some manner of way saued, although they had suffered a grieuous shipwracke.

Exo.32.11. The feruents of teares. Rom.9.1. New hurts fall vpon the sore of former.

Wherefore as touching the cause of this euill, I iudge, there is nothing that hath more called men awaie from the great desire begun towards faith, than the loue of riches: to wit, that either riches and honour might be gotten, or else being gotten might be preserued. These be the stones vpon which, that good séede of the worde of God can neyther take rote, nor fasten. These be the thornes which choke and destroy the holie doctrine, although it haue alreadie begun to beare her fruites. This is the baite, this is the hooke, these be the nets, wherewith the Diuell doeth perpetuallie fish in this sea, namely in the worlde. Doubtlesse there bee manie founde, as wée knowe by experience, so tyed with the chaines of pleasures of this life, and of earthlie goods, as they had rather die than leaue these things. With great and marueilous importunitie did that young man demaunde of Christ, what should bee howe him to doe for the possessing of eternall life: but when he heard that he shoulde sell his possessions he went from thence very sad. And thus harde a matter it is to obtaine faith. Wherefore the Apostle said, They that will become riche fall into temptation, and into the snare, and into manie [noysome] lustes, which drowne men in perdition and destruction: for the desire of riches is the roote of all euils, which who so followe, doe fall awaie from faith, pearcing themselues through with manie sorrowes. But O thou man of God, flie these thinges. Beholde the rote of temptations, of snares, and of falling awaie from the faith. Allreadie none of you hauing alreadie knowen the trueth, wonlde euer haue suffered himselfe to bee led awaie from the knowledge of the worde of GOD, vnlesse he had feared the losse of the goods of this life. But what will riches, honours, and all commodities of the flesh profite at the length? whose obtaining of them, hath labour: whose possession, hath feare: and finalie whose losse, hath sorrowe ioyned therewith: yea and oftentimes they cast manie into extrēme and perpetuall miserie. Oh howe manie are deceiued with the pleasantnesse of their villages, with the gorgious furniture of their pallaces, with the honour of their patrimonies, and with the wealth of their alliances. If ye in the time of peace had set your mindes at libertie from these impediments and snares, there is no doubt but you wonlde with a chéerefull and valiant minde, euen in the perfections haue taken vp your crosse and haue followed Christ. But by what meanes shall he rid himselfe which hath both his handes and fete fast tyed in bandes? Perhaps ye will saie: Who would euer haue thought that so great a calamitie should come? Wee promised to our selues a quiet fruition of our goods with a holy Euangelicall peace, sometimes going out of the Citie into the Countrie, and sometime retur-

Mat.13.22. Mat.19.16 1.Tim.6.9.

returning out of the countrie into the Citie: I vnderstande you in deede. But this is it that is said in the common prouerb, To reckon without your Host. Ye cannot inflicte complaine of Christ, for he foretold you: He
Mat.16.24 that will bee my disciple, let him take vp his crosse and followe mee. Christ promised vnto his Disciples and vnto them that beléeue in him most bountifull god things, but yet
Mat.10.24 not without persecutions. He taught also, that the Disciple must not be aboue his maister. Wherefore if the worlde did intreate him after a miserable manner, wee are not to thinke that it will moze gentlie handle vs. Therefoze when the wife of Zebede had desired him that he would cause her children to sit in the honozable seates in his kingdome, he leauing the mother turned vn-
Mar.10.21 to them and said: Can ye drinke of my cup? Whereby he meant, that none could come thither without the crosse. Finally Paul in ỹ
2.Tim.3. verse.12. second Epistle to Timothie writeth: Whosoeuer haue purposed to themselues to liue godlie with Christ shall suffer persecution. Who is it therefoze of the familie of our Lozd ỹ can rightlie say that he was not warned? Undoubtedly no other man but he that would not heare. Ye ought alwaies to haue
Matt.5.12. remembred that saying of Jesus Christ, that the rewarde of his faithfull is plentifull, euen alreadie hidden and laide vp in heauen: and that those are blessed which suffer persecutions foz his names sake. But we reade that it is written in the Epistle to the Ro-
Rom.8.28. manes; That wee are predestinated to bee conformable to the Image of his sonne, as he is the first begotten among manie brethren.
Luke.14. verse.26. But ỹ if it behoued Christ to suffer, that he might enter into his glozy, no doubt but wée also ought to suffer if wée will be there with him. Manie other places of the scripture I might shewe, whereby you were certified before hand what should happen vnto vs, concerning the goods and commodities of this life, if in déed ye had earnestly determined to followe Christ: so as there is nolwe left vnto you no inst excuse. But the chiefest cause of your calamitie was this, that ye did fall into the handes of the enemies, vppon the sodaine not hauing regarde vnto the Counsell of
Luk.14.28. Christ, saying: He that will builde a Towre what must be thought vpon in time of peace. first reckeneth with himselfe what charges he must be at, least if he beginne the worke, and bee not able to perfourme it he become a laughing stocke to all that passe by, who will mocke him saying: This man began to build, but was not able to bring it to perfection. In like manner if a king minde to make warre vppon another, first he taketh counsell and considereth with howe manie thousand souldiers he is able to fight with his enemies: if he perceiue himselfe an vnequall match hée leaueth his purpose. Wherefoze you also after this manner shoulde haue taken counsell, when ye might doe it in respect of leasure and quietnes, weighing these things in your minde: if perhappes the cruell tempest of persecution should arise (which easilie may happen) are wee strong enough? Haue we courage enough? If we incounter with our aduersarie, we shall lose riches, honours and perhappes this life also. If the matter shall come to this passe, are wee readie to suffer all these things? Wherefoze if the spirit had giuen you courage, (which thing was chiefelie to bee desired of God) you shoulde wisely and valiantly haue persisted in the worke which you begun, and haue fought with the enemie. But and if you had felt your mindes weake and doubtfull, so as they coulde not endure the losse of all your gods honours, and life, another Counsell was to bee taken, not that you shoulde forsake the faith, and leaue Christiã profession, but that you shoulde goe to another place (since yee neither wanted long opportunitie of time nor the commoditie of other thinges) where with other of the seruaunts of Jesus Christ, ye might bee safe from the imminent daungers, e in applying your selues to the continuall bearing of ỹ syncere word of God, you might moze & moze arme your selues, if perhaps ye should haue entered into new daungers. For vnto this end doeth God sometime graunt quiet times, that we shoulde commodiously weigh with our selues, howe great is the strength which the holie Ghost giueth vs, and howe readie we are to suffer the crosses which are at hande: For it is not the part of a Christian man to be idle. Truses indéede there maie sometime bee betwixt the Christians and Sathan and Antichrist, but a firme peace may there neuer be. Wherefoze he that doeth not well employ the time graunted of peace and quietnesse, he is in one moment oppressed by the fury of the enimies. And when he hath not retyred himselfe into safe places, nor hath considered of his owne proper strength nor indeuoured by ardent prayers to obtaine greater strength, nor hath prepared himselfe to the conflict, that he might fight valiantlie in the battell of Jesus Christ: what marueil is it if hee afterwarde fall, if he come to ruine, if in denying the trueth hee to his owne incredible harme bréede confusion and ignominie to the rest of the brethren? To tell you in fewe woordes my brethren, hence commeth all the mischiefe

mischéefe and miserie, that yee haue made moze account of riches, honours, pleasures, and solaces of this life than you should haue done: because ye iudged in your carnall sense that your state or condition wherein ye then stoode, was firme, as if so be it had bene perpetuall, and that there woulde neuer haue folowed anie alteratiõ of thinges. Through which causes it came to passe, that ye haue not in the time of quiet state prepared your mindes to abide the daungers, which dailie hang ouer your heades. Oh howe great hurt hath it alwayes done, and alwaie will doe in the Church of Christ, to make delay in the moze happie times? For then shoulde wee confirme our mindes, and haue regarde to ourselues I meane by Christian wisedome to prouide for our selues. To what end do ye thinke that peace is sometime graunted vs by God our excellent father? How doth our flesh (winne abroade in the delightes and pleasures of this life? Howe doe wee for a while yea excellieulie laie aside the indeuour of worshipping of GOD, the exercises of faith, good actions and prayers, and doe wholie incline our selues vnto the heaping vppe of golde, siluer, possessions and riches? Undoubtedlie this is not the will, nor counsell, nor purpose of our excellent Father. Howe haue I declared vnto you vnto what end God suffereth vs sometimes to inioy peace and quietnesse: which thing either yée did not know or else being knowen, ye did not execute: therefoze it is no maruel, if thinges haue not fallen out happilie vnto you.

The remedies for the which be fallen in persecution

As touching the originall of your fall me thinks I haue sufficientlie disputed, wherfoze it is worth the labour to shewe what remedy must be had for so great a mischiefe. For if no medicine should be applyed, of two euils, either one or both together would folowe: namely, that either yée should fall into the eternall death of desperation, or else of fauourers and defenders of the Gospel, you woulde become haters or assailers of it: euen as the late examples of other men doe moze than ynough declare. Take héed I beséech you (euen as much as you loue your owne euerlasting saluation) both of despaire and of the hatred of the knowne Christian trueth: and rather in the place and stéede of these euils embrace yée a syncere, pure, and vnfeined repentance. For the heauenly father hath appointed this to be the beginning of saluation, if at any time his children forsaking him, had fallen into the hands of sinne and death. Marke what a difference

The difference betweene the predestinate & the reprobate.

there is betwéene the predestinate and the reprobate. The predestinate, so some as they are fallen doe straight waie returne to them selues, doe forrowe and lament, and being suppliants vnto God doe crie out with feruent teares: I haue sinned father, I haue sinned before thee I haue sinned in heauen and in earth, I dare not lift vp mine eyes or my face vnto thee. Alasse I am euen hee whom thou for thine infinite mercy hast vouchsafed to adopt vnto thy sonne, but I haue neuer feared thee as a father, but as a forrener and strauger haue transgressed thy commaundements: wherefore I doe not iudge my selie worthie to be called thy sonne. I am euen hee for whom thou gauest vnto the crosse thine onelie begotten sonne Iesus Christ very God and man hauing in himselfe all the treasures of thy wisedome, being the authour of all creatures, which he vpholdeth and preserueth by his words: This thy so excellẽt sonne (I say) thou hast deliuered for my sake vnto the shamefull death of the crosse, thou hauing respect vnto this one thing, namely that I being mad conformable to his image might together with him become thy sonne. But I being vnmindfull of so great a benefite, haue most shamefully denied his trueth and holie faith. Wherefore O father I haue sinned, I haue sinned grieuousslie before thee, I haue sinned in heauen and in earth, I am no more worthie to be called thy sonne. I am euen he whom thou according to thy bountiful goodnesse, leauing manie other better than I in darkenesse) hast illuminated with the light of thy word, hast called me, hast ingrafted me into the bodie of thy Church: whom thou hast made partaker of regeneration and remission of sinnes, and of the holie sacraments: finallie, whom thou hast enriched with spirituall treasures, which thou wouldest not open vnto the mightie, vnto the Philosophers, and vnto the most wise men of this worlde. Neuertheless making small account of these thy most pretious giftes, giuen vnto me both by thee, and by Iesu Christ thy sonne my Lorde, my wisedome, my righteousnesse, my holines, & my redemption, haue trecherously fallen from thee, and haue wretchedly ioyned my selfe vnto the enemies, rebels, and persecutors of thy holie name: I haue sinned, Father, I haue sinned before thee, I haue sinned in heauen and in earth, and I am not woorthie to bee called thy sonne. I am he whom being polluted with the filthinesse of sinnes, and with ỹ foulenesse of wicked deedes, thou hast cleansed by the bloud of Iesus Christ, thou hast lightened by thy spirit, restored vnto holie life, and hast made an heire, a fellow e and

Luk.15.18. A forme of prayer for them that be fallen.

a par-

a partaker of eternall felicitie, What could I at any time haue desired more of thee, seeing thou hast giuen mee all thinges with Christ? And albeit thou hast giuen mee these giftes & ornaments which are in deede incomparable, yet doe I confesse that I haue dealt most leawdlie against thee. The Oxe and the Asse doe better knowe their owner, and the dogge also being a most vile beast, doeth attend and followe his Maister with greater faithfulnesse than I, whom thou my God hast so greatlie aduaunced, glorified and adorned with all kinde of good things: wherefore I haue no more excuse remaining. To thee of verie right belongeth glorie and honour, and vnto mee nothing else but shame and confusion of heart, of countenaunce and of deedes. I haue sinned Father, I haue sinned before thee, I haue sinned in heauen and in earth. Determine thou of mee whatsoeuer it shall please thee, yet will I be thine. I am sorie that I haue so shamefullie sinned, and I doe detest this fact. The more grieuouslie I haue sinned, the more earnestly I desire thine euerlasting mercie. Seeing I am wholie vncleane, I am not able to cleanse my selfe: This if I shall goe about to doe I shall the more pollute my selfe. O thou my Lorde Iesus Christ, who art the verie pureneese it selfe, which camest into this world not for the iust but for sinners: cleanse mee againe (I beseech thee) with thy bloud, replenish mee wholie with faith, that I maie embrace thy death, that giueth life; thy bloud, that is the price of eternall life; and thy passion, that is the rest, comfort, hauen and refuge vnto wretched and vnhappy sinners. Seeing thou diddest receiue into former grace Peter which had denied thee, diddest gracious receiue againe the Apostles which had forsaken thee, diddest reconcile to thy selfe Dauid, who was ouerwhelmed with most grieuous sinnes, diddest suffer with great clemencie the people of the Hebrewes which daylie prouoked thee by their manifolde falling from thee, and since thou taking pitie of the fal of thy weake and foolish creature, hast signified by thy Prophet, that thou wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should conuert and liue, and wouldest that a miserable sinner, if he repent, should bee receiued and returne to thy flocke not onelie once, but also if neede require seuentie times seuen times: Beholde I am here, condemning, detesting, reuoking, and renouncing whatsoeuer I haue committed against thine honour, and against thy holie will: And I protest that I will order all my whole life in a better manner. Wherefore I beseeche thee good father that since thou hast so incouraged mee through Iesus Christ our Lord, thou wilt giue vnto mee such strength as may bee sufficient. I am thy woorke aswell touching naturall constitution as touching this spirituall and newe regeneration. I pray thee therefore that thou wilt not despise me, and that which cannot be doone for my own merites (whereof I finde none good) may bee doone for the merites of Iesus Christ, and for thy holie names sake; vnto whom be honour and glorie for euer and euer, Amen.

Joh.20.21.
2.Sa.12.13.

I haue hetxed or rather in a grosse manner described, what the sonnes of God prædestinated vnto eternall life are wont to doe when they haue grieuouslie fallen: for, if not with the words aforesaide, at least with the like, they flie vnto their heauenly Father, whom by sinning they knowe to haue offended. But contrariwise doe those that are reiected. For they when they cannot excuse their sinnes doe dissemble them: and as though they had committed none or else easie faultes, they say that it behoueth to serue places, times, and present occasions. They pretend that it sufficeth to haue a pure heart and vnspotted minde, and that outwards faultes are not much to be weighed, as if so bee they should acknowledge God to be onelie the Lorde of soules, and shoulde thinke ỹ those things which are expressed in worde & outward deedes belong nothing vnto him. Thus are these men wont to couer their sinnes. Unto whom if a godlie man (as it often happeneth) indeuoureth to laie before their eyes the Image of their sinne committed, they sometimes knowing the outragiousnesse of the fact which they haue done, being destitute of faith and spirit, doe sometimes despaire with Caine and Iudas, and doe fall into most miserable madnesse, or else they kill themselues, as we knowe it happened in our time by the horrible and dreadfull iudgement of God. But sometimes they perswading themselues that they did not grieuouslie sinne, doe please themselues, as if they were cleane and holie: and otherwhile doe prosecute those with deadly hatred, of whom they were seuerelie and of a good zeale rebuked: For which cause of abiurers they become persecutours. The Church of Christ at this day hath no enemies more hurtfull, euen as in times past it had Iulian the Apostata, who being onelie instructed in Christ, became afterwarde an enemie and exceeded all the tyrannie and crueltie of the other tyrantes to whom Christ was neuer knowen. Wherefore brethren beware, least after this first fall ye runne not into deadly ruines and downefalles of eternall damnation.

The maner of repentance.

Rather

Rather flie yee vnto the Anchor of repentaunce, and with the elect returne yee vnto him whom ye haue offended. Deuise not vnto your selues newe formes of obtaining saluation: this is the onlie forme set forth by God to them that are fallen. Suffer not your selues to be seduced by the intycements
2.Sa.12.13. of false Prophetes. Saie with Dauid and
Luk.15.17. with the Prodigall childe: I haue sinned; but speake it frome the heart. Weepe ye with
Esa.38.3. Ezechias; but weepe with faithfull and syncere teares. Prostrate your selues before
Luke.7.37 Christ with the sinfull woman. Weepe yee
Mat.26.75 bitterlie with Peter with prayers and fastinges proceeding from a true faith. Crie
Ionas.3.5. you out vnto God with the Ninicites. Bee
Act.2.37. ye conuerted with those Iewes of whome Christ was crucified, whome if ye spared, no doubt but hee will also spare you. For this doe I promise you by the authoritie of the word of God, so that this repentance which I laie before you be firme and effectuall. But and if ye demaund what I meane by a firme and effectuall repentaunce, I will shewe you the cause and effectes thereof, that it maie be discerned from a vaine, feigned, and hypocriticall repentaunce. The originall & mother thereof is of necessitie true and perfect faith. For what soeuer is done of vs without the grounde of the worde of God, is vnfruitfull and hurtfull. But wee haue not the worde of God for anie grounde but so farre forth as we beleeue. Therefore if ye sorrowe, if ye lament, if ye bewayle the fall that is past, ye must needes be moued by the worde of God. If a man beleeue it, he reuealeth aboundaunt fruites, for it cannot be idle in the heart of the faithfull. Beholde therefore vnto you, the beginning, originall and fountaine of true repentance. Nowe let vs consider the effectes. True and effectuall repentaunce suffereth not sinne to goe vnpunished and without iust amendement. But (you will say) could it euer bee brought to passe, ỹ the thing which is done might bee vndone? That indeede cannot be vndone which is done: but yet afterwarde the contrarie vnto that which before was done maie be done. Unto the denial of the trueth made before, the confession of the same is contrarie. It behoueth therefore that by your testimonie you affirme whatsoeuer by abiuring yee haue denied. And this maie be done two maner of waies: Firste, if ye will in that place where ye committed the crime boldly confesse that ye haue erred, & wil by a liuelie contradiction testifie that ye hold no such opinion as the forme of the abiuration sheweth. But in verie deede

Effectuall repentance.

because this kinde of remedie requireth fortitude, constancie, and a singular valiantnes of minde, because the waie is welnere most certaine vnto Martyrdome, (which all men haue not the gift to suffer) therefore dare I not require so great a matter of euerie one of you: Let euerie man measure the strength giuen him by God, and let him consider, whether he bee able to performe this excellent and laudable woorke. If he haue confidence enough, let him goe forwarde in the name of the Lorde: for he shall doe no new thing in the Church of Christ. Peter when hee
Mat.16.69 had denied Christ, he for Christes sake suffered the death of the crosse. Marcellinus Bishoppe of Rome, hauing first done seruice vnto the Idols, bee being led with repentance, preached that which hee had denied, and being made a martyr, bee by his bloude, gaue a testimonie vnto the trueth. Holy Cyprian in his Sermon *De Lapsis* maketh mention of Castus & Aemilius, which when they were ouercome with the bitternesse of persecutions, were humblie afterwarde conuerted to repentance, and were so strengthened by Christ, as the fight being renewed with the aduersary, they gate the victory, being made stronger than the fire and mightier than the flames, confessing in the meane time with great constancie whatsoeuer they had before denied. Howbeit (thankes bee to God) there is no neede to recite olde examples: Some such thing within our age hath happened at London in England. A certaine Priest being ouercome through cruell tormentes and long captiuitie did abiure. The Bishoppe not content with his abiuration, requireth his hande writing. It is giuen him, whereuppon the poore wretch goeth home, and there is moued and stirred vppe with so great sorrowe, with such remorse, and with such true and effectual repentance, as (when he coulde inioye, no comfort, rest, nor anie quietnesse of minde, nor could anie longer indure the sharpe tyrannes of the conscience) he commending him selfe to God, returneth home to the Bishoppe, and desireth to see his hande writing which hee a fewe dayes before had deliuered, and being shewed him he takes it violentlie and teares it, blaming himselfe that he had beene so disloyall and notable a traytour vnto the Lord Iesus Christ: adding moreouer: Beholde here I am, handle mee at your owne pleasure. I saie, I iudge, and I affirme contrarie vnto those thinges that I first wrote. Which when he had so boldlie and notably confessed, hee was againe taken, and within a while after burned.

The renued constancie of the godly

God that at the leastwaie, so much valiant courage might happen to each one of you from the father eternal, that by this meanes the truth of Christ may be made famous in you, and that they which though you are made the weaker and haue suffered offence, might be confirmed and returne againe into the way of God, and goe forward in the purposed iourney. But if that the weakenesse of your strength, be such as hauing thewed the fourme of repentance, it cannot bring forth fruite, wee muste come to an other kinde of remedie, which consisteth in this that yée make voide your abiuration by your flight and departure: otherwise the same doth yet burne before God and men. For how shall it by repentance be extinguished or blotted out, while yee remaine in the selfesame state: while there appeareth in you no signification of a contrarie opinion: doe not you by tarying and holding your peace plainlie confirme that which yée haue done? Depart yée at the least way (I beseech you) from this kind of intolerable death. For your departure shalbe a certaine kinde of martyrdome and confession. So often as I consider in my minde the state of your affaires, if happily there be left in you any sélie of Godlinesse, if anie sparke of light, if any small droppe of the holie Ghost, as I verilie thinke there is some left: I maruell, yea I am amased that ye so staie your selues. For I see not how you can liue, what quietnesse of minde yée can inioy, with what confidence yee can pray, nor what communication yee can haue one with another. Can any thing, be it never so good whether the same belong vnto the spirit or vnto the body be swéete and delectable vnto you or refresh you: Are yée not all whollie shaken with feare when yée go vnto masses, in making no account of the commaundements of God, but in seruing of men and as witnesses & consenters in crucifying againe the sonne of God? Is not this torment more bitter vnto you than a thousand deathes? By this one idolatry yée communicate with antichrist in all things. I maruel how it comes to passe, that yée there fall not downe, if not deade, yet like those that are deade. Furthermore when yée be partakers of the communion once euerie yeare, or oftner, with what minde, with what heart, vpon what purpose doe yee corrupt, doe yée confounde, doe yée rent in sunder the order of this noble sacrament instituted by Christ? Séeing yée haue Heb.6.4. tasted the gift of God and haue knowen the trueth and yet will euen with your owne hands handle ỹ greatest hypocrisie, iniuries and blasphemies, contained in those diuelish rites and feruices: verilie I am euen beſides my selfe, so often as I consider that yée burst not for sorrowe when yee come together to doe those thinges. Therefore sines your state is so vnhappie and miserable, what is a let vnto you herein? Native countrie? houle? farme? kinsfolke? riches? the pleasures of this worlde? Wherefore you estéeme these things more than you doe God himselfe: these things are your God, since in comparison of these you despise any other thing: by which meanes doubtlesse you discouer the idolatrie of your heart. If it seeme to be a harde matter to forsake patrimonie, heritages and possessions, what will yée doe when yée shall die? then shall yée be constrained will yée, nill yée, to forsake them. If yée continue in dealing wickedly, how can you euer truelie say, that yée are heartilie sorie for this abiuration? Take away the euill from among you, then will we beléeue that yée haue repented. Christ, to the intent hée might wholie certifie vs of his incomparalone towards vs, forsoke his owne glorie, laide aside his kingdome, became a stranger and poore man for vs, despised not infamie and a contumelious death. Oh howe ill shall we answere him, who for him or rather for our owne saluation refuse to suffer so smal a thing! I should be ouer long, if besides the example of Christ, I woulde alledge the examples of the Apostles and of all the other Saints which liue and reigne with him. Wherefore setting them aside, I will speake of your brethren, who least they should commit such things forsoke their countrie, prouoking you to the imitation of them. These are made of flesh as well as you, of the same countrie, of the same condition: They also had rather as touching the desire of the flesh, tary in their coūtry, be recreated with their cities and lousholdpleasures, be conuersant with their friends, and inioy their fathers possessions. Howbeit Christ by his grace did more moue them than did the worlde: They vanquished themselues, they followed Christ to the intent they might haue a quiet conscience, that they might not be plucked away from God: finallie that they might giue a cleare testimonie vnto the Gospel. Wherefore there is no cause why you should say, that this cannot be done, since it was not onelie vsed of the faithfull in times past, but nowe also fullie perfected of your brethren. I exhort you therefore that yé wil giue eare vnto this calling, and that ye wil not feigne deafenesse: weigh with your selues that the whips are made readie, and that the daunger is at hand that yee shall shortlie euen

against

against your willes forsake those thinges, which of your owne accorde, faith, vertue, and guide of the spirite you shoulde forsake.

Hitherto haue I desired you, but nowe I desire and will desire Christ, that according to his owne counsel which is full of compassion, he will open your hearts, he will incourage your will, and will giue strength vnto your spirit, that you will chéerefully take in hande the one or other of the two remedies set forth, which in this case are the fruites of a sounde repentaunce. If yee shall despise both, (which God forbid) although there come no other calamitie vnto you thereby yet shall this miserie followe you: ye shall be depriued of the light of the trueth, ye shall euerie day goe further backe from the heauenly father, your heart shall so greatly bee hardened, as ye shall bee destitute of your minde and vnderstanding. And what other beginning of eternall damnation is there if this be not? Turne awaie I beséeche thée my Lorde Iesus Christ this horrible misfortune from these deare brethren, from thy blused members, and from these miserable strayed sheepe. Thou which hast first created them, afterwarde fashioned them anewe, fed them with heauenly foode, thy worde, I meane, and thy flesh, quickened them with thy spirit, and endued them with most precious giftes: succour them with thy mightie and stretched out arme, wherewith thou in times past Exo.14.21. Act.12.9. Act.28.44 Gen.12.1. brought the Hebrewes out of Egypt, the three companions out of the burning furnace, Peter out of prison, Paule from shipwracke, Abraham out of his owne lande and kindred. Despise not I beséeche thée thine inheritaunce: giue eare for thy holy names sake, deliuer them from sinne, raise them vp from perdition, leade them vnto thy faithful flocke, that they may there acknowledge their brethren, and may in like manner of them bee receiued, instructed and confirmed with spirituall peace, with the gladnesse of charitie and syncere loue, that they may find an assured peace and rest to their owne consciences, to the intent that all of them ioyned in a god and holie fellowship, they with vs and we with them, may come vnto thée when it shall bee thy good pleasure to inioy thine euerlasting giftes.

To Peter Sturmius.

48.

Right reuerend sir, forasmuch as I am not ignorant that wise and learned men doe berie well allowe that sentence of Cicero whith he wrote vnto Curio, namely that it is the part of a franke heart to desire to bee exceedingly beholding to him to whom he is alreadie much beholding: therefore coueting to haue a liberall heart, and hating the contrarie, I desire also to bee exceedingly beholding vnto you, since I haue bin much beholding before not onely to you, but also vnto your most deare beloued brother James a famous and singular patron of godlinesse and learning. And therefore being desirous to satisfie (I hope) my honest desire, I craue somewhat boldly of you that you will not refuse to inlarge my debt vnto you by a certaine newe benefite. The which is, that with such authoritie as you haue you will vouchsafe to protect Doctor Zanchius, so far forth as trueth and iustice will permit: otherwise I shoulde be verie impudent, if I woulde require any thing (especially of you) which any maner of waie is against these vertues. And in this respect doe I desire this, because manie young men of Zuricke, which for learnings sake haue liued for a time in Strasborough, haue returned hither a fewe dayes since: of whom I vnderstand that this man (whom I haue alwayes accounted both godlie and verie well learned, and these xvi. yéeres at the least haue holde for the most deare friend) is nowe so greatly pressed with slaunders and accusations as he standeth in ieopardie of all his good estimation. For it is reported that his function of teaching, is either nowe taken vtterly from him, or at the least wise forbidden him for a time. This to tell you the trueth, for so much as I so greatlie estéeme him, I take verie grieuously. And since it cannot sinke into my minde, that ye being of so great wisedome and gentlenesse as ye are, you would haue descended into so harde and extreme remedies, except verie great necessitie had constrained: and againe I cannot perswade my selfe, that so singular a man coulde translate his minde from the syncere doctrine, which he alwayes embraced, vnto straunge and wicked opinions. Wherefore I knowe not whither to turne mée, or what to imagine, vnlesse perhaps there be some other third matter from whence so bitter an accusation of this man did begin: and that is the enuie of those that striue to excell him (I will not say his ill willers) where through it may come to passe that he striueth for the right, as it is wont

otherwhile to happen vnto those men that be straungers, especiallie when they excell in any indeuour and learning, and that there happen in the meane while, any diuersitie of iudgement and opinion. For this cause am I herein perswaded to pray and beseeche you for godlinesse and iustice sake, (which two things are verie deare vnto you), that his cause maie not be left vndiscided, but bee verie diligently examined that the man, who is godlie and of great learning, bee not oppressed by the partiall iudgements & power of men in fauour. And as touching his doctrine, while I was yet at Strasborough, hee conferred diuers times with mee, yea and that verie frælie and friendly, & those things which he spake, I did heedefully and diligently marke: and I perceiued that of predestination and diuine election, of the perseuerance of Saintes in the faith, and of taking vppon vs Christian profession, of frée will, of the cause of sinne, and such like questions, which I nowe heare to be laide against him: he was of no other iudgement than the holie Scriptures doe set forth, than Augustine doeth teach, and then Luther and Bucer haue written. Wherefore the matter must bée well considered, least by condemning of him, you seeme to disallowe those opinions, which, at another time, in your Church and schole ye haue iudged to bée sound, godly & firme. Let I beseeche you one eare bee kept for him that he be not condemned till he be diligently and throughly heard. Furthermore what the opinions of your Churche were, in the good and first times that the Gospell reuiued, yee may aske of the elder sort of your ministers. This assuredly I am able to affirme, that our Zanchus hath alwaies bin a verie diligent obseruer of the doctrine of Bucer, the most excellent Diuine of our Age: and hath bin of the minde that so long as he did treade in the steppes of his doctrine, and followe the thread of his Ariadne in the Labyrinth of the greatest questions, he thoulde be profitable and very much welcome both to this Church and Schole. But if that nowe the face of the Churche and forme of doctrine in some things (howe iustlie or howe vniustly I will not say) be changed, I woulde not haue this to bee imputed to Zanchus fault or to his cause. And therefore I had rather that this matter were debated by spédie counsell and by a quiet and peaceable disputation, than by promised reasons, and a number of dilatorie pleas and accusations. Againe as concerning the man, this (right worthie Sir) would I haue you to consider in your minde that he is of such learning and of so graue yéares, that he may bring verie much profite to the Churches and Schooles, the hope whereof will vtterly perishe, if he shall bee discredited by your sentence and ill opinion of him. For an vniust blemish especially if it come by your Censure cannot easilie be blotted out. Yowbeit (as you are wise and godlie) this I trust will not come to passe: yet I thought good to giue him great cómendation to shew, ý in helping of him, I suppose iustice is not shunned, but contrariwise ý necessitie of Churches, ý which in this our age haue an incredible want of god teachers and Pinisters) is no small deale relieued. Besides this I thought good to signifie vnto you that the courtesie & fauour which you shall shewe vnto him, I account it to bee done to mine owne selfe. Fare you well worshipfull Sir who is euen a pillar of the Senate of Strasborough: God keepe you manie yéares safe and in health to the profite of the Churche and Common weale: and vouchsafe by your prudent moderation to allwage the floudes of this trouble. From Zuricke the 13. of Aprill, 1561.

To the reuerende Father in Christ Iohn Parkhurst by the grace of God Bishop of Norwich his very good Lorde.

49.

I Will not write at large Right reuerende Prelate because the manifolde businesse wherewith I am pzelled, doeth suffer me to haue verie small leasure. Yet thus much will I signifie, that your letters deliuered me by Iulius were for many causes verie acceptable. Howbeit it did not a little grieue me, that I vnderstand for both your letters you onlie receaued one of mine, whereas I am assured that I wrote an aunswere vnto both of yours. But what shall I here doe? Letters doe oftentimes either straye or else by the negligence of them whose care thoulde haue béene to sende them thither lie vnoccupied in some coffer or deske. Which thing sometime happened both vnto my letters, and to the Letters of our reuerende friende Maister Iewell. Wherefore I heartilie desire you that you will not thinke anie such thing to be done vppon contempt, since, as méete it is, I reuerence and honour your Lordship verie much. I would to God I had once occasion to make the same manifest. Nowe

Peter Martyr dealeth against the subtilties of Brentius.

Nowe that which I can I doe, I sende vnto you the Dialogue which I wrote against the vbiquitie of Brentius. For a few monethes past hee set forth a little booke, wherein he indeuoureth to defende with all his power that monsterous opinion. Wherupon I was here required of the brethren that I woulde aunswere him: which thing as I coulde I haue done. Howbeit you right reuerende Prelate together with other learned men shall iudge howe throughlie I haue performed it. Pantachus in the Dialogue sustaineth the person of Brentius, and Orothetes of mee. Nowe when I am an olde man and might iustlie be discharged: my labours are increased, and I am called into France to deale in conference as touching religion. Safe conduct is brought hither in the name of the king and of the Quéene mother, both subscribed and sealed. And throughe the letters of ý king of Nauarre, I am called with great intreatie, so as it hardlie séemes that my iourney can be differred. And séeing the matter is great and full of daunger, I heartilie desire your Lordship that ye will commende the same and my selfe earnestlie in your prayers vnto God. Further I giue you most great thankes for your so gentle and louing intertayning of Iulius. Truelie hee declareth manie thinges of your courtesie which in verie deede are not onelie beléeued of mee, but those thinges which of your goodnesse you haue done vnto him, I make account of them to be done vntomy selfe: And I beseech God that he will long preserue you in health amongst vs. Fare well right reuerende Prelate. I beséech you loue mee still as you do. My Wife heartilie saluteth you, and both of vs together sende you louing salutations. From Tigure the 23. daie of August. 1561.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

50.

ALbeit right excellent man, Our Beza will in his owne person shewe you all things which are here done with vs in that matter for the which he came: yet did I thinke good not to let him passe from hence without my letters, whereby I might partlie salute you, and partlie also signifie of howe ready and willing a minde I am to obaie the desires of the Frenchechurches. Truelie, I will neuer refuse anie labours, nor anie perils in so notable a cause. God which is the fountayne & originall of all good things vouchsafe to prosper our enterprise. In the meane time assure you your selfe of me in all thinges which are in my power to do. Fare well my good friende. God long preserue you in safetie, and blesse your godlie labours. From Zuricke the 13. of Iulie. 1561. I pray you salute my Lorde Marques.

To Maister Iohn Caluin.

51.

THe Kinges Ambassadour, a very noble man, hath found the meanes that the French kinges safeconducte is brought hither: which whē I had read, I iudged it to be strong & sufficient enough. Bullinger shewed the same to both the Consuls: who aunswered that they thought the matter was nowe delt in good earnest: but they thinke not ý as yet anie thing is to be determined of the iourney, vntil of this matter somwhat be written out of France: which also I perceiued to be your iudgement, by those things which you wrote vnto me. But as touching me, I continue in the same minde and will which I protested here to our louing brother Beza, and which I signified vnto you by my last letters. I chaunge not my minde but I promise, that in this matter I will by the grace of God, doe whatsoeuer lieth in mee and I will protract no time so some as euer I shall be dismissed. I giue you most heartie thankes for the bookes. I haue not yet read them because of my businesse: Howbeit I doubt not but that they smell of the storehouse of your goodnesse and learning. The letters which you verie prouidentlie wrote vnto the king, both we haue reade and doe also verie well like of them. And doubt you not, but we will take great heede that neither they be spread abroad, nor yet that they goe farre from me. Bullinger and the other fellowe ministers salute you. God long preserue you my good friende in health, and richlie blesse your labours. From Zuricke the 13. of August. 1561.

To Henrie Bullinger.

52.

Peter Martyr departeth from Tigure into France.

SInce the letters which I sent from Newburge the 30. day of August, I coulde not hitherto write any thing, partly because I was in continuall iourney, and partly because

there was no stoze of cariers. But nowe when I was come to Paris whole and safe together with my companie the 9. day of September I thought nothing better, than to finde meanes that you might vnderstande of these things. First that the verie same day wherein wee departed from Newburge about noone, we came to the Ambassadoz who intertained mée with so great courtesie, fauour and loue as nothing coulde bee moze, and all the whole iourney had no lesse care of mé than if I had bin his brother oz sonne: and when my hoze was pricked in the fote with a naile, so as he became lame, he gaue mée a strong and lustie ambling hoze of his owne, which I vsed commodiously till I came hither. What will you say? He omitted no partes which can bee loked foz of a most friendly man. Wherefoze I thinke my selfe verie much bounde vnto him, and especiallie because I perceiued that he greatly fauoureth you and our Common weale, and verie much loueth the Church. We seldome departed from the table during all the iourney but that there was honourable and louing mention made of you. This mozning wee are one seuered from another foz a while. Foz he withdrewe himselfe to his owne house out of the towne. To morowe oz the day following he wil méete with mée at the Court, which is at S. Germans. As foz mé I entered into the Citie, bountifully, louingly and friendly intertained by the kings Treasurer in his owne house. Foz among other faithfull men he is an earnest fauourer of the Gospell. Our friend Pradella went before, and certified the Princes in the Court of my comming, who he saieth are verie glad thereof: I meane the Quéene Mother, the king of Nauarre, the Prince of Condie, and the Admirall. They did all salute mee verie friendly by him, and I am appointed by them that I should rest at Paris all this after noone vntill night. To morowe at seuen of the clocke in the mozning, I shall goe to the Court whither that I might bee caried the moze easilie: the Prince of Condie hath sent mé his Mulet, which goeth very easilie. He sent also vnto mee to welcome mé, both his Phisitian and his Secretarie. This day they haue begun the conference, and they say, that we must first dispute of the Authozitie of the wozde of God. Beza conferred once with the Cardinall of Loraine, who although he be stoutely against our opinion, yet did he by expresse wozdes foz sake Transubstantiation. The conference must be had in the Frenche tongue, because both the king and the Quéene and the Princes will be present, and heare it. Wherefoze I shall not speake among them, but shall counsell assist and suggest such things to my associates as shall bee thought good. I shall deale (as they say) with the Quéene, who is saide to perswade her selfe of manie thinges touching mé. The plague beginneth to bee somewhat busie in the Citie, but the rumoz of the euill is greater than is the hurt. The Cardinall of Ferrara is not yet entered into the Citie. All the faithfull request of the king that they may haue frée licence graunted them to méete at their holy assemblies. This as yet they haue not obtained which nowe they hope they shall obtaine: albeit that in diuers partes of the kingdome they haue Churches alreadie. These things haue I written to daie. To morowe I will tell you moze, and moze certaine newes when I shall haue bin at the Court.

The next day after I came to the Court, namely vnto S. Germans, where of our brethren the Colloquutoz I was very friendlie and brotherlie received. The conference is had at Poyssi, (which place is from hence a litle Frenche mile) where the Bishops also doe celebrate their assemblie. As yet nothing is done, sauing that three dayes a goe they mette together. The Quéene mother was present and the king, and also the king of Nauarre and other Péeres. The Cardinals also and the Bishoppes were present. The matter was committed to Beza, that hee shoulde make the entrie oz Preface of the conference, who spake in Frenche the space of one houre (as they say). But towards the ende when he happened to make mention of the Eucharist, he said that this they ought to knowe that the bodie and bloud of the Lozde, is as farre from the bread and wine of the supper of the Lozde, as heauen is from the earth. These wozds so offended and stirred vp the Bishops, as they began to mutter and finallie to make a rumoz, so that Beza had much a doe to make an ende of his Oration. The Princes feare least hereof the Ecclesiastical men will take an occasion of breaking off, oz rather of refusing the conference. And this did the Prince of Condie affirme vnto me yesterday, that they haue determined to offer vnto the king a confession of their faith, and to haue a contrarie Preface whereby they may confute Beza, and then to testifie that they will not deale with vs: but he added withall that this should not be permitted them by the Kings Paiecie. The Cardinall of Turnois, after Bezacs Preface, said vnto the Quéene mother (least she should beléeue any of these things which Beza had said)

The conference at Poyssi.

The Quéene mother and the Quéene mother.

said) that he hoped by the helpe of God, of our Ladie, and of all the Saintes that all those things which were nowe alleaged shoulde both be confuted and vtterly abolished. But the Cardinall of Loraine in his assemblie of Bishops saide as touching Beza: I wouldo to GOD that yesterday either wee had bin deafe to his blasphemies, oz else that he had bin dumbe. This day namely the 13. of this moneth, I was called to the Quéene mother: who verie courteouslie both sawe me & heard mee. I deliuered her the letters of our Magistrate, and also those letters which belonged to her sonne. I was a long while with her. Such things I spake then, as séemed most to belong vnto the present cause, and that with great libertie. She conceiued verie great hope of mé: but we must pray that it be not frustrate, which I am afraide of. Foz the woulde haue the Church reformed, but yet by leaue and consent of the Church men: which thing coulde neuer yet be brought to passe, noz now can be. I excused, praised, and confirmed vnto her those things which Beza had spoken. And when shee made mention of the Confession made at Augusta, I answered that the holie Scriptures ought to be sufficient foz vs, and that shé shoulde not perswade her selfe, that if the Confession of Augusta were receiued, it woulde be done with the consent of the Ecclesiasticall men. Also the verie same day, and in the same place, I was with the king of Nauarre, who talked with mee a great while before he reuealed himselfe. In fine when I had the letters in my hand to be deliuered vnto him, he demaunded what letters those were: I saide that they were to be deliuered vnto the king of Nauarre: I (saieth he) am the same man. Then I gaue him his due honour and deliuered them. He dealt verie courteouslie with mé, but to tell you the truetly, he is verie colde (as they say) in Religion, and goeth vnto Passes. He also spake of the Confession of Augusta, whom I answered as before I saide to the Quéene. The Chauncellour of Fraunce dealt there with mee in the same matter & coulde get no other thing of mé. Finallie I so departed frō the Quéene as he saide she woulde talke manie times with me. I will expect, and will certifie you of such things as shall happen. Our aduersaries haue set forth foure principall things to be disputed of: namelie of the authozitie of the Church, of the strength and power of Councels, of the authozitie of the scripture, and of the Reall and substanciall presence of the bodie and bloud of Christ in the Eucharist. Fare you well my most louing friende: God kéepe you manie yeares in health. Pray foz the cause of Christ, foz the kingdome of Fraunce, and foz mé, & loue mee as you doe. I louingly salute all my fellowe ministers, also your sonnes, daughters, and sonnes in law and especiallie your wife. I saluted in the name of you and of my fellow ministers all these coloquutoz; who on the other side sende salutations vnto all you. Also Iulius and Gulielmus Stuccius whom you haue ioyned with me, desire me to salute you. Fare you well: from S. Germans the 12. of September.

Vpon this first conference with the Quéene mother.

To the same man.

52.

Doften as occasion shall be offered, of writing vnto you (my Reuerende and most louing Gossip) I will not omitte the same. Wherefoze I did write the 12. daie of this moneth: Nowe vnto those letters I will adde such thinges as did followe afterwarde. An Oration was to bee made fower dayes since by the Cardinall of Loraine wherein he should haue confuted the Preface of Beza. And when our brethren and associates were to goe thither, namely to Poissi where the assemblie of the Ecclesiasticall persons is holden, it was long and verie much debated in the kings Court: whether I should be fetched thither oz no, and it was in a maner determined that I should not goe, because the Cardinals and Bishops would not suffer mee to be there. Howbeit the Quéene at the hower of going thither called me forth and commanded mee to goe. The Prince of Condie tooke oz der that I should be brought by him that was his Secretarie, and her sent his owne Mule whereby I might be brought both easily and quietlie. Wherefoze I went thither, apart from the brethren: foz they when the houre was nére went forth before me. And whē we were come to the men who beare as they call them speares and halberdes which were the garde of the kings person, suffering none to enter in but such as shoulde: The Duke of Guise who was captaine, woulde not let me enter: but when hee had heard of the Princes seruaunt that I was Peter Martyr, he take me by the Arme, and brought me in. Wherefoze being entered into the Hall I sawe a great companie of Cardinals and

Bishops sat within a verie large place inclosed, behinde whome sat a verie great number of Abbotes, Doctors, Sorbonistes and Monkes. When I had séene these thinges, and perceiued that neither the Quéene nor the King nor other of the noble personages were present, I withdrewe my selfe into a corner of the lowest part of the hall that I might there sit and attende the comming of the brethren. For I knewe not whither they were gone: And since I was there alone I could not be hid. The Cardinall Chastillion together with two Bishoppes in their Cardinall and Bishoppes apparell first demanded of me whether I were Peter Martyr. When I saide yea, he saluted me verie gentlie and offered me all courtesies, and testified that I was most welcome both to him and to all other good men. Also the two Bishoppes that were with him, prayed me instantlie that I would endeuour for a peace and concorde to bee made, and that the troubles sprong vp might bee pacified. I gaue the Cardinall thankes, and aunswered the Bishoppes that I would further peace and concorde so farre as the worde of God and trueth of the Gospell might suffer. That Cardinall is brother vnto the Admirall, (as welnére all mé saie) doeth iudge verie rightlie of Religion. But the Admirall himselfe is so godlie and courteous, as hee twise or thrise visited me euen in my chamber, and most gentlie saluted mee. But I returne to the Historie. Afterward came in the Cardinall of Loraine with his twell studied Oration. Then came the king and Quéene Mother with the King of Nauare & other noble personages. Last of all came the associates to whome I streight waie ioyned my selfe. The Cardinals and the Bishops sate, but we stood and that without their circuit. The Cardinall of Loraine spake in French by the space of an houre and a halfe. And first he greatlie flattered the royall maiesties. Then hee entered to the confuting of Bezaes oration. Manie thinges hee spake of his owne Church, that the same had a continued succession, and perpetuall imposition of handes, and which worshipped Christ without anie Idolatrie. (Howe truelie he spake this all men knowe.) Afterward he indeuoured to shew that the Church doth not onelie consist of the elect, regenerate and holie, but also of the euill and wicked. But this he therefore vrged, lest the Cardinals and Bishoppes, of whome it cannot be denied but that many are most corrupt liuers, should be thought to be excluded from the Church. For they indeuour as much as they can to holde the cheefe places therein. If the Church (saith hee) were of the elect, then should it be inuisible, and we might be vncertaine of it. Hee affirmed that generall Councels cannot erre, neither in doctrine nor in manners, but that they haue otherwhile varied and chaunged some thinges according as the times required. He added that the same Church doeth imbrace and honour the worde of God, but that he distinguished into ἀγραφον and ἐγγραφον [that is to saie not written and written] and hee would that the Church should beare rule ouer the written worde, and that the interpretation thereof should bee taken from thence. When he had spoken much of these thinges hee came to the matter of the Sacrament, where hee meeled not anie thing with transubstantiation nor anie thing with the Masse, but made mention of no other presence of the bodie of Christ than Luther and Brentius did. For he affirmed that the bodie of Christ is present not locallie nor contained in bondes, but after a heauenlie manner and more than substantiallie. And when he had ended his oration, he turned him to the Quéene mother, and desired her, that shee together with her sonne would abide in the same faith wherein they had hitherto bene educated and baptised in their infancie, if this should bee done, hee offered all duties both of him selfe and of the Bishoppes, and so hee made an ende of his Oration. Hee abstained from taunts and spake quietlie ynough. When he had holde his peace wee humblie prayed the Quénes maiestie that wee might forthwith aunswere that Oration. Then the Cardinals and Bishoppes rose vp, and stode rounde about the seate of the king and Quéene: but what they said it is vnknowen vnto vs, but the euent declared, that they made suit that our requeste might not be admitted. And in verie déede it was answered that we should not then deale, but that a day should be giuen wherein wee might aunswere. When we were returned vnto S. Germans, forthwith I and Beza were called into the court by the prince of Condie & the Admirall: they desired our opinion as touching the Oration. They themselues who loked that it would haue bene sharpe and bitter, praised the same as milde and moderate, and they made much reckening of it because he had made no mention either of transubstantiation or of the masse. Howbeit these things they spake to that end that we should not speake sharplie and bitterlie of that Oration, and so the hope of the conference to come

The Oratiō of the Cardinall of Loraine.

come might be broken off. And they admonished me secretly and by the way, that when I should be sent for the next day after to the Quéene mother, I should speake the more mildlie with her, as touching that Oration, to the intent that the conference might not be hindered, by an vtter despaire of the agréement. There we syncerelie shewed what we thought of the Oration that was made. But I promised that I would deale mildly and modestlie with the Quéene as touching the Cardinals Oration. Of which at the length I would not iudge and testifie otherwise than the word of God and truth it selfe would suffer.

The second conference of Peter Martyr with the Quéene.

The next day after I was sent for to the Quéene together with Beza, and that in the euening. She when she was come vnto vs, led me aside that she might talke with mée alone. First she desired that I would plainlie shew certain thinges vnto her. The which so soone as I had saluted her I declared. Which when I had done she asked more ouer what I thought as touching the Oration: I answered, that it séemed vnto me to be eloquent, and that certaine things therein were true and good, which yet should be common with vs also, as are those thinges that hee spake of obedience towards magistrates, and that in the Church the euill dwell together with the good, & therein doe manie times exercise the holie ministerie: and that we also doe not appoint an inuisible Church, but doe define congregations vnto which the faithfull may know that they can safelie adioyne themselues: but that the Church should be preferred before the worde of God, cannot be graunted. At the length thée demanded me as touching the last point [namelie] of the Eucharist wherein I saide that the Cardinal was vtterlie against both the truth and vs, but that in conferring together perhaps he will somwhat relent. And this I saide, not that I so hoped, but that the purpose and hope of conference might not be cut off. She demaunded also if I had anie other counsell which might helpe to obtaine peace & quietnesse, besides that which I had giuen before. I added that if there might bée no agréement in the conference as touching the presence of the bodie of Christ, she should leaue that Article frée till it might be manifest or better prooued, and should suffer the Churches of Christ to retaine and preach that doctrine, which they might iudge agreeable to the worde of God: and that in the meane time they should not for the diuersitie of opinion breake brotherlie charitie, nor call one another hereticks. The counsel which I gaue, she verie much allowed. I added further: But forbecause the Church men (as it manifestlie appeareth) are onelie for this cause against the trueth, that they may vpholde riches, and defende their power, your maiestie may make them certaine and sure that all things shall remaine vnto them, and that in peaceable possession during their life. Of this if they can perswade themselues they will become much more tractable. And this shee also allowed. When these things were saide shee went to the fire side, where Beza was with the king of Nauarre, the prince of Condie & the Admyrall: and she prayed him together with me to applie all our indeuour and diligence, that if it were possible there might be made an agrément: which thing we promised to do so farre as should be lawfull by the word of God.

Some of the bishops which be of the better iudgement would haue vs to agrée to the consubstantiation of Luther and Brentius. We denie that this may bee done: And herein doe wée constantlie persist that the bodie of Christ is in heauen & not elsewhere. But we doe graunt that in the holie supper the Godly communicants do receiue the true bodie and bloud of the Lord, but yet by faith and the spirite, and that the distance of places doth not hinder the coniunction if selfe, séeing it is a thing altogether spirituall. They say moreouer that they will that the same consubstantiation of the breade and wine with the bodie of Christ may not be spoken of when we shall conferre together. There we saide, that if they will vrge it, we will not hold our peace. They say it shall not bée vrged, and they thinke that this article will easilie be left frée vnto the Churches. What will follow I know not. The day is not yet set downe, nor the Colloquutors appointed. In the meane time our Ambassadour behaueth himselfe verie courteouslie towards vs: he saluteth me, and oftentimes commeth to sée me. And when hee vnderstoode that our horses were not héere well vsed, by reason of the incredible multitude of horses, and in a manner the infinite couetousnesse of the hostes, he meaneth to haue them brought to his own house out of Paris, where he hath his owne horses. There they shalbe no lesse wel and diligentlie loked vnto than his owne. Truelie he pretendeth great curtesie vnto our Senate. Assist vs as much as you can with your prayers. Beza together with the other brethren doe heartily salute you, and the residue of our fellowe ministers, which thing also doth my Iulius and Stuccius. And I would haue you to salute in my name euerie one

rie one of yours and also my verie deare brethren and fellowe ministers. Since I doe write somewhat brieflie vnto our most honorable magistrate, you may by your wisedome, supplie with your aduertisments those things that you shall thinke good. Farewell right reuerend and most deare Gossip. The 19. of September, 1561. in S. Germans.

Nowe is come the Cardinal of Ferrara in most great pompe. Among others he hath brought with him as they bragge most learned men, who haue determined in this disputation to deuoure vs like a mouefell of bread. Among them is Paulus Sadoletus bishop of Carpenthoratum. There is also a Greeke Bishop whom they affirme to bee a most learned man in that tongue and in the Greeke Fathers. There is also a Dominican Frier, being a principall Rabbin of the schole Diuinitie. The names of the rest I knowe not, sauing that they boast that there is also in his companie a great captaine of the Iesuites. Pray yee that God, who is a mightie man of warre will vouchsafe of his diuine power to scatter this maine battaile of the Romane Goliath.

To the same man.

54.

Vnto your letters right excellent man and most louing Gossip, which I receiued at the handes of my L. Ambassadour, I answere somewhat slowlie, because I coulde not before haue any carier. But nowe woulde I haue you to vnderstand that wee are all in good health. And as touching the matter: the 24. day of December I came to Poyssi, there Beza in many thinges confuted the Cardinals Oration. First he treated of the Church: and shewed that wee affirme it not to bee inuisible as we are accused. Moreouer the authoritie of the scripture and of the Church was handled, and it was prooued that in the scripture is contained all things necessarie to saluation. And because the Cardinall had laide to the charge of our Ministerie that we haue no imposition of handes and iuste succession, manie things were brought of that matter. And as touching the Eucharist saide Beza, the bodie of Christ is in deede truely eaten, but yet spiritually and by faith. Further it was declared out of the sayings of Augustine, that Councels may erre. The Cardinall stode much and in a manner wholie vppon the written woorde and vnwritten word, and as touching the article of the Eucharist, he protested he woulde no further proceede to deale with vs, vnlesse we woulde agree together with him as touching the Supper of the Lorde. Neither did he cease to obtrude vnto vs the Confession of Augusta, albeit that he and his sort doe mislike of the same. Wherefore our men demaunded of him, whether he himselfe woulde receiue the same. He saide, No: but y he would stād vnto it as touching the Article of the presence of y Lordes bodie. Then was laid forth a iuste complaint & expostulation y they would driue vs vnto those things which they themselues woulde not vndertake. But the Confession which hee spake of, he affirmed was sent him by certaine Princes of Germanie, and from thence he gathered this briefe sentence: that in the most excellent Sacrament of the Eucharist, is present the flesh of the Lorde corporallie, substantiallie and reallie, and so it is giuen and receiued: and he willed vs that either wee shoulde assent thereunto, or else, that we shoulde proceede to conferre no further. But it was aunswered that this might not bee done. This imperious speach of the Cardinall, both the Quéene, the Prince of Condie and the Admirall take in ill part. For they sawe that they delayed the conference, and that they sought a readie occasion to haue it broken off: & therefore meant to begin with this Article, wherein they knewe for a certaintie that wee would not agree with them. Also Beza complained that they would with that Article beginne the conference appointed. The Cardinall thereunto answered, that for good cause it was so done, seeing he in his first Oration cast the first stone of offence, saying: that the bodie and bloud of Christ is more distant from the bread and wine than heauen is from the earth: and that therefore he woulde with al speede, that the people and flocke committed vnto him should be delinered from such a cogitation. All these things were spoken in the Frenche tongue. For so it was agreed vppon, because the Quéene, the King, and the noble Personages might vnderstande. Wherefore since I cannot speake that language, although I vnderstande the same, I spake nothing: neither was I requested to speake. But yet in the ende, at the instance of my brethren and associates, I desired of the Quéene that leaue might be giuē me to speake hereafter, which courteouslie and most gentlie shee graunted mē. Moreouer I demanded in what tongue shee would haue mē to speake: She answered, In Italian, that shee also might not be ignorant what shoulde bee done. The 26. day of September we mette together againe. We were warned by y Quéene, the Prince of Condie and the Admirall, who were desirous that the conference shoulde not be broken of, that we shoulde forbeare to speake in the first place of the Article as touching the presence of the bodie and bloud of Christ in the Supper. For they saw it would come to passe before wee shoulde come to that point, that they should be conuinced of most grieuous abuses and errours. Wherefore we presented a supplication to the Quéene, wherein two things spetiallie were contained: first that our men shoulde by the sentence of the Cardinall vppon no iuste causes be dispoyled of their ministerie: whereas yet, if we woulde vse them touching their institution according to the lawfull Canons and the holie scriptures, wee might easilie shewe the same to bee voide, and that they are verily straungers from the true Church of God. Secondly we complained that we are in a manner compelled by force, to receyue the confession of Augusta, and to subscribe to the prescript woordes thereof, otherwise that the appointed conference shall not goe forward. We shewing that it belonged vnto the maiestie royall, to decree as touching the manner and order of disputing, the Quéene at that time made no answere to the supplication. There the Cardinall began againe to deale as touching our vocation, affirming that the same is voide. Further he complained that we reproued both him and other bishoppes as though they had no iuste calling in the Church of Christ laying to our charge that we woulde goe about to ouerthrowe the kinges authoritie, whereby they were created Bishoppes: which in his iudgement were a most seditious thing. After this he turned his speech to the Eucharist, affirming that the woordes of the suppper, to wit, This is my bodie, must bee vnderstode euen as they be spoken. There I toke him at his woorde, and first of all I defended the ministerie of our Churches. It would now be ouer long to write the reasons. Also I aunswered to the false accusation wherein he slaundered vs to be seditious, as we that woulde not haue the appointment of Bishops to be in the Kinges power. I added moreouer that I did verie much marueil that the Cardinall saide yesterdaie, that there were onely three Councels before Augustin, seeing hee himselfe maketh mention of the Councell of Ariminum, and the Syrmian Councell holde in the time of Constantius, which councels since y they greeuously erred they were afterwarde amended. I obiected moreouer that he was exceedinglie deceiued, insomuch as he was bolde to affirme, that in the commaundementes of God in the holie histories, in the Testamentes and Sacramentes, there be no tropes or figuratiue speeches and I made it euident by the scriptures that there were figures founde, and that therefore it might not be concluded of him that the woords of the Lord (which they call the woordes of consecration) shoulde bee vnderstode absolutelie. There a Spaniarde the Prince of the Iesuites, which came thither with the Popes Legate, sodenly toke holde of my woordes and made a sharpe oration where he reproued the Quenes Maiestie, that shee hath taken vppon her the iudgement of these causes, seeing it did not belong vnto her but vnto the Pope, the Cardinals and Bishops, and that it is not meete while the Councell of Trent is holde to celebrate here such a priuate conference. This Oration of the arrogant man greatly offended the Quéene, and had it not beene for the Cardinall of Ferrara, shee woulde haue taught the Iesuite modestie. The Cardinal turned his talke to mee, yet so neuertheless as all men might perceiue that he refused to incounter with me. Hee beganne to alledge that he vnderstode not my language, Whereas notwithstanding it is reported that hee vnderstandeth it verie well. Yee said that he had rather dispute with a man of his owne language. But I excused my selfe that I spake on this wise by the commaundement of the Quéene, and that otherwise I was readie to dispute in Latine. Therefore he beganne to aunswere me after a sort in the French tongue, which hee coulde not haue done, vnlesse he had vnderstode what I saide. Yet neuertheless he aunswered not to all the obiections. And when I was to confute his arguments, the Quéne aduised me to vse the Latine tongue, to the intent that all the prelates and Doctors which stod by might vnderstande. I obeyed, and those thinges I spake which were conuenient for the time. Therewithall came Beza and in fewe woordes aunswered the iangling Spaniarde. And then he beganne to deale with the Cardinal himselfe about the supper of the Lord, and to dispute somewhat as touching Transubstantiation. And the Cardinall of Loraine woulde not haue it to be founde in the scriptures, that bread was giuen by Christ in the holie supper. There did I bring in the expresse woordes of the Euangelist who saith, that the Lorde toke bread, blessed

The cuſtomall of Lords name ſat to ſchoole by Peter Martyr.

bleſſed it, brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples: and I ſhewed that theſe verbes haue no other accuſatiue caſe than Bread. In vaine did he indeuour to vnwinde himſelfe. D. Depenſius beganne to ſpeake ſomwhat in the matter. But when he couldne not refraine from the lowde and clamorous ſpéch of the Sorboniſtes, the matter brake forth into an action of tumult: inſomuch as neither the Cardinall himſelfe abſtained from exceéding great noyſe. Wherefore at the commaundement of the Queéne the night being now come the aſſembly was diſolued. The manner of that action ſéemed vnworthy of a kinglie preſence, wherefore the Queéne determined to bee no more preſent, neither would the afterward that the matter ſhould be tryed betweéne ſo manie, but the aſſigned fiue colloquutors on the aduerſaries part, and fiue alſo on our part. Of the aduerſaries were choſen the Biſhoppe of Valence, the Biſhop of Sagenſis, Doctor Bottiller, Doctor Salignacus and Doctor Depenſius: and of our ſort theſe be the names. Beza, Galaſius, Marlorate, Spina, and my ſelf. For both partes there were appointed Notaries. But being without Iudges and other witneſſes, we talke friendlie and quietly enough. For ſo farre as I can perceiue, wee haue aduerſaries méeke enough and which diſagrée not much from vs. Wee haue béene nowe thrize with them: and to conclude we haue onelie dealt as touching the preſence of the bodie in the ſupper. I am called but ſeldome to the Queéne and that priuilie. By whoſe indeuour this is done it is euident enough, but I will ſhewe you thereof an other time. Fare you well right worthie man and my reuerende brother in Chriſt. Aſſiſt vs with your prayers, and ſalute your whole houſehold and all our moſt déere fellow miniſters in Chriſt. All my aſſociates doe ſalute you, and alſo Iulius and Stuccius I will write to the Magiſtrate, but yet briefely. Impart you vnto him thoſe thinges which by your wiſdome you ſhall thinke expedient. From the Court at Saint Germans the 2. of October, 1561.

To Iohn Caluin.

55.

I Feared leaſt thoſe letters had bin loſt which I ſent vnto you when I firſt came hither: but I perceiue they were deliuered vnto you ſéeing you haue courteouſlie anſwered them. Nowe the ſtate of our buſineſſe is here, I thinke it not needefull in manie words to ſignifie vnto you, becauſe Beza in his letters comprehendeth al things that are worthie to be knowen. And as touching the ſucceſſe that will come hereafter I cannot tell of what god I ſhoulde aſſure my ſelfe, but doe vtterly deſpaire that the ſchoolmen and falſe Eccleſiaſticall men will conſent with vs. We haue had verie quiet Coloquutors, and as they pretend, not diſagréeing from vs. Nowbeit of the Cardinals, Biſhops and Doctors, they are miſliked and they be accuſed as men ſuſpected of Hereſie. This day in the aſſemblie of the Biſhoppes at Poyſi they purge themſelues and doo pleade their cauſe. The Counſell of the brethren is, that wee ſhoulde deale ſo gentlie and mildelie with the aduerſaries, as wee may ſéeme to haue giuen no cauſe of breaking of the Conference. But it is to bee feared leaſt they will impudently abuſe our mildenelle. They that are the rulers ſéeme to deuiſe a certaine Interim and would faine a Religion both of that which is Papiſticall and that which is the Lutherans. The baſer ſort of the Papiſtes would not ſuffaine that burthen: For that is their onelie endeuour that nothing at all may bee changed of their peſteferous ordinance, but would haue our Churches to be burthened therewith, if any libertie ſhoulde be graunted vnto them. But the Queéne will include both parts. I meane them and vs within the ſame decrées and Edicts. I, after I had giuen Counſell for the pure and ſyncere reforming of religion, am no more called for, neither doeth ſhe demaunde any Counſell or inſtruction of mee. To conclude: onelie remaineth the prouidence of God from whence manie thinges muſt bée hoped for: but of the fleſh and arme of the mightie I looke for little or nothing. Verilie this is a ioyfull thing to be heard, that enerie day there comes verie many vnto the trueth, and ſo greatlie is the number of the faithfull increaſed, as the enemies are marueilouſlie vexed. The Biſhops as it is reported are determined to depart from Poyſi the next weéke. The Cardinall of Loraine would obtrude his Catechiſme vpon the Cities of Fraunce, but the Biſhops doe not receiue it. Fare well right excellent man and moſt louing brother in Chriſt. Salute you all our fellowe miniſters and alſo my Lorde Sparques and Balbanus. In the Court at S. Germans the 4. of October. 1561.

To

Thus word Interim (ſignifying In the meane time) ſtode of the name of a Booke ſet out by Charles the 5. as touching a compoſition in Religion till a generall Counſell.

To Maiſter Henrie Bullinger.

56.

I Will write but fewe words (my reuerend and moſt louing Coſsip), becauſe I finde fewe things worthie writing haue happened ſince the time that I ſent the laſt letters vnto you. You heard of mee before, that fiue of the Coloquutors of our aduerſaries were not onelie ſuſpected vnto the Cardinals and Biſhops, but that they were accounted for Hereticks, becauſe they ſéemed ſomewhat to conſent vnto vs in the matter of the ſacrament. Wherefore they woulde not haue them for their partie to conferre with vs anie more. For which cauſe the conference hath nowe bin ſuſpended theſe 15. dayes, and I feare verie much leſt it be altogether broken off. You will not beléeue howe manie waies and by how manie ſubtilties the Papiſtes haue moſt craftilie procured this thing, namelie, that the diſputation begun might not goe forwarde. Which drift of theirs, the authoritie and will of the legate, I meane the Cardinall of Ferrara, hath much furthered: This moreouer with all, that they miſtruſt themſelues to be able ſufficiently to defende their ill cauſe by teſtimonies of the ſcriptures and by good and approued reaſons. Nowbeit it happened afterwarde not without the marueilous worke of Gods prouidence, that the Biſhops and Cardinals themſelues, which helde their méeting at Poyſi the 1. day of this moneth, ſo diſagréed among themſelues, as it wanted not much but that they had come to handie ſtrokes. For ſome were readie to ſubſcribe to the Actes, but the greateſt part were againſt it. But nowe they are wholie occupied in making of Canons of which I ſawe ſome foure dayes agoe, which be ſo rude and groſſe as you may thereby eaſilie perceiue, that the bondſlaues of the Pope would not haue any reformation of the Church. Onelie they make a ſhew that they would haue certaine things corrected, which in verie déede are of no moment, but the verie pumpe of the ſhip, they ſuffer to be filled with moſt ſhamefull filthineſſe. They retaine the Maſſe, the ſacramentall confeſſion, they acknowledge the authoritie of the Pope, they will haue Images, they allowe Pilgrimages: ſo farre is it off, that they will condemne them. I doubt not but I ſhall heare of farre more groſſe things. This day they are to returne vnto the Court, whither vndoubtedly they will bring ſtraunge monſters. If the hope of conference bee this weéke cut off, as I thinke it will, I will deſire leaue to depart in the next weéke. For it is not méete that I ſhould ſo idelie ſpend ſo good a time. Howbeit the time of this delaie is not altogether loſt. For from the time that this conference was appointed, vnto this day, it is vnſpeakable how much the Churches of the faithfull are increaſed in number, but yet not without burlie burlie. For the 12. day of this preſent moneth our ſort went out of Paris to heare a Sermon in the fielde, ſince that in the Citie they haue no temple, they were in number viij. thouſand. When the Papiſtes vnderſtode of this, they at the returne of theſe home to the Citie, ſhutte them without the walles: howbeit all in vaine. For they by force entered in: and when as the aduerſaries ſetting vppon our men, the fight began on both ſides, there many were wounded on either partie and ſome ſlaine. Neither doeth it otherwiſe happen in other places of the kingdome. Wherefore neceſſitie (as it is thought) will driue the Queéne, the noble men and the kings Counſell to giue leaue vnto our ſort that they may haue publike aſſemblies and ſome Churches: otherwiſe there will bee no ende of offences and conflictes. Undoubtedlie we are at this day in great feare, becauſe in fundzie Countries of Fraunce, the faithfull poſſeſſe the Temples to the intent that they may there méete publikelie, hauing not obtained the Kings licence. And this hath grieuouſlie diſpleaſed the Queéne and the great noble men. The Cardinals and the Biſhops craue reſtitution. While I write theſe things, the Princes are nowe in Counſell to decree of this matter what ſhall be thought méete. But becauſe in the number of the Counſellors there be certaine Cardinals alſo, and ſome Biſhops, our ſort haue put vp a ſupplication to the Queéne beſeeching that in this deliberation, they may be ſuffered to haue no voice (againſt equitie and right) which are profeſſed our ſworne enemies. But howe much wee ſhall obtaine I knowe not. If by a decree the people bee commaunded to reſtore the Temples, both ſeditions and ſlaughters are to bee feared. A day or two ſince at Paris ſome houſes of the faithfull being merchant men were robbed. Wee haue not yet ſéene all the Canons which the Biſhops haue framed: and neuertheleſſe either after dinner or to morrow iudgement ſhall be giuen of them by the kings counſell. Undoubtedly the Cardinall of Ferrara being the

legate hath put all out of quiet: but yet(as we truſt)he is not moze mighty than Chriſt. They ſay that the Quæne mother and the king of Nauarre are marueilouſlie terrefied by king Philip from all chaunge of Eccleſiaſticall matters. Wherefoze we put all our truſt in God, but in mightie men either litle oz nothing. You will ſay: whie doe you not crie out againſt it, whie doe you not ſpeake to the Quæne? We haue no acceſſe to her, but when ſhe calleth. But now ſhee doth not ſende foz vs. If remaineth that wee deale by ſupplications. But ſhe promiſed that ſhee would in any wiſe pzouide that in time conuenient I ſhould be bzought home ſafe and ſounde. As touching the confeſſion of Auguſta, I pzay you diſquiet not your ſelfe, foz the Eccleſiaſticall men will not receiue it, ſæing they will haue nothing at all changed of their matters. Alſo our Churches will not admit the ſame, ſince they are minded to follow their french confeſſion. In like manner our Colloquutozs will none of it. Caluin likewiſe doth ſpecially diſſwade that it ſhould not be done. Wherefoze I ſée no daunger to come thereof. Onelie we are to feare ſharpe and grœuous edicts againſt our men, leaſt the ſame ſhoulde hinder the pzoceeding of the Goſpel, and leaſt foz that cauſe there ſhoulde happen ſeditions and ſlaughters. Nowe haue you vnderſtoode how the ſtate of things are, the which cannot bée dziuē off any long time: ſhortly they will haue an ende. The Erle of Bedford wzote verie louingly vnto me out of England, & requeſted me that ſince I am nœre hand I woulde returne home by England. Which I would not promiſe him, becauſe I deſire to be at home ſo ſoone as I can. Yeſterday we changed our lodging, foz the Cardinall Charilli-an returned vnto the court, & ſince he is not to tarrie any longer at Poſſi (foz the aſſemblie of the Pzelats is diſſolued) he went againe to his owne houſe wherein we abode. Wherefoze by the commaundement of the Quæne we were ſent to the lodging of the Dutcheſſe of Ferrara, becauſe ſhe knewe as the teſtified that ſuch gueſts ſhoulde not be vnwelcome to that pzinceſſe. Farewell my great friende and moſt louing bzother in Chriſt. I pzay you foz our mutual loue ſake, that you will diligentlie excuſe me to our fellow miniſters, if I do not wzite particularlie to euerie one of them. Foz thoſe letters that I ſend vnto you I account as common vnto them. From the court at S. Germans the 17. of October, 1561.

To Lodouick Lauater.

57.

MOſt deare friend Lauater I receiued your letter together alſo with the letters of Maiſter Bullinger, which vndoubtedly were verie acceptable. As touching our affaires, I wzote at large the other day vnto maiſter Bullinger. Wherefoze to repeate them now againe vnto you I thinke it not nœdefull. Foz I know that he doeth familiarlie and frœlie communicate vnto you thoſe things which be wzitten of mée. But theſe things were done after I had ſent my letters vnto him. The xvii. day of this moneth in the euening, there was a decrée made by the kings counſell that the faithful ſhould ſurrender vp the temples which they helde becauſe they durſt attempt it without expecting leaue from the king. In the meane time our men are put in hope that they ſhall haue leaue graunted to aſſemble publikely, and alſo that certaine places ſhalbe aſſigned vnto them. But whether it ſhall be ſo I knowe not. Foz the power of the Church men is incredible. This day the Cardinall of Loraine and the Duke of Guyſe departed from the Court, and the aſſemblie of the Pzelates which was helde at Poyſi is diſſolued: Wherefoze the Cardinals and Biſhops doe alſo depart from hence. But befoze they would goe their way, they condemned the confeſſion of the Churches of Fraunce. As foz the conference which was begun, is vtterlie bzoken off. Foz that ỹ Pzelats would not haue the ſame continued, auoiding the companie and ſight of vs. And foz our part ſince we haue nothing to doe hére, we deſire leaue to depart, which as yet we haue not obtained. As touching my ſelfe, I long verie much to be with you. Tydings is nowe bzought, that they of Orleans haue rendered vp their Churches. But they of Bleaſe haue not yet obayed. Our Iulius together with Szukius doe heartilie ſalute you. And I beſeech you that you will in my name moſt diligentlie ſalute all my fellowe miniſters. From the Court at S. Germans the 19. of October.

To M. Henry Bullinger.

58.

Fower

FOure dayes ſince moſt louing Goſſip and right reuerend ſyr, I wzote largelie ynough as concerning our affaires. After that making anſwere vnto the letters of Lauater, I added thoſe things that happened two oz thzee dayes after, which I doubt not but that he woulde reade them vnto you. Wherefoze I will nowe wzite thoſe things which followed afterwarde. Firſt at Paris, there is publiſhed an edict whereby is pzohibited armour and hurling of ſtones. And theſe names Papiſts and Hugonites (foz ſo they terme the Goſpellers) are fozbidden. It is alſo fozbidden, that one ſhould not raile of another foz Religion: and that none ſhoulde be ſo hardie to bzeake into houſes as they were wont to doe, when our men made any aſſemblies. The Churches of Aquitane haue reſtozed their temples, and places are appointed foz them vnto which it is lawfull foz the faithfull to aſſemble. The Cardinals and Biſhops haue diſſolued their Synode. Wée haue not as yet ſéene their Canons. They haue bound themſelues to paie to ỹ king foz the ſpace of tenne yeare ſixténe hundzeth thouſand Francks, as the repozt goeth, to eaſe the kingdome of debt. The conference being bzoken off, nothing to be done heere, we ſue foz leaue to depart. It is not yet obtained, but within a while it wilbe graunted. The counſellours ſæme that they will appoint certaine lawes vnto our Churches. Firſt that in euerie one ſermon there ſhall not aſſemble aboue the number of thzee hundzeth oz fiue hundzeth perſons. Mozeouer they require that the miniſters ſhoulde not inueigh bitterlie againſt the Pope and the Maſſe. They let not but that they may repzoone theſe things by deſcriptions in ſuch ſozt as the ſtanders by may vnderſtande, but they will haue the names to be fozbozne foz common quietneſſe ſake, leaſt mens minds ſhould be the moze bitterlie ſtirred vp. Howbeit theſe things will not be rathlie admitted by our ſozt: they be as yet deſired, not finiſhed. There ſhall be alſo giuen in the kings name vnto churches, Letters patents wherein they ſhalbe commended vnto the Magiſtrates and pzeſidents both of the Cities and of the pzouinces. Armour and weapons ſhalbe taken away from our ſozt and from our aduerſaries, foz the hindering of conflicts and ſlaughters. While I was writing theſe things, thzee of our aſſociates went their wayes. The Quæne mindeth to ſend me backe into the companie and pzotection of the Ladie Rœtelin the mother of the pzince of Longauill, to whom belongeth the towne of Nuburge. She is a verie Goblie woman and within theſe fewe dayes thée minds to goe thither, ſhe will alſo ſende with me ſome man in her owne name, whereby I may the moze ſafelie come home. I thinke I haue pzouided well foz Szukius. He ſhalbée with a certaine noble man of Paris, who is both Godlie and rich. Hee ſhall inſtruct a young bzother of his. And betwæne whiles it ſhalbe lawfull foz him to follow his owne ſtudies, and he ſhall want nothing. Farewell my moſt déere Goſſip and moſt louing bzother in the Lozd. In the Court at Saint Germans the 2. of October.

To Theodore Beza.

59.

RIght woꝛthie man, and moſt deare bzother in Chriſt, we being afflicted by the bountifull fauour of God, came ſafely and in health the 5. of this moneth vnto Trois, where the bzethzen aſſemble together foz the pure woꝛſhipping of God, and that peaceable and quietlie without any moleſtation dome of the aduerſaries. The Church is verie populous and is euerie day increaſed. The Biſhop intertained ỹs verie curteoulie, who do the moze earneſtlie further the kingdome of Chriſt: And he not onelie teacheth his ſtocke purely, but becauſe there is a great doubt in his conſcience as touching his calling, inſomuch as therein he had not the election oz confirmation of the people: he therefoze called the Elders of the reformed Church, and pzayed them that they would godlie and pzudentlie conſider, whether they ſhould chooſe him, confirme him, and account him foz their Biſhop, which if they ſhould thinke fit to be done, he would indeuour himſelfe to pzoceede as he hath begun to edifie and as much as in him lieth to increaſe by teaching & exhoꝛting, the Church committed vnto him: but and if they ſhoulde not thinke him to be fit foz ſo great a function, they ſhoulde declare it frælie and openlie, and that hee is readie to giue place, ſo he may liue in a Church reformed accozding to the diſcipline of the Goſpel: And he deſired that they would ſpédilie deliberate with the Church as touching that matter. Which thing being done of them all with one aſſent, hee was acknowledged and receiued as true Biſhop. Wherefoze his authozitie and godlineſſe greatlie pzofiteth the Church

of Chriſt. God bee praiſed which after this manner gouerneth and directeth the kingdome of Chriſt. At Dion there is raiſed a tumult, doubtleſſe not by the offence of the faithfull, but by the wilfulneſſe and furie of the aduerſaries. For while our brethren were in their holie aſſemblie they inuaded them, and hauing gathered a bande of men they ſtroke vp the drummes as though they were to fight a maine battaile. Seuen horſes were ſpoyled: Howbeit our ſort got the better hande. There be certaine men ſent to the court which carie with them the cauſe plainelie ſet forth and as they terme it informed. They would haue had me by my letters to commend their cauſe to the Admyrall and the Prince of Condie, but ſeeing the two principall guides of my iourney ſent letters vnto them, I thought it ſufficient to deſire you that you woulde in your owne name and mine, doe this vnto them, whom I pray you to ſalute heartilie from me. Which thing alſo I would to be done vnto my derie louing brother Maiſter Galaſius and to the vicount, and eſpeciallie to your brother if hee be there preſent. Alſo my Iulius ſaluteth you. Farewell my derie good brother. God mercifullie aſſiſt your labours. Both the Captains my guides doe derie much ſalute you. From Trois the 6. of Nouember, 1561.

To Theodore Beza.

60.

THe 21. day of this moneth right worthie man, and welbeloued brother in Chriſt, I came ſafe and in health vnto Tigure, and am all manner of wayes, ioyfullie receiued of all ſorts of people in the citie. And the two captaines of ſouldiers that brought me home were ſo honoured by the Conſuls, Senate, and officers, and were ſo bountifullie and noblie intreated, as they might eaſilie vnderſtand what account this commonweale maketh of their maiſters. Laſtlie there be appointed for honour ſake to bring them to Berna. But I had rather you ſhould heare theſe things of them when they come to the Court, than to write any more of that matter. Further you will not beleeue how much our fellowe miniſters reioyſed to heare that concorde continued ſure and inuiolate betweene vs all the while that wee were together: and not without cauſe. For what can be more ioyful in the Church, than brotherlie agreement? But of you and other of the brethren there is mention made, and the derie honourable. Theſe things be comfortable and as I perſwade my ſelfe will not a little recreate you in your great labours. But with this ioy were ſprinkled certaine heauy newes. For it is writte out of France, that from king Philip there bee ſent derie threatning letters vnto the Kings gouernours, whereby he ſeemed not to deſire but to commaund, that the authoritie of the Romane Biſhoppe ſhoulde remaine in Fraunce without impeachment, & that otherwiſe he would proteſte himſelfe to bee an open enimie of them who otherwiſe would than they had decréed. Further it was added that the king commaunded that the Biſhops which were departed, ſhoulde returne againe to Poyſi and ſhould there confute the confeſſion of the French Churches. Theſe thinges ſeeme vnto vs both newe and hard. Howbeit we will giue no full credite vnto them, vnleſſe we be certified by you: which I beſeech you my welbeloued brother in Chriſt, that either yée will not differre or neglect to doe. Fare you well moſt worthie man. GOD through Jeſus Chriſt make your labours fruitfull. In like manner aide vs with your prayers, and earneſtlie ſalute in my name our brethren and friends. My Iulius ſaluteth you and alſo Thomas Blaurerus, who as his letters teſtifie, moſt hartily loueth you. From Tigure the 25. day of Nouember, 1561.

To Maiſter Caluin.

61.

DEparted (right worthie Sir) from Paris the day before the Calendes of Nouember, and in 22. daies I came ſafe and ſounde to Zuricke, being derie carefully and faithfullie conducted by two leaders of ſouldiers whom they commonlie call captaines, who are godlie and valiant men. Vnto whom was no ſmal honour done by the Conſuls, Senate, and miniſters of the Church, and certaine men were appointed to attende vppon them on the way as farre as Berna. Whereſoeuer they maie ſhewe vnto their Princes (as I doubt not but they will) how honourably they haue bin intertained of vs. Moreouer the Quéene mother and the king of Nauarre haue written hither moſt courteous letters: and ſo haue the princes, the Admirall and the Condie, which letters were derie well accepted. The Lorde perhappes will vouchſafe that the

the mindes of the men of this Citie ſhall well and ſtrmelie be knit to the kingdome of France, eſpeciallie if there happen to come a iuſt conſent in religion. We when wee were all for ſundrie cauſes gladde, beholde heanie newes are brought out of France. Firſt that king Philip hath written thither derie threatening letters, wherein hee not required but in a manner commaunded that the authoritie of the Pope might be kept ſafe and ſounde in France, and (as they ſay) he proteſted in expreſſe wordes that hee woulde bee an open enemie vnto all thoſe which would otherwiſe will and decrée. And it is added moreouer, that a commandement is giuen out to the Biſhoppes in the kings name, that they ſhoulde returne againe to Poyſſi, and there confute the confeſſion of the French Churches. But this doe we not eaſilie beleeue, vnleſſe we be certified thereof by Beza that famous and learned man. God defende his owne worke, and eſtabliſh thoſe foundations, which ſéeme not to bee vnfortunatelie laide. Certeinlie it woulde be a deceite, yea and that a derie manifeſt deceite, one ſide being diſmiſſed, to call our aduerſaries againe, and to condemne them that be abſent. But God wil ſée theſe things. I was deſirous in my returne to heue ſéene you: But ſince the winter was nowe come, I feared leaſt if I returned home by a greater iourney, I ſhoulde bee ouertaken with raine or foule wether: & that alſo was the cauſe why I did not fall into the traine of the Marqueſſe of Retheling, & the prince Longauil, when I was earneſtlie deſired being at Blandine. I woulde not agrée thereunto, becauſe I perceiued that the iourney was to be differred certain daies. Herewithall I conſidered, that it ſhoulde make but ſmall if wee were aſunder in bodie ſith we haue our minds and iudgements moſt nerelie ioyned together: and this doeth the moſt aſſodfaſt concorde declare, which wee ſo many of vs as were appointed in Fraunce, kept while we liued together in one houſe and at one table; whoſe peaceable and perfect felowſhip I ſhall neuer forget. Wherefore holde me excuſed I beſeech you if I returned home by a more readie way. I would pray you neuertheleſſe in the meane time to ſalute in my name euerie one of your Colleagues, eſpeciallie that learned man Merlin, our welbeloued brother Profeſſor of the Hebrewe tongue. Fare well moſt excellent man and deere brother in the Lorde. GOD moſt mercifully bleſſe your Godlie labours. Alſo, ſalute I beſeech you the Italian Paſtor, and my Lorde Parques. From Zuricke the 25. of Nouember, 1561.

To a certaine Friend being

an eloquent and famous man, as concerning the cauſe of the Euchariſt.

62.

ND write chiefelie and plainelie of a matter weighthie and in a maner obſcured through the contentions of men, you your ſelfe right worthy man who are an excellent maiſter of ſpeaking and in writing moſt skilfull, doe derie well know howe derie hardly and difficultlie it can be done. Therefore I ceaſſe not to marueil what was the cauſe why in your laſt letters you doubted not to require this of mee, who both in ſpeaking and writing am in a maner able to doe nothing. Yet becauſe you requeſted mée, and for the honour I beare vnto you haue vndertaken to perfourme it, I determined to diſcharge my ſelfe of my promiſe by the firſt faithfull meſſenger. Which thing alſo I will doe with the better courage, becauſe I knowe that I write not vnto one that is ignorant of the controuerſie. For ſo farre as I ſée, you altogether dwell in the cauſe of the Euchariſt, ſo farre is it off that you can be called a ſtraunger therein. Wherefore ſince this is my opinion of you, I will ſo knit vp the cheefeſt pointes, as I may ſhew that I rather meant to note them than to expounde them. Make you it in good part, and if I ſhall not fulfill your will you ſhall not accuſe my minde which is moſt readilie inclined towardes you, but your owne ſelfe which haue requeſted it.

I ouerpaſſe μετουσίαν or Commutation of the bread and wine, becauſe the aduerſaries proteſte that they no leſſe die from that than wee doe. Neither alſo doe I thinke it needefull to diſpute whether the wordes of the Lorde, wherein he ſaide, that the bread is his bodie, and the wine his bloud, ought to be accounted proper, or elſe figuratiue and tropicall. For in derie deede they againſt whom we diſpute, being after a ſort returned to a ſound iudgement, doe now confeſſe, that they acknowledge a figure to be in thoſe wordes: but yet doe ſo confeſſe it, as they ioyne the bodie and bloud truelie, properlie and in deede vnto the bread and wine, and put συνουσίαν, to wit, the comming together

of the two natures vnto that μετουσία or Communication of the Pope. And they decree that the flesh and the bloud of Christ are not onelie in heauen, but are also present in the holie Bread and Wine of the Supper.

The feined deuise of the vbiquarie. Neither doe they feare to affirme, that the Lordes bodie although it be humane, is at one time in manie places together. Yea and they proceede so farre, as they pronounce it to be euerie where aswell as the diuine nature. Further they attribute vnto that bodie a presence which occupieth no place. But I doe say, that the humane nature of Christ was euermoze compzehended within some certaine place, which place he so occupied, ẏ he was not any where else at the same time.

The Euangelical historie sheweth, ẏ he was sometime in Galile, sometime in Ierusalem, sometime in the house of Simon, and another time in Bethania: Whereby it appeareth that some certaine place was giuen to the bodie of Christ. And that he was not together in any other place, he manifestlie shewed when he witnesseth that Christ saide, that Lazarus was dead, and that he reioyced because hee was not there. By the verie which wozdes he so declareth himselfe to haue bin in that iourney, as he was no where else. Also the Angels saide vnto the women, when they sought for the Lordes bodie in the Sepulchze: He is risen, he is not here. Whereby he declared him to bee so departed out of the sepulchze, as he was no moze present there in bodie. And Peter in the 3. of the Actes pronounced of him: Whom the Heauen must containe vntill the time that all things be restored, &c. If he shall be in heauen as touching his humane nature vntill the latter daie as the Apostle saide, why seeke wee his flesh and bloud vppon the earth? But what speake I of the Apostle? Christ himselfe saide vnto his Disciples, that he did leaue ẏ woꝛld and depart from them, and he warned them, that they should alwayes haue the poze with them, but that him they shoulde not haue. Wherefoze being thus perswaded and instructed by the diuine Oracles, I doe beleeue that the humane nature of Christ doeth abide in the heauens seuered from the lower woꝛld, euen vnto the ende of the woꝛld, and that the same shall come againe from thence to iudge the woꝛlde, euen as the Apostles were warned by the Angels and as we confesse in the Article of our faith. To speake briefelie, this is my opinion touching the place and presence of the bodie and bloud of the Lozde.

John.2.1. John.2.13. Luke.7.10 John.12.1. John.11.15 Matt.28.6. Acts.3.21. John.16.7. Mat.26.11.

* Of heauen euerywhere

But they which on the otherside forme and feigne to themselues, * an vbiquarie heauen as though the matter thereof were soft like waxe, and may easilie followe their feined deuises whithersoeuer they shall thinke good to drawe it: and they which pronounce that the Lordes bodie, is either in many places at once, or else, (which is much moze bolde) doe saie it is euerie where, who also ioine the same wheresoeuer in the woꝛld it bee, to the breade and wine of the holy supper: and finallie they which decree that it is there present without place, and inuisibly, all those I pray, desire, and heartilie beseeche, that they will once at the length plainelie shewe these their godly, wonderfull, I will not say monsterous deuises to bee registred in the holy Scriptures: which if they shall doe, wee will freely confesse that they haue gotten the victozie. But foz so much as I doe certainely knowe, that they cannot doe it, I earnestly warne them from henceforth the they leaue of to coine on their owne heades, newe opinions and newe Articles of that faith, and to obtrude vnto vs those things to bee beleeued which are sprung vp in their owne house, but are not sprung vp in the fielde of the holie scriptures. I am not ignorant that they in all this whole reason vpbraide vs that we deale not as diuines, but as naturall Philosophers. Foz they graunt that those things which we say are by the ozdinances of nature both true & necessarie: but that those mysteries, which being diuine and celestiall, doe many manner of waies excell nature, must not be made subiect to the rules and decrées thereof. But that when in the compzehending and considering of them, our reason is offended, we must then beholde the diuine power which is infinite. Notwithstanding it is no harde matter to confute these thinges: Firste in that we followe the testimonies of the holie scriptures as we haue recited them, thereby we testifie, that we follow not Philosophie, but the woꝛde of God. Moreouer if we giue care vnto nature, where it is not repugnant to the wozdes of God, we * .. nothing vntwozthie of Christian diuinitie. Foz nature hath God to be the Authoz and defender of it, and foz the same cause the rules and decrées thereof procéede not from thence but from God himselfe, and therefoze they must not be abolished and dissolued, so long as it is not shewed that the woꝛde set forth in the holy Scriptures is repugnant vnto them. This doyce of Nature did Augustine the greatest and best diuine, in an Epistle vnto Dardanus hearken vnto when he saith: Take from bodies the spaces of places, and they shall be no where, and because they shall be no where they shall not bee at all. And this did

did he not pronounce treating of nature oz of naturall bodies, but writing purposely as touching the soule and bodie of the Lozd. And the same voice of nature did Cyrillus hearke vnto, who wrote in his Dialogues *De Trinitate*, that the verie nature of God if it were diuisible as some iudged it to be, it shoulde in any wise be of quantitie, and also in a place, and might not chose but be measured about. Wherefoze in the defending of our opinion, we first of all embzace the woꝛde of God, we hearken vnto the voyce of nature, so long as it is not against the Authoz thereof: and we doe [this] together with the Fathers that iudged aright. But that we should flie vnto the power of God in this controuersie pzopounded we haue no neede.

That in this controuersie we ought not to flie vnto the power of God.

1. Tim. 2. 13.

Neuerthelesse wee warne the godly that the diuine power which we together with all the godly doe beleeue, is not without all exception to be admitted. Foz euen Paule excepteth it that God cannot denie himselfe. It is excepted also in diuerse places, that it can not be done of God, that those things which be made, should be vnmade. Also it is defined in the schooles of diuinitie, that God can not doe those thinges which (as they terme it) implie a contradiction: which thing comming to passe through the default of thinges, not through anie infirmitie of God, there is nothing of his high power diminished. We must further consider, that manie Heretikes haue vsed this shift, when as their wickes and prauily opinions are confuted by the holie fathers, not onelie as absurde, but also as impossible. Foz they, to defende themselues, answered that all thinges are possible to God. Therefoze neither are we constrained to yeelde vnto them, because Christ sayde of the bread, This is my bodie: and of the wine: This is my bloud. Foz since both their and our interpzetation of those wozds is certaine, the place is made doubtfull: albeit that vnto vs our exposition is most certaine. But howe dull and weake an argument that is, which is taken from a doubtfull thing, all men doe knowe.

Mat.26.26

Howe far except) was since any thing vncertain is of must be followed.

What then? will you say. Will you teach that the supper of the Lozde is had without his bodie and bloud? Howe will ye moreouer pzoue that these things are eaten and dzunken, if they be not in verie deede present there? Surelie the scripture testificth both the one and the other, that wee in the holie supper doe eate and dzinke the bodie & bloude of Christ. To speake first of that whereof I am last demaunded, I affirme that the bodie and bloud of the Lozd is eaten and dzunken spirituallie, that is with the mouth of

Iustly ye call the bodie & bloud of Christ ye meate and banket in the holie Supper.

the minde which is indued with the spirite and with faith. Foz while in the holie supper we reuolue in our minde the death of our Lozde, and with a syncere faith do faithfullie beleeue ẏ these thinges were wzought vpon the crosse foz the redeeming of vs, wee eate and dzinke those thinges foz our great benefite: foz they be vnto our mindes as it were the most excellent meate and the most holsome dzinke. And that faith doeth God stir vp in them that bee his through the holy Ghost, applying thereunto two outward instrumentes, the woꝛde I meane, and the elements of bzead and wine. Wherefoze they which beleeue and compzehende by faith, that the flesche and bloud of the Lozde were giuen vnto death foz our saluation, doe spirituallie eate and spirituallie dzinke those thinges. Therefoze wee confesse that vnto the natural and pzoper eating and dzinking is required a presence of the thing to be eaten and of the thing to be dzunken, otherwise thinges that be absent can neither be eaten no; dzunken. But withall we denie, that of spirituall eating and dzinking can be gathered oz concluded, that those thinges which are saide to bee eaten and dzunken allegorically, are there bodilie and pzoperly present. But that the eating of the flesh of Christ consisteth of faith, he himselfe most plainely testified in the 6. chapter of Iohn. Wherefoze that Euangelist, since he iudged the whole matter to be there abundantly expounded of him, he did not rehearse in the historie of the last supper, in what sozt the outwarde signes of bzeade and wine were added.

Ver.35.47.

Moreouer by this is the selfe same thing gathered, that vnto the true and pzoper bodie of Christ cannot be applied a true and pzoper eating, since that nowe it cannot be rent in sunder, broken in small peeces, and grinded, verilie both the bzeade in deede and the wine, are pzoperlie eaten and dzunken with the mouth of the bodie, which thinges in their manner are called the flesh and bloud of Christ, because they be outwarde signes of those thinges. Wherefoze after a sozt we may bee saide to eate and dzinke with the mouth, the bodie and bloude of the Lozde. Wherefoze Cyprian and Augustine when they treated of the eating of these thinges which be signified, namely the spirituall eating, did prudently say: Why prepares thou thy teeth and thy bellie? Beleeue and thou hast eaten. Wherefoze there is no neede that the bodie and bloud of the Lozde should be sent downe out of heauen into the earth, oz that it shoulde yet bee conuersant in the woꝛlde, that they might mixe themselues

with our supper: but it behoueth that our mindes beeing admonished by the worde of God, and the outwarde signes, should be caried by faith vnto heauen, that they may eat this holie meate and be nourished. And here it followes that they which be vtterly destitute of faith, doe not receiue the bodie and blood of Christ, because those thinges (as I haue saide) are eaten and dronken by faith and spirite onelie. In deede these do eate and drinke the outwarde signes, but they do not attaine to the thinges that be signified: euen as they that be blinded cannot receiue the light and the colour which are things apprehended by the eyes.

Whereas afterwarde I am demaunded whether I thinke that in the Church, the supper is had without the bodie and blood of Christ, I answere: If we speake of that presence which they call corporall, reall, and substantiall, I confesse that the bodie and blood of Christ is absent: neither should they, if they were present, bring anie more profite, commoditie, and aduantage than we drawe from thence while they remaine in heauen farre dissevered from vs. Moreouer, the flesh and blood of Christ are present vnto vs by spirite, grace, merits, and other wonderfull fruites, which are from God deriued by them vnto vs: euen as the sonne is sayde to be present with vs by the light, by the beames and by gods influences which we receiue from thence. Neither are the bodie and blood of the Lorde so present vnto our minds spiritually and by faith, as that there onelie they should containe their most helthfull efficacies and powers, and suffer the bodies of the faithfull to be mere voide of the same. The matter is not so. But because in beléeuing that the bodie and blood of the Lorde are the pyces of our saluation, wee are iustified and regenerated or else both in the same iustification and regeneration, wee are increased and confirmed: but iustification and regeneration are the beginnings of our blessed immortalitie. Thereof it commeth that by faithfull receiuing of the supper of the Lorde, not onelie the soules are feede and refreshed, but also the bodies are made more and more capable of the blessed resurrection.

This is the iudgement of my faith as touching the holie supper of the Lord, the which right worshipfull syr. I haue parhappes for the barrainnesse of ꝯ stile, not so exquisitely as faithfully expounded. But I trust ꝯ you setting aside the rude and vneloquent words will with a friendely minde cleaue to the sentences and thinges themselues. Fare you well and loue mee as you doe euen as I doe verie much loue you, and pray for the fruite of my vocation. Maister Bullinger and the rest of your friendes willed me to write their heartie salutations vnto you.

Frō Zuricke the
24. of Maie,
1562.

To the Right honourable the Earle of Bedforde.

THe courtesie of your excellent Lordship hath bene so great towards mee, as neither am I able, nor yet knowe I howe to expresse it. Wherefore since I cannot lōke vnto you as I ought, perhappes it were better for me to holde my peace: which notwithstanding ꝯ the gratitude of a Christian man will not permit. wherfore not knowing else what to doe I will let ꝯ matter rest. And setting a side ꝯ praise of your godlinesse, nobilitie, and goodnesse, I will onelie giue you thankes for the fauour, helpe, and courtesie which you haue shewed towards Iulius my faithfull seruaunt in his businesse. For the which I account my selfe so greatly and effectually bound vnto you, as more I cannot be if I would. And truely for his part, he is neuer well appaied nor content but when he is declaring ꝯ setting forth your honors courtesie ꝯ goodwil: affirming that without your helpe, fauour, and trauell, he coulde neuer haue dispatched his businesse. And this vndoubtedly is a singular pleasure vnto me because I am sure, that both in him ꝯ in me you chiefely respect Iesus Christ ꝯ his syncere Religion, wherein howe zealous you are and howe feruently you loue ꝯ same, it is euery where knowē and of all men confessed. And that causeth al good Christians to loue ꝯ honor you in their heart. Which notwithstanding it be a great glorie in it selfe, yet is it nothing in comparison of the great pleasure that our almightie God taketh therin. And I likewise know that this is it which hath caused you to make me such an offer as you haue. For the which I giue you very great thankes. And I answere ꝯ as the cause standeth I am not now minded to labour or seeke for the same, hauing (thankes be to God) foode and clothing competent enough wherewith I content my selfe

and seeke for nothing else. But when it shal happen otherwise I will not refuse your honours helpe, to whome I might seeme to doe iniurie if I shoulde chaunge you for an other, since you giue a verie manifest testimonie that you loue mee exceeding much as well for the glorie of Gods sake, as for the affection that I haue alwayes borne to that godlie and glorious kingdome. Whereupon I reioyce with all my heart that ꝯ cause so standeth with the same as it nowe doeth. For I am well assured that the loue thereof towardes mee will growe euerie day more and more, seeing the good will that I beare to the English nation doth continually ware greater ꝯ greater. Nowe as touching leaue to see you againe safe and founde in person for the commoditie (as you write) both of your coūtrie and my owne comfort, I am verie sorie that I cannot answere you in such sort as may satisfie both you and my selfe. Truelie if I might haue mine owne will I would no lesse serue the Church of Englande than before time I haue done: howbeit neither mine age nor the strength of my body will any longer indure the same, being not able to indure a viage so long, so diners and not altogether easie. Wherein also for one of my age and feblenesse there be manie daungers: and the labours there, will be more grieuous vnto me than those that we haue here. Wherefore to the intent that I become not vnprofitable both vnto you and also to them that be here: it seemeth better for me that I remaine where I am. And this doe not onely I iudge but so likewise doth the Magistrate together with the Ministers of this Church, who otherwise would be most readie to pleasure your excellēt lordship as much as lieth in their power, especially in those thinges that tend to the spreading and setting forth of the Gospel of Christ. Neuertheless my good Lord, whersoeuer I shall bee I am readie at your commandement and to doe you anie seruice, desiring you that for Gods cause you wil continuallie growe vp in al goodnes especially in the indeuour of confirming and enlarging the Gospell of the sonne of GOD. Finally if as you write vnto me you haue bene greatly satisfied by my good and faithfull seruaunt Iulius, thereby doe I receiue verie great comfort. For I louing him very much as I doe both for the zeale that hee hath vnto godlinesse and sound religion, and also for other good parts that be in him, there canbe no greater contentation vnto me, than to see him wel accepted of such a one as your honor is, whose seruice I hauing no meanes to recompence, you in some part may helpe him when need shal require. Again if as you write, you accept well of his friendship: vndoubtedly, to serue you wil alwaies be most acceptable vnto him. The Lorde God long preserue you in health to the seruice of the Church and the commonweale. From

Zuricke, 1561.

The end of the Epistles.

To God alone the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, glorie and dominion for euer and euer,
Amen.

AN

ORATION WHEREin is set foorth the life and death

of the moſt famous man and excellent Diuine D. Peter Martyr Vermillius, Profeſſor of diuinitie in the Schoole of *Tygure*, made there by *Ioſias Simlerus* one of *Zuricke*.

To the Reuerende Father

in Chriſt Iohn Iewel, by the grace of God Biſhop of *Salisburie* his very good Lord.

Hereas latelie at the death of that moſt godlie and graue diuine P. Martyr Vermillius *I made an oration openly in our Schoole, wherein I comprehended briefelie the hiſtorie of his life, manie of* Peter Martyrs *frendes and mine deſired of mee that I woulde recognise the ſame, and augment it if it were poſſible, and ſo to put foorth the ſame into light. Which thing I coulde not denie them, aſwell for their loue towardes mee, as alſo for other great cauſes. For albeit that my Oration be not ſo well furniſhed and compoſed, as it can extoll* Martyr *with deſerued praiſes, yet doe I thinke that the ſame for the true and ſincere commemoration of the thinges themſelues withot be altogether vnwelcome vnto ſuch as bare good will vnto* Peter Martyr. *For I haue declared nothing but that which either I my ſelfe haue ſeene, or haue learned of witneſſes worthie of credit. For I haue indeuored carneſtly herein, to know euen as perfectlie as might be, al the hiſtorie of his life of thoſe which were conuerſant with him. Wherein I was holpen by others, but eſpecially of* Iulius Terentianus *who both was* Martyrs *ſcholer in* Italie, *and in his baniſhment and al his peregrinations, coulde neuer be ſeparated from him vntill his death. Manie thinges alſo did I vnderſtand, by diuers of* Martyrs *owne writinge, and by his letters vnto his friends, and in like manner by the letters of his friendes vnto him, the which I diligentlie peruſed and by the good will and requeſt of his heyrs gathered them into order. Wherefore this Oration of mine, ſuch as it is (for I knowe well and confeſſe willingly that all my workes are but ſlender and bare) I thought good to ſende vnto you reuerende Father, and that it ſhoulde paſſe foorth openlie vnder the authoritie of your honourable name. For ſince you both loued and honoured* Martyr *while he liued, I doubt not but that the remembraunce of him woulde be to your ioy and liking, and I iudge that the incredible ſorrowe which I thinke you haue taken for his death, cannot be better relieued by anie meanes than by the continuall memorie and conſideration of the diuine vertues which ſhined in him. And becauſe the life of* Martyr *was throughlie well ſeene and knowen vnto you, you may verie well alſo iudge of the trueth of my diſcourſe. You liued in* Englande *with him vnder King* Edwarde *of happie and godlie memorie. But the ſtate being changed, when by reaſon of the imminent perils, and the perſequution which then waxed hote, manie good men went out of their countrie, you in your baniſhment ariued againe at your* Martyr, *as it were in a certaine port of your ſtudies: and ſo liued with him, both firſt at* Strasborough, *and then after with vs at* Zuricke, *and was a perpetuall companion and aſſiſtant of his ſtudies and labors which were verie great. And nowe after that by the ſingular benefit of God, through the indeuour, good will and diligence of the moſt excellent Queene* Elizabeth, *the true Religion beganne to be perfectlie reſtored amongeſt you, and that you together with manie other godlie and learned men were reſtored to your countrie, and that you were aduanced to great honours, according as your excellent vertues deſerued, you being abſent did alwaies through conti-*

mutall letters and all manner of dueties carefullie and diligently maintaine your auncient friendshippe. For you accounted him in ſtaede of a father, and he in like manner moſt willingly confeſſed you to bee vnto him in age a ſonne, and in dignitie a father. Nowe ſith that by deme ſtreall familiaritie and continuall acquaintance you haue had full triall of his wit, learning, godlineſſe, modeſtie, humanitie and ſweete conuerſation, and haue alſo heard of him manie thinges concerning his life (for he vſed ſometimes to vecken vp to his friendes requeſt thoſe thinges which had happened to him both in Italie *and elſe where to their great delight) ſhall iudge beſt of all other of the trueth of this Hiſtorie. And (vnleſſe I be deceiued) you will rather iudge, that manie thinges which belonged to his praiſes are either omitted of mee or elſe not ſufficientlie expreſſed according to the worthineſſe thereof, than to affirme that I haue cõmended him aboue his deſert. And perhaps alſo thoſe of* Martyrs *frendes among you will iudge no leſſe, & diuers noble and gentle men, and alſo reuerende Biſhoppes and manie other worthie men which ſometime knewe* Martyr *& loued him wel, if ſo be that anie of them will vouchſafe to reade this Oration of ours which I doubt not but many will in whoſe mindes the memorie of* Martyr *though hee be deade is deepelie imprinted and firmely faſtened. But the iudgements of theſe men I dare not withſtand, but rather I confeſſe a fault before iudgement: and I deſire pardon partlie becauſe I thinke that I do inſtly deſerue pardon, if I alone not being ſufficientlie indued with the power of wit and eloquence, and therewithall let with ſorrow and heauineſſe, could not in ſpeach comprehend all the praiſes of that man (whoſe vertues alone manie ages before haue not had the like comparable vnto his) and partly becauſe I thinke that not onelie the ſucceſſe but alſo my purpoſe and will of taking the worke in hande ought to be regarded. For I meant for this cauſe ſpeciallie to publiſh thoſe things which I had learned of my friends, and gathered by ſome reaſonable ſtudie, to the intent that notable and eloquent men, fauouring and louing* Martyr *(as I know many both* Italians *and* Engliſh *men, and alſo* Germans *and* French *men did) ſtirred vp by my example, might eaſilie performe that which I for manie cauſes could not doe, namelie to celebrate the praiſes of* Martyr *by an excellent, eloquent, and well furniſhed Oration. And this office vndoubtedly now that* Martyr *is deade manie Godly men wiſh it had beene performed of you, which knewe both what you are able to doe in eloquence and are alſo full aſſured how greatly you loued* Martyr. *And they thinke that ſuch kinde of Orations are not repugnant to your office and dignitie: ſince that with ſuch kind of funerall Orations, both* Nazianzene, *honoured* Baſil, *and* Athanaſius; *and* Ambroſe, Valentinian, *and* Theodoſius, *& his brother* Satyrus; *and other Biſhops, other excellent men: And that they doe not require this of you (right reuerend Father) they are mooued by this reaſon, namelie that they thinke there wants not in you anie good will, but leaſure and time: For how great labours you indure in inlarging the kingdome of Chriſt, and with how great ſtudie and diligence you execute the office of a Biſhop, we alſo are not ignorant though wee be farre diſtant from you. But in the meane time if by this my Oration I may prouoke you to deſcribe the prayſes and life of* Martyr: *(euen as cunning muſitians are oftentimes prouoked by the rude playing of others: that as it were of a certaine indignation, they which before would not, doe afterward plaie moſt excellentlie) I ſhall receiue ſufficient fruit of my labour: but if you lacke time and to others willingneſſe to doe it, yet at the leaſtwiſe I wiſh that this my Oration may be extant, not for a memorie of him, which he by his owne writings and labours hath procured to himſelfe to be eternall, but that they which are mindfull of his name, may yet at the leaſtwiſe haue this hyſtorie ſuch as it is of his life, wherein they may ſee both the begimings and proceedings of his ſtudies, and from thence feteh examples both of manifolde and rare vertues. Nowe I crane of you (right reuerende Father) that you will take in good part this token of my dutifull goodwill towards you: and in the conſidering of this Oration, not to haue ſo much reſpect to me, as to* Martyr *himſelfe, whom the whole hyſtorie doth concerne. Indeede your loue towards me required that I ſhould giue ſome greater and more notable teſtimonie of my obſeruation towards you, but ſince my habilitie ſerueth not, therefore I beſeech you rather haue reſpect to my good will, and continue your accuſtomed loue and good liking of me. Fare you well right reuerend Father. Dated at* Zurick *the principall Citie of* Swicherland *the 4. Calends of* Ianuarie, 1562.

AN

AN ORATION OF the life and death of that worthie man and excellent Diuine D. Peter Martyr

Vermillius, profeſſor of Diuinitie in the Schoole of Zuricke,

That it had ſeemed good vnto God, (right honorable Fathers and welbeloued Auditorie) that out of this place we might often & a long time yet haue heard ſpeake that excellent man and moſt graue Diuine our generall teacher *Peter Martyr*. But for ſo much as God the Father who gouerneth all things moſt excellently hath thought good to take him awaie from vs, (being vnworthie perhaps of the preſence of ſuch a man) and to call him into the euerlaſting kingdome: ſeeing now we cannot heare him as we deſire to doe, yet I at the leaſtwiſe will ſpeake vnto you that which the preſent time and conſideration of mine office doeth require. Notwithſtanding I am not ignoraunt, that my ſpeech cannot be equiualent to the vertues of *Peter Martyr*, whereby he ſo excelled all others, as they can verie hardlie be celebrated according to their woorthineſſe euen by the beſt Oratour of the world. But in mee there is ſcarce a meane wit, welneere no exerciſe of ſpeaking, but ſo great a ſorrowe as it may diminiſh the wit euen of an excellent Orator. For I lament deare Auditorie for my owne ſake, I lament for his ſake, and I lament for the ſchooles ſake, and for all your ſakes which haue loued and honored *Martyr*. For mine owne ſake, becauſe truelie I haue loſt a fellowe in office, but in verie deede a moſt faithfull Maiſter: in age and loue, a moſt deare father, who loued mee entirely, and that euen at ſuch time as I leaſt of all thought it. For his owne ſake, not ſo much for that he is dead (for he hath alwayes this long time wiſht to bee looſed and to be with Chriſt, and who will denie but that it happened well to him that he is deliuered from diſeaſes, from labours, from cares and ſorowes which he did infinitelie take for the calamities of the godly and diſpoyling of the Church: and that he heareth not, ſeeth not, and knoweth not of the ſacking of Cities, or of the bloudie battels, captiuities and ſlaughters of good men, all which things wee daylie heare and feare, but he being bleſſed inioyeth ỹ pleaſures of heauen) but this doe I lament, ỹ when he had nowe brought welneere to an ende manie and notable workes, the labours of manie yeares, the watches of manie nightes, yet could he not ſuffice finiſh them and bring them into light, and reape this ioy and as it were this fruite of his labours. I lament for the ſchooles ſake, which haue loſt ſuch a teacher, in whoſe place cannot bee put the like. For whomſoeuer (O Fathers) yee ſhall ſet in our *Martyrs* place, another *Martyr* yee ſhall not haue. For he was no vulgar Diuine or of the common number of learned men, but he was alſo of ſo great a wit, of ſo excellent learning, and therewithall of ſuch godlineſſe, modeſtie and courteous behauiour, that both he was acceptable, beloued and reuerenced among them with whom he liued, and was euen of the aduerſaries alſo reckened among the excellent men, and was had of them in great admiration. While theſe thinges doe both increaſe my ſorowe, and that I alſo ſee you with a heauie looke, ſad countenance, and with waterie eyes to ſhewe the griefe and exceeding trouble of your minde: I am ouercome with the greatneſſe of ſorowe and ſee not what beginning or what ende I may finde of my Oration. Howbeit leaſt I ſhould faile of my duetie, I will ſuppreſſe my ſorowe, and will not commit that in exerciſing of this my office, mourning ſhould bee of ſuch force in mee, as it ſhall hinder mee of my duetie, and make me vngratefull towardes my Maiſter. But forſomuch as the praiſes of *Martyr* bee exceeding great by reaſon of his excellent and diuine vertues, & that the power of my eloquence is exceeding ſmal, & yet the ſame reſtrained by great and vehement ſorrowe, I will not indeuour to ſet foorth euerie act of his, with gorgeous and ſtately amplifications leaſt perhaps by my Oration, the honor of them ſhould bee more impaired than increaſed: but I will onely ſet foorth vnto you his life and death after an hiſtoricall manner: and I will indeuour ſo farre as I am able that thoſe things which either ye your

ſelues haue ſeene,or elſe haue heard here and there and at ſundrie times of that good man and excellent diuine, ye may vnderſtand them all being gathered into order and placed altogether: to the intent that euerie one of you may take woorthie examples of all vertues, aſwell to the inſtruction of others as eche one to the framing of his owne conuerſation. And I will followe the way and order vſed by them which commit other mens liues vnto writing. And firſt of all I will ſet foorth his Countrie,his Parents and Education. Afterward when we haue as it were laide theſe beginnings and foundations,I will begin to diſcourſe of the reſidue of his life,which aboundeth with examples of verie great and ample vertues. For euen as in the Corne fieldes,we are not onely delighted with a plentifull harueſt and aboundance of fruite, but therewithall we are alſo deſirous to knowe in what manner of ſoyle the Corne groweth, after what manner the fieldes are tilled, what time they be ſowen, by what induſtrie of the husbandman they were holpen vnto ſo great fertillitie: ſo in men not onelie the contemplation of vertue,as it were of good fruite,but alſo a knowledge of the Parents and Education doeth much pleaſe and delight vs.

Now then *Peter Martyr* was borne in *Florence*, the moſt floriſhing Citie (as ye all know) not onely of *Hetruria*, but of all *Italy*, and which a very long time hath defended and retayned her ancient freedome. It was then in the yeare of our ſaluation M. D. which yeare is very much celebrated becauſe of the natiuitie of *Charles* the v. a verie mightie Emperour. And the day was the vj. Ides of *September*: Vpon which day the fathers haue written that the Virgine the mother of God was borne, and that the citie of *Ieruſalem* was taken by *Titus* the ſonne of *Veſpaſian*, and ouerthrowen according as Chriſt hadde propheſied fortie yeares before. His parentes were *Stephanus Vermilius* and *Marie Fumantina*, both of them of an ancient and honeſt kindred, & whoſe anceſtors for the moſt part bore office in the Citie. Theſe gaue vnto the childe the name of *Peter Martyr* by reaſon of a certaine vowe which according to the manner and cuſtome of thoſe times they hadde made vnto one *Peter Martyr* of *Millaine*, who ſometimes, as they ſay, was ſlaine of the *Arrians* of that time for the defence of the true faith, whoſe temple alſo was not farre from his fathers houſe. His parents had him for their onely ſonne: for all the reſt of their children which they had begotten, him excepted and his ſiſter *Gemina Felicitas* died in their childhood. His parents were of reaſonable good wealth. Their ſonne whom they deſired to bee well brought vp they committed to faithfull maiſters, and moreouer they inſtructed him with ſingular diligence at home. His mother who was learned in the Latine tongue, did chiefly inſtruct her ſonne therein from his firſt childhoode, and while he was yet young, did interprete vnto him the Commedies of *Pub. Terentius* an excellent author in the Latine tongue, neither doubtleſſe was this diſcipline of a woman to be contemned: Forſomuch as among olde authors and the moſt excellent in this tongue the chiefe Orators, the *Gracchi*, *Lelij*, *Catuli*, *Iulij*, and *Curiones*, receiuing of their mothers the pureneſſe of the Latine tongue, and ſweteneſſe of pronunciation, brought it from this maternall and domeſticall diſcipline vnto the place of pleading.

And in our age the noble woman *Iane* an Engliſh woman daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Olympia Morata* an Italian (omitting thoſe which be aliue) haue euidently declared by their example what the indeuour of women maie bring to paſſe in eloquence if they applie their mind thereunto. From this domeſticall diſcipline, he was brought vnto *Marcellus Vergilius* a man learned and famous for that he not long agoe tranſlated *Dioſcorides* and ſet foorth Commentaries vppon the ſame. This *Marcellus* at that time exerciſed the office of Secretorie to the Common weale of *Florence*, which was before the office of *Aretinus* and *Pogghius*: and moreouer he taught the latine tongue vnto young gentlemen in the ſchooles to his great commendation. In this firſt courſe of his ſtudies, he had to his ſellowes & friends noble young men and Senators ſonnes, *Francis Medicis*, *Alexander Caponius*, *Francis Riccius* and *Raph Riccius*, alſo *Angelus Stuphar* and *Pandulphus Stuphas* and *Petrus Victorius*, whoſe ſingular and excellent learning is knowen vnto all men, by reaſon of the auncient Greeke and Latin authors, either ſet foorth with Commentaries or otherwiſe reſtored to their owne perfectneſſe. And in this firſt courſe of his ſtudies while hee was yet a young beginner,euen ſtreightway there appeared in him a ſingular and notable wit, which brought vnto his Parentes and Maiſters an vndoubted hope of great learning and excellent vertues. For firſt of all, there was in him a great promptneſſe of wit, in perceiuing and vnderſtanding,and ſo great a force of memorie in retayning, as he coulde both comprehende and keepe whatſoeuer he had learned. Moreouer he had ſo feruent a deſire of learning, as there neuer appeared to be in him anie wearineſſe of hearing or reading. Ouer this, ſhamefaſtneſſe which doeth greatlie commende that age was alwaies woonderfull in him, and therefore hee both honored

red auncient men as parentes, and albeit he excelled moſt of his equals in wit, yet hee ſo honued them, and by his modeſtie ſo woonne them vnto him,that there aroſe no manner of emulation at all among them: yea and thoſe whome the conuerſation and familiaritie of Childhoode had ioyned vnto him, he helde alwaies moſt friendlie during the time that hee liued in his countrie and in Italie. And nowe becauſe in the daungerous time of his youth he was minded not onelie for the preſent time to temper himſelfe from the allurements of pleaſures, which a rich and aboundant Citie doeth miniſter,but alſo to auoide them in the time to come, he abandoning all delightes determined to giue himſelfe to a monaſticall life which then alone was counted holie. And becauſe in that age the houſeholde of the regular Canons of S. *Auguſtine* bare the chiefeſt name throughout all *Italie*,for that they vſed a more ſeuere diſcipline than other Monkes, and did more diligentlie exerciſe themſelues in the ſtudie of the holie ſcriptures, hee thought it good to ioyne himſelfe vnto that ſocietie. Wherefore in the 16. yeare of his age hee was choſen into the *Feſulane* College (which was builded in the ruins of the olde Citie of *Feſula* a ſtones caſt from *Florence*) with a full conſent and reioyſing of the fellowes of that College vnto whome the excellent diſpoſition of his nature was knowen. Alſo his ſiſter *Felicitas* followed the intent of her brother,and was made a ſiſter of thoſe Virgins which inhabite the Monaſterie of Saint *Peter* the *Martyr*. This fact of the both was miſliking & greeuous vnto the father, either becauſe he would haue ỹ *Vermilian* familie (wherein beſides themſelues there was none remaining aliue) to be increaſed by his ſonne through the marriage of a wife, or elſe for that the graue man miſliked the ſuperſtition of the common ſort, and the feigned holineſſe of the Monkes. For nowe a great while ſince, *Dant* and *Petrach* had reprehended manie abuſes in the Church: and the ſelfe ſame thing was doone a fewe yeares ſince by *Hieronymus Sauonarola*, whoſe ſermons no doubt but the elder *Vermilius* had hearde. And that vndoubtedly the monaſticall life was not altogether allowed by him we thereby gather, that ỹ readie monie which he had, he bequethed by Teſtament to the next wife which he had after the death of *Fumantina*. And the reſt of his goods he willed to be giuen to an hoſpitall for the vſe of the poore, vppon this condition, that there ſhould be paid yearelie to his ſonne ſo long as he liued 50 crownes which *we name to be of the ſhield marke*. And whereas his children lead their life in monaſteries, yet choſe he rather to diſpoſe his goods to ỹ vſe of ỹ poore than ỹ they ſhould be ſpent vpon idle Monkes, who ſhoulde mumble vp certaine prayers they knowe not what. But whatſoeuer his minde was in this matter, the earneſt deſire which as it was thought, the ſonne had to obey God, ouercame the will of his father. Verilie I thinke there be manie, which thinke that this his determination of entering into a Monaſticall life is to be reprooued: and theſe ſhall haue not onelie me to agree with them but euen himſelfe which followed this courſe, for this act diſpleaſed no man ſo much as it did himſelfe, who ſo ſoone as euer he perceiued his errour,he alſo corrected the ſame. Albeit if we haue reſpect to the condition of times,his iudgement indeed may be blamed, but his wil deſerueth prayſe. For in that ſuperſtitious and vnprofitable life of the Monkes, there were yet in olde time manie things which allured thereto a mind deſirous of godlineſſe and learning: Firſt the great names of moſt godlie men which were ſaid to haue bin Monkes, to wit, *Baſil*, *Nazianzene*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Epiphanius*, *Ierom*, *Auguſtine*, & others, whoſe life who deſired not to imitate, & to tread in their ſteps? And againe ỹ name of religion, and the opinion of holines which was cõmonly ſpread among all men: (a falſe opinion I confeſſe, but who could then haue ſeene this in ſo great darkeneſſe?) And who (if he had ſeene it) durſt haue reprooued it of falſehoode, all men being of an other minde, eſpecially a young man, who otherwiſe for the moſt part is but of weake iudgement? Herewithall adde thoſe things, which moſt of all drew *Martyr* to this kinde of life, namely vocation not ſuch as was idle, but giuen to ſtudies: and further a great aboundance of excellent bookes. For euen the moſt of the Colleges of this familie haue notable libraries, but eſpecially the College of *Feſula*. For this did the auncient name of *Medicies* builde, who with their great charges gathered bookes not onely out of *Italie*, but alſo out of *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Ægypt*, and adorned the houſe with an excellent librarie. Through which aboundance of bookes, ſince our *Martyr* was, as it were allured vnto monaſticall life, togither with an opinion of worſhipping GOD, wee remitte the error of his iudgement vnto thoſe times, but wee commende his will, namelie that he woulde immediately from his childhoode paſſe his life in the ſtudie of good literature. In this College he liued three yeare, and in ſuch ſort as the fellowes of that College allowed his modeſtie, liked the gentleneſſe of his behauiour, and his deſire of concorde, but his wit they prayſed and woondered at. In thoſe dayes hee exerciſed himſelfe not onelie in the precepts of learning the artes which were diligentlie taught to the

younger fellowes in this fellowship, but also in ỹ reading of holy scriptures. For it was a laudable custome of this societie, that the young men which excelled in memorie, should accustome themselues to commit vnto their memorie many things out of ỹ holy scriptures: & therefore some recited by heart, all the Epistles of *Paul*: Others, the Booke of the *Prouerbes* of *Salomon*: Some the historie of *Tobias*, or some other bookes of the holie scriptures. When *Martyr* had finished three yeares in this discipline, he made such proofe of his learning and diligence to the fellowes of his Colledge, as they a iudged him meete to be sent vnto more excellent teachers. Wherefore he was sent to *Padwaie*, that in the famous vniuersitie of that Citie, he might haue a greater exercise of his wit. And there in that Citie is the Monasterie of S. *Iohn of Verdara* of the same societie [of Regular Canons] wherein he liued welneere eight yeares with *Albertus* the Abbot a man not vnlearned, and who gladly furthered other mens studies. Wherefore at that time *Martyr* wholie addicted himselfe to the studie of Philosophie, and exercised himselfe day and night in the meditation of all the sciences: nd therefore he was woont many times to say, that whatsoeuer he knewe in Philosophie and those knowledges which belong as they say to humanitie, (which he himselfe saide was but small, but I with manie moe iudged alwaies to be great in him,) this for the most part he ascribed to the studies which he had at *Padwaie*. For he had then plentie of leasure, all which he spent in learning. He heard notable Philosophers: For at that time the famous Philosophers *Branda*, *Genua*, *Conſallonerius*, did then teache in that vniuersitie: and therewithall in himselfe was an excellent wit and singular diligence. For he day lie exercised himselfe in reading, meditating, writing, and chiefelie in disputing: wherein euen those most learned Philosophers (which I haue nowe named,) allowed his diligence and sharpenesse of wit: in such wise that oftentimes in publike meetings *Branda* challenged his *Florentine* (for so he named *Martyr*) vnto disputation. At that time in all vniuersities was taught *Aristotles* Philosophie. This did he embrace, not so much that it alone florished, but (as he testifieth in his Commentaries which he began once to write vppon *Aristotles* Morall Philosophie) he most of all loued and esteemed *Aristotles* Philosophie by reason of the Methode, & that it had lesse error therein thã the other sectes of the Philosophers. And nowe because that there were in deede Latine Bookes of *Aristotle*, but yet in such wise translated as they did not aptly ynough in euerie place expresse *Aristotles* sense and meaning: for albeit that verie learned men had laboured in translating of *Aristotle*, yet were there fewe that coulde in all things imitate and expresse *Aristotles* breuitie and elegant kinde of stile: Since therefore the Latine Bookes did not euerie where faithfullie and plainelie expresse *Aristotles* meaning, he determined to learne the Greeke tongue, that he might once heare *Aristotle* speake in his owne language. And in this matter he bestowed great studie and paines. For he wanted fitte Maisters which could plainelie and diligently teache the reason and vse of the tongue: therefore it behooued him by his owne priuate studie and great diligence to ouercome all difficulties. I haue heard of his familiar friendes, that in the librarie which was verie ample in that monasterie, he sate vp oftentimes in a manner whole nightes together with *Benedictus Cusanus*, which was a companion to him in al his studies, so as the one interpreted to the other interchangeably by course some Greeke Author. By this diligence he so greatly profited, that he perfectly vnderstoode without any interpreter, not onely the Greeke Orators and Philosophers, but also all the Poets, who neuertheleſse haue another kinde of speaking. In this place also should I rehearse his studies in Diuinitie: for he heard three Diuines at *Padwaie*: one Heremit and two of the Dominican order: Howbeit because he followed afterward another, and a more exact kinde of Diuinitie, ye shal be content if I passe ouer this mere Scholastical diuinitie, and proceede vnto other and greater matters.

When he was nowe come to the age of xxvj. yeares, it seemed good to the fellowes of the Colledge to commit vnto him the office of preaching in open audience, to the intent that his studies which hitherto were hidden betweene the Schoole and the assemblie of the Colledge, might at the length come foorth into li ght and vnto a publike vse of the Church, and to doe the seruice belonging to their order, and might winne vnto himselfe fame and authoritie. For in Italie the Priests preach not as they doe among the Germans: but all this whole charge is appointed vnto the Monkes: out of whose number the fellowes of the Dominican familie are woont to preach euerie Sunday: and thereupon they haue gotten the name of preachers. But they which be of other families, those for the most part preach to the people in Aduent and Lent as they terme them. But the more rare that Sermons be, the greater and more frequent is the concurse of people, especiallie in great and populous Cities. Wherefore out of all the families of Monkes are chosen those which seeme most to excell in learning and eloquence,

quence, who if they shall cause themselues to be well liked of the people, great is their glorie, and their name much spoken of. Ouer and besides this, the familie of Canons of Saint *Augustine* is adorned with peculiar priuiledges of the Romane Bishops: so that all they of this familie which haue at any time executed this publike office of preaching: doe inioy honours, tytles, dignities and priuiledges which are giuen vnto them, whom the Vniuersities after a solemne manner haue pronounced Doctors. And with these Tytles which others hardlie deserue when they growe nowe into olde age, *Martyr*, as wee haue nowe saide, was honored at the age of xxvj. yeares: and so honored, as he had not onelie a vaine name, as manie haue, but he had also great and incomparable learning procured by inuincible studie: and he ioyned the office and labour of publike teaching together with the verie name of a Doctor. And first he began to teach at *Bressa* in the Temple of S. *Afra*, and afterward he taught in the most populous Cities of *Italie* and *Gallia Cisalpina:* at *Rome*, *Bononie*, *Firmum*, *Pisa*, *Venis*, *Mantua*, *Bergomo*, and *Montferrat*. And whatsoeuer leasure he got from preaching, all that he bestowed in studies of the holy scriptures and Philosophie. And he not only preached publikelie, but he interpreted in the Colleges of his familie, both Phylosophie and the holy Scriptures, at *Padwaie*, *Rauenna*, *Bononie*, and *Vercellis*: in which Citie, to the intent he might confirme by teaching those thinges which he had learned in the Greeke tongue, hee interpreted *Homer* at the earnest request of *Benedictus Cusanus* of *Vercellis*, whome we named before to be a companion with him in all his studies. At the same time, he beeing stirred vp thorow ỹ continual exercise of preaching, who hitherto according to the custome of the scholes had exercised himselfe cheefely in the schoole diuines, speciallie *Thomas*, and *Arimmensis*, & in the meane time was acquainted with the fathers writinges, he beganne more diligentlie than before, to search out the verie fountaines of diuinitie euen the holy scriptures of both the Testamentes. And because he had founde by experience that the knowledge of the Hebrewe tongue shoulde be necessarie thereunto, he applyed his minde vnto it, and at *Bononie*, in which Citie he was Deputie to the Prior, (for so the Presidents of Colleges are called of them) he gaue his indeuour thereunto, procuring one *Isaake* an Hebrewe who was Phisitian to be his Maister. But with what labour for the most part this tongue is learned of the Hebrewes, they knowe, which haue vsed those kindes of teachers. For the most of them want faithfulnesse in teaching, but they be all without methode, and therefore they cannot proceed in right order: and they enuie that our men should haue the knowledge of their tongue: the holie language is not learned of them without great trauell and charges; for whatsoeuer good thing they teach, they doe it vppon hope of reward, But all these difficulties did *Martyr* with singular patience, and inuincible studie ouercome: so earnest a desire had he to learne the holie scriptures. Whome when I consider, I cannot woonder enough, at the proceeding and order whereby it seemed good vnto the heauenlie father to bring him vnto the knowledge of the heauenly trueth. For first he stirred vp his will in the beginning of his age, that he might indeuour to his power to please and serue God, albeit he suffered him in the meane time to erre in the manner of worshipping of him. Afterwarde hee so instructed his minde, that he inclined the same to innocencie of life and vnto righteousnesse: whereby although he coulde not deserue thankes of God, yet he shewed himselfe vnblamable before men. Lastlie he inflamed and kindled him with an incredible loue of the holie scriptures whereof while he for a good space of time followed the letter, at the length by the reuelation of the spirit of God, he comfortably knewe the hidden and spirituall mysteries. In this matter I might iustlie compare him to Saint *Paul* the teacher of the Gentiles, in whose life before his conuersion, there was an indeuour of worshipping GOD, and of righteousnesse which is according to the lawe, wherein he was vnblameable, and moreouer hee vsed to reade the lawe, although as yet couered with the vaile: but leauing these thinges the desire of breuitie cals me backe to other narrations. The principall men of his societie liked well his diligence in preaching and teaching. Nowe was his name become famous in the greatest Cities of *Italie:* wherfore they determined to aduance him according as his excellent vertues deserued, to a greater dignitie: and therfore by a cõmon consent they made him Abbot of *Spoletũ*. Which office when he had taken in hand to exercise, he behaued himselfe so singularly wel as al men maruelled that the man being vntill ỹ time trained in learning only, could so excell in al his gouernment with wisdom & dexteritie. For to say nothing of other matters, his singular vertue appeared in two things, which no Abbots before him were able to bring to passe. At *Spoletũ* were two Colleges of Virgins, and the third wherein he himselfe liued was of Canons, of that same regular familie, as they terme it, of *Augustine*: the discipline of al these by the negligence of the former Abbots, was so decayed, as through the wanton and filthie life of them,

the whole familie of this order was greatly hated of all men. This when *Martyr* sawe, he by his authoritie and office, what with teaching, admonishing, exhorting, and eke with some seuere chastening, brought them all into such order, as he not onelie wanne to himselfe great praise, but also to the whole familie singular good will. And this in verie deede was a thing proper, and as it were the bounden duetie of his order and institution. But that other thing which I will nowe speake of is farre more excellent, and as it were pertaining to the whole Common weale. The Common weale of *Spoletum*, euen as also many other Commonweales in *Italie*, was diuided into certaine factions, among which there were alwaies contentions, the which oftentimes proceeded euen to frayes and slaughters: and albeit that the former Abbots had oftentimes indeuoured to doe it, yet coulde they neuer make attonements and reduce the Citie vnto Concorde. This when *Martyr* perceiued, and that he thought with himselfe, that nothing should be more agreeable to his office, than to bring home into concorde those that were at dissension, and to winne them in mutuall charitie which Christ so often commended, he thought that he shoulde rather laie downe his life than to see the Citie any longer to perish so miserablie with her owne discord: and therefore he neuer ceased to exhort all men publikelie and priuatelie vnto vnitie, to teache the dueties of a Christian man, and to laie before their eyes the calamitie of their Countrie, and the particular daungers of euerie one, vntill he had brought that to passe which he earnestlie desired. For so greatly did his authoritie, wisedome, and eloquence preuaile, as all the time afterward that he liued in that Citie, not onelie there were no slaughters nor frayes committed, but there also appeared no tokens of factions: so much was the vertue and indeuour of one excellent man able to doe. Of this man haue all Abbots an example: which, if they woulde followe, wee might perhaps hope for some amendment of the Church by them: but nowe when as they correct not euen the most manifest abuses, and that they breath out continual slaughters and warres: I beseeche you what goodnesse can we promise to our selues concerning them?

Three yeare was *Martyr* at *Spoletum*: and then in the publike assemblie of the fathers of the whole familie, he was made gouernour of the Neapolitane College of *S. Peter* at the Altar: which benefice for the pleasantnesse of the place, and for the ample reuenew thereof is a great dignitie. In this Citie did the grace of the heauenly light begin to shine more notablie and clearelie vnto him. For when he had bin hitherto long and much exercised in Scholasticall Diuinitie, and also in the fathers: and at length had betaken himselfe altogether to the fountaines themselues, and that he was daylie more and more lightened by the spirit, he began to acknowledge errours and abuses in the Church: and therefore he beganne (whereof some make a scruple of conscience) to giue his minde also to the vnderstanding of our mens writings: and taking in hand the Commentaries of *Bucer* vpon the Euangelistes, and his annotations vpon the Psalmes, which he set foorth vnder the name of *Aretius Felinus*, he diligently perused them ouer. Also he read *Zuinglius* Booke *Of the true and false Religion*: and another booke of the same man, concerning the prouidence of God: and he also read some Bookes of *Erasmus*: & he franckly confessed oftentimes that he profited much by ỹ reading of all these. And in the meane time he reasoned in a maner euerie day of some thing out of the holie scriptures, with those his friendes which were studious of the pure Religion: so that on both sides they were much edified in the true Religion, by such kinde of talke. And among those with whom he conferred touching Religion, were chiefely *Benedictus Cusanus*, of whom we also made mention before, *M. Antonius Flaminius*, and *Iohannes Valdesius* a Spaniarde. This latter man was borne in *Spaine*, of a noble kindred, and was honored with Knighthood by *Charles* the Emperour: who after that he was endued by God with the knowledge of true Religion, he led his life in *Italie*, but especiallie at *Neapolis*. In which place by his learning and most godly example of life he wanne verie manie especially noble men vnto Christ. And at that time there was no meane Church of godlie men in the Citie of *Neapolis*. For in that congregation there were many noble and learned men: also manie women of excellent vertue. Among whom (to let passe other excellent and true noble women,) yet must I not passe ouer in silence the most honorable Dame *Isabella Manricha* who for Christs cause is nowe banished her Countrie. In this congregation of the godlie, there was one *Galeazzius Caracciolus* the Marques of *Vicus* & other noble men which I neede not now to rehearse banished for the name of Christ. And albeit that ỹ first praise of this Church is due vnto *Valdesius*, yet not withstanding is *Martyrs* vertue also to be remẽbred: who, after that he had giuen him by the Lorde a greater light of Gods trueth, and had ioyned himselfe to the congregation of the godlie, that doctrine which he knewe to be true, he would straightwaie preache it also vnto others. For he began openly to interprete the first Epistle of *S. Paul* to the

the *Corinthians*, and that with great fruite. For not onelie the fellowes of that College hearde him, but also some Bishops and manie noble men. For as ye know, that Citie hath bin alwaies an habitation of noble and excellent men. But after that the wordes of *Paul* which are in the third Chapter of the same Epistle, *The fire shall trie euerie mans worke what it is: if any mans worke which he hath built doe abide, he shall receiue wages: if any mans worke burne, he shall suffer losse, but he himselfe shall be saued, yet neuerthelesse as it were by fire:* These wordes I say, when he had interpreted against the receiued opinion, he procured to himselfe many aduersaries and enemies. For the common sort are perswaded that by these wordes is the fire of Purgatorie decreed and confirmed by *Paul*: than the which the Papisticall sacrifices scarcelie haue any thing more auailable. But *Martyr*, although he did not yet openly oppugne that fire of Purgatorie, which the Monkes made as a prison for soules, yet did he shewe and that out of the auncient fathers, that *Paul* did not here meane of the fire of Purgatorie, since he made it to bee such a fire as both good and euill builders haue triall of: but that he rather saieth this, that they which doe not rightly build, may in deede be saued: but yet so, as it were by fire. For euen as he that passeth through flaming fire, leapeth out halfe naked: so these men, their doctrine being confuted and condemned, doe acknowledge that they haue lost their labour, and so their sinne being discouered by the iudgement of God, doe feele the griefe and great sorrowe of repentance. This sound & right interpretation of this place, certaine bondslaues of the Pope and of their owne bellie could not abide. For they saw, ỹ if this foundatiõ of Purgatorie which is their storehouse should be ouerthrowen, the same in his owne weakenesse would fall by it selfe though no man should afterwarde inforce it. Further they knowe that vppon the fall of Purgatorie there will necessarilie followe the destruction of the trentals and Masses for their auncestors soules, and also indulgences, whereof they had hitherto made a profitable gaine. Wherefore since they decreed that those thinges were not to be borne, they accused *Martyr*, whome they feared woulde be an author of those thinges, and at length they brought to passe that it was forbidden him to reade. Howbeit *Martyr* woulde not obey this prohibition, as being vnequall and vniust: and hauing affiaunce in the goodnesse of his cause appealed to *Rome* vnto the Pope. At that time he had in the Citie mightie and fauorable friends: namelie *Hercules Gonzaga* Cardinall of *Mantua*, *Casper Contarenus*, *Reignalde Pole*, *Petur Bembo*, and *Friderick Fregose*, all learned men and in fauour with the Pope, and who then seemed to be desirous of some reformation of the Church. By staying himselfe vppon the fauor and power of these men he easilie obtained that the same prohibition of his aduersaries was taken awaie and that his former libertie of teaching was graunted vnto him, the which neuerthelesse hee could not long inioy. For he had not yet liued full three yeares in *Neapolis*, but ỹ he fel into a greeuous and deadly disease together with the perpetual Companion of his studies & his intyre friend *Benedictus Cusanus*, who in verie deed dyed there, but *Martyr* by the singular benefite of God, and diligent care of good Phisitians, escaped hardly. Wherefore to the intent that the chiefe men of the familie might prouide for his health, since they sawe that hee coulde not brooke the Neapolitan ayre, they in publike assembly declared him the generall visitor of the whole order. And in this office he so behaued himselfe, as the good men greatlie commended his integritie, stedfastnesse and grauitie: the residue did feare him: and albeit they hated him, yet they dissembled the same. There were at that time manie, which in that order did exercise a certaine tyrannie, and when by the vitiousnesse and vnpureneesse of their life, they had procured exceeding hatred to the whole familie, they coulde not till this time by anie reasons and admonitions be called home to amendement. *Martyr* thinking it meete that these men shoulde be reduced into order, after hee had made the Cardinall of *Mantua* priuie to the matter, who was protector of the whole Familie, by his helpe hee depriued manie of their dignities and condemned the generall Rector of the whole familie to perpetuall prison in the Ilande *Diomedea*. And as by this seueritie of discipline hee procured fauour to the whole order and great glorie to his owne selfe: so by the selfe same fact, he wan himselfe hatred and enuie. Wherefore at *Mantua* in an assemblie that came together of the principall persons of the familie, he was assigned Prior of Saint *Fridian* at *Luca*: the which in verie deede though it be an auncient dignitie in this familie (for the Prior of Saint *Fridrian* hath the Episcopall iurisdiction ouer halfe of the Citie) yet was there some that for honor sake promoted *Martyr* vnto it, but the most part, because they had hated him, or enuied him, and iudged that for his countrie sake hee shoulde be hated of all men. For the inhabitants of *Luca* haue a great and certayne old inueterat hatred against the Florentines, because they thinke that they lie in waite to bereaue them of their libertie. Howbeit *Martyr* did by his excellent learning and vertue so winne vnto him the heartes of the people of *Lu-*

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ca, as contrarie to the opinion and hope of the aduersaries and them which hated him, he being a Florentine was no lesse welcome and beloued of the Citizens, than if he had bin a Citizen of *Luca*: so that afterward by an Embassade sent vnto the chiefe of the familie, they desired earnestlie, that *Martyr* shoulde not be taken from them. And nowe when *Martyr* liued in *Luca*, and had in his College diuers learned men: and also young men of excellent towardnesse, he appointed such a discipline as thereby he might as much as in him laie further good maners, Religion, and the desire of learning. For first he prouided that the young men should be most diligently instructed in the three tongues. And in the Latine tongue did *Paulus Lacisius* of *Verona* teache: the Greeke tongue did *Celsus* one of the noble familie of the Count *Martinengo* teach: and the Hebrew tongue did *Emanuel Tremellius* teache. But *Martyr* himselfe to the intent he might teache the younger sort both the Greeke tongue and Religion together, daylie interpreted to them the Epistles of S. *Paul*, and heard them againe repeate this Lecture. And he was accustomed openly before supper to expounde vnto them some Psalme of *Dauid*. And there came flocking together out of all the Citie to heare him manie noble and learned men which were Senators of *Luca*. And to the intent he might plant the true Religion ouer all the Citie, euerie Sunday he preached vnto the people: and in the time of Lent and Aduent, he after the vsuall manner, expounded the Gospels appointed long since for those times: but in the other seasons of the yeare, he expounded the Epistles of *Paul*. What great profite he brought by teaching, I will not declare: you your selues may easilie gather hereby, in that after his departure out of *Italie*, 18. of the fellowes within the space of one yeare forsoke the College, and forsaking Poperie, went vnto the Churches where the pure doctrine of the Gospell was openly preached: among whom was that noble man *Celsus Martinengus*, who with great praise gouerned the Italian Church of *Geneua*: Also D. *Hieronymus Zanchius* who now teacheth the holie scriptures in the famous schoole of *Strasborough*. Also *Emanuel Tremellius*, an excellent interpreter of the Hebrue tongue. That the sermons of *Martyr* were not without fruite, the great number of Senators of *Luca*, which willingly entered into banishment for the name of Christ, are a testimonie. While *Martyr* thus liued at *Luca*, there met together in that Citie *Charles* the Emperour, and Pope *Paulus. iii.* Thither also came *Caspar Contarenus*, a Cardinall, returning from his Ambassade out of Germanie, who for the olde amitie which he had with *Martyr* tooke that place in his way together with *Thomas Badias* of *Modona*, Maister of the sacred Palace, and fellowe of his Embassade. In those dayes, there was a daylie conference betweene *Martyr* and *Contarenus* as touching Religion, as happeneth betweene friendes which bee learned men and studious in Religion. *Contarenus* was nowe newlie come out of Germanie: he had heard the confession of the faith which our men had made: he knewe their reasons and arguments, and as many iudge, he could not altogether thinke amisse of our men. It is also to be thought that both *Martyr* had heard manie things of him touching vs and our teachers, which confirmed him in his opinion: and in like manner also that he helped *Contarenus* in manie things, so as he began to open his eies, and more clearely to acknowledge the trueth. Manie supposed that by the comming of the Pope *Martyr* should be in some perill: because enuious and malitious men, which bee euermore enemies of true vertue might deuise some crafsie accusation whereby he shoulde bee brought in daunger with that suspicious olde man. Howbeit because he was well fortified through his owne authoritie and learning, and moreouer was great in the fauour of the people and had helpe of friendes, they made then no sturre against him but deferring the matter till another time, they meant to lie in waite for him. Wherefore so soone as they had tried the patience of the people of *Luca*, they cast in prison by the commaundement of the Bishop of *Rome* a certaine Heremit, a confessor of the *Augustinian* familie, and framed an accusation against him for violating of Religion. Which thing certaine noble men of *Luca* taking in ill part, for the godlinesse and innocencie which they knewe in the man, did breake the prison, and bringing him out of the Citie, willed him to prouide for himselfe by escaping away: wherein when by chaunce he had broken his legge, he was againe taken and lead awaie vnto *Rome*. Wherfore after that this first violent assault (as I may say) happened according to their desire, they minded afterward to assaile *Martyr*: & therefore they laie in waite for him in euerie place. At *Rome* they priuilie framed an accusation against him. In euerie College of his familie they stirre vp his auncient enemies: they shewed the time to be come wherein they might recouer their licence, which they called their libertie, and to punish *P. Martyr*, desiring them that they would not omit that occasion. And nowe within a while through the trauell and indeuour of these men, they met together at *Genua*, not the chiefe men of the iocietie as the custome was, but those specially which hated or enuied *Martyr*, who wished to haue

haue all the licentiousnesse of their life to be restored vnto them: whose Religion consisted in superstitious ceremonies, and their holinesse in hypocrisie. By these was *Martyr* called, that he should come with all speede to *Genua*. But he being not ignorant of the treacherie of his enemies, which, being blinded with hatred, they could not conceale, & his old friends giuing him warning to take heede to himselfe, and that there were manie which laie in waite for his life: when he had diligently considered with himselfe of the matter, he determined in any wise to shun this assemblie, and to goe to some other place, where he might be safe from the power & intrapping of his aduersaries. Wherefore he first of al committed a part of his Librarie of Bookes (for these were his Treasure) vnto *Christopher Trent* a Senator of *Luca*, which was a godly man and studious of true Religion: who found the meanes afterward to send the same to him into *Germanie*: the other part he bequeathed to the College. Then, hauing set in order all the College affaires as much as he coulde, and committed the care thereof to his deputie, he departed priuilie out of the College and out of the Citie onelie with three persons which accompanied him: namely *Paulus Lacisius* of *Verona* who afterwarde beeing made reader of the Greeke tongue at *Strasborough* dyed in that Citie, *Theodosius Trebellius*, and *Iulius Terentianus*: who as all yee knowe, cleaued faithfully and constantly to *Martyr* vntil he died. He departing from *Luca*, since he was minded first to visit his owne countrie, came to *Pisa*, and in that citie, hee celebrated the supper of the Lorde with certaine noble men after the Christian manner. And there finding trustie men, hee wrote vnto Cardinall *Pole* letters of his departure: and other letters vnto his Collegiates of *Luca*, which a moneth after his daparture were deliuered vnto them. In these he shewed what and how great errors and abuses be in all the Bishoppes of *Romes* Religion, and especially also in the life monasticall, wherewith hee coulde not with safe conscience haue any longer conuersation. Hee also shewed other causes of his departure, to wit, the hatred and treacheries of his enemies. He put them in minde of his faithfulnesse and synceritie in instructing and gouerning of them: and he testified that he was sorie hee could not more clearely and plainely instruct them in the true faith. The Ring which he vsed to weare as a signe of his office hee sent backe vnto them, whereby hee declared that hee woulde not conuert anie of the College goods vnto his owne priuate vses. And vndoubtedlie (which is a token of his innocencie) he brought verie small substance with him into *Germanie*, and that in verie deede such as hee had gathered of his owne patrimonie in a few yeares wherein he thought vpon banishment. But after he was come into his owne countrie as he had determined, he founde there an excellent and learned man one *Bernardinus Ochinus*, who being called to *Rome*, was come thither: but after that he had beene admonished of some daunger by his friendes, and had conferred with *Martyr*: they both at the length by common aduise determined, leauing *Italie* and their owne naturall soyle, to goe into *Germanie*. And first *Bernardine* departed from thence, going first to *Geneua* and afterward to *Augusta* in *Rhetia*. After two daies *Martyr* followed him: and first went to *Bononie*, then to *Ferrara*, and within a while to *Verona*, where he was courteouslie intertained of his olde friendes: at the length they came ouer the *Rhetian Alpes* into *Swicherlande*. In this iourney when hee was come to *Zuricke*, hee was friendlie intertained of *Bullinger*, *Pellican*, *Gualter*, and of the rest of the Ministers of our Church and schoole. He offered his helpe vnto them, if it pleased them to vse the same. Howbeit because at that time there was no place voide in the schoole, they shewed that they coulde not, as they most desired, vse his helpe at that time, but that they woulde with a thankefull minde remember his good will. He woulde sometimes say, if there happened anie mention to be made of this iourney, that so soone as he was come to *Zuricke* hee both then and alwayes from that time forth verie much loued that Citie, and wished the same to be the certaine and assured habitation of his banishment: which wish was afterward performed, notwithstanding before ỹ came to passe it semed good to the prouidence of God to send him, as an Embassader of Iesus Christ, to diuers Cities & Nations, so that at the length as God would haue it hee returned to *Zuricke*, and after long and daungerous peregrinations, he rested in that Citie, not farre from the confines of *Italie*. Hee going then from *Zuricke* went to *Basil*, and when hee had beene there one moneth, hee together with *Paulus Lacisius* was called to *Strasborough* by the procurement of the excellent and verie learned man *Martin Bucer*: and to him was appointed the reading of the holie Scriptures, and to *Lacisius* the Greeke Lecture. Nowe while hee tooke on him the office of teaching during those fiue yeares which he taught at *Strasborough* before hee departed into *Englande*, hee interpreted manie bookes of the Scripture. For first hee interpreted the lamentation of *Ieremie*. Next hee expounded the booke of the xii. Prophetes which are named the smaller Prophetes. After that hee beginning

ginning at the first booke of the Bible, he expounded *Geneſis, Exodus*, and a good part of *Leuiticus*. But with what learning, faithfulneſſe and diligence he did this, his Commentaries vppon theſe bookes if they ſhall bee publiſhed, will one day beare recorde. For albeit he wrote them for his owne priuate vſe, and being preuented by death coulde not reuiew them, yet are they worthie to come into the handes of learned men. Beſides this howe greatlie hee excelled euen them in teaching, yee may conieƈture not onely by theſe thinges which ye your ſelues haue heard and ſeene, but hereby may ye alſo knowe it, that whereas hee had for his aſſociate *Martin Bucer* that excellent Diuine, who, as it is truely written of him by a certaine learned man, that beſides the hidden learning, and aboundant knowledge of manie things: beſides the quickneſſe of wit, the manifolde reading, and other manie and ſundrie vertues, he had this praiſe proper vnto him, that ſcarcelie any other within mans remembrance hath trauelled with more exquiſite diligence in interpreting of the ſcriptures: he I ſay hauing ſuch and ſo notable a man to be his Collegue in teaching, yet did he neuer ſeeme to be inferiour vnto him. For firſt of all, he diligently expounded the wordes themſelues, and the naturall ſenſe of the holy ſcriptures: which for the exaƈt knowledge which he had in the three tongues, he was able moſt happilie to perfourme: then he ſearched out and diſcouered the reaſons and arguments which he hidden vnder wordes, otherwiſe ſinglie and ſhortly knit vp: and the things more ſlenderlie ſpoken, he confirmed by other places: he compared obſcure places with manifeſt; he ſhewed what might ſeeme to bee againſt the wordes propounded, and declared the waie of reconciling them: he ſhewed alſo in order with a ſingular happineſſe of memorie, what iudgement the fatherswere of: and with a ſharpe iudgement examined what weight and ſtrength euerie one of their interpretations had: But the controuerſies which were incident, he expounded ſo ſyncerel.e and plainelie as no other man did. And beſides in the generall diſcourſe which he made, he obſerued two excellent pointes eſpecialie in teaching, to wit, an exaƈt Methode, and a pure and plaine ſtile. In theſe things he ſo excelled, as he ſeemed not onelie equall vnto *Bucer*, but by all mens iudgement to excell him. For *Bucer*, otherwiſe a great obſeruer of Methode: yet being ſometimes led awaie with the knowledge of manie things turned farre aſide from the order which he had appointed, or elſe being withdrawen through infinite buſineſſe, was not alwayes mindfull of his purpoſed diuiſion. Moreouer, (as he acknowledged) and often confeſſed, he had a certaine peculiar darkeneſſe of ſtile, that he coulde not bee well vnderſtoode but of an attentiue hearer: But *Martyr*, aſwell aptly diuided into certaine partes all the thinges that were to bee intreated of, as alſo forgate not any of thoſe partes howe large ſoeuer the Treatiſe were: neither inſerted any newe part in the middeſt of the Treatiſe: neither inuerted the order which he had purpoſed at the beginning, but the ſelfe ſame number of partes and order which hee had once purpoſed, hee conſtantlie purſued vnto the ende. In ſpeaking hee vſed pure woordes, proper and Latine: and with ſuch a compoſition beſides, as neither by reſtraint of his talke nor ambiguitie of his wordes he breade obſcureneſſe, or againe by long diſcourſe, ſuſpended his iudgement and troubled the vnderſtanding and memorie of the hearer: and ſo hee pleaſed the mindes of his hearers, not onely for the grauitie of the things theſelues, but alſo for the ſweetneſſe and elegancie of his ſtile: And moreouer euen in the lectures theſelues he with a ſingular grauitie ſomtime exhorted to godly life, ſomtime by a ſharp rebuking hee ſtirred vp to repentance, ſo that his leƈtures, beeing as it were ſauced with all theſe thinges, and ſhewing an excellent doƈtrine and eloquence, ioyned with ſingular pietie, procured him great glorie in the iudgement of all men. But hee neuer inſtruƈted more nor was more to bee maruelled at than in publike diſputations. For if anie diſputers were to be moderated, hee ſhewed himſelfe ſo equall a iudge, and was mooued with thoſe reaſons onely which were of force to perſwade, as no man coulde euer ſuſpeƈt him to bee parciall: he depreſſed not the ſounde argumentes of aduerſaries: he winked not at the errors & falſe argumentes of friends: if they would wander out of the bounds of diſputation, he reuoked thē courteouſly to the matter propounded: but if ỹ matter proceeded to braules, he quieted them by his authoritie. And he ſo finiſhed thoſe incounters, that alwayes at the firſt hee repeated the thinges that were moſt neceſſarie, and then at the laſt pronounced of the whole cauſe, that both trueth might haue the victorie, and that thereby alſo might redounde to the hearers no ſmall commoditie. And if ſo he it came to his part to diſpute, he alwayes ſo behaued himſelfe both in propounding and aunſwering, as there was no ſuſpition of anie deſire either of chiding or of carying away the victorie from an ouerthrowen aduerſarie, but his minde being free from affeƈtions, hee rather taught that which was the trueth, than contended with anie aboutwordes. And therefore when oftentimes afterwarde hee

he encountered with the ſtout defenders of the Popes Religion, neither was hee mooued to arger at anie time by their rayling ſpeeches, neither yet by the acclamations and prayſes of our ſide was he made anie thing the lottier by vayne glory: but he perpetuallie kept one and the ſame modeſtie & equalitie of mind. And what perſpicuitie of ſpeaking he vſed in publike readings, the ſame did he followe much more diligently in diſputing: For he iudged that a darkeneſſe of ſpeech and ambiguitie of wordes, is the cauſe of verie manie contentions. And hereof doe his writinges giue a manifeſt teſtimonie. For whereas he wrote manie things of the iuſtification of man, of Gods predeſtination not a litle: verilie he wrote moſt of all of the Supper of the Lorde: in the explication whereof verie manie learned men vſe a certaine affected obſcuritie: but in his writinges there is nothing read, but that which is proper, plaine and manifeſt. And, when *Bucer* whom he honoured and greatly eſteemed, woulde oftentimes exhort him that in the queſtion of the Lordes ſupper, he woulde vſe ſome certaine obſcure and doubtfull kinde of ſpeaking, (which hee himſelfe therefore vſed, becauſe the good man perſwaded himſelfe that by this meanes might be taken away the great controuerſie which is about this matter, and ſo the long deſired peace to be reſtored to the Church) at the length he gaue place to him and vſed the ſelfe ſame formes of ſpeaking that hee did. But perceyuing within a while the daunger that woulde enſue, he chaunged his minde: for hee ſawe that they coulde not be ſatiſfied by this meanes which affirme the groſſe and carnall preſence of the bodie of Chriſt in the ſupper, vnleſſe that alſo their groſſe kinde of ſpeech be receaued with a full and groſſe interpretation. And againe hee had tryed that the weaker brethren by this doubtfulneſſe of ſpeech, were in part greatly offended, and in part ſo intangled & troubled, as they ſcarcely knew what they were to iudge in this matter. Wherfore leauing to *Bucer* his owne phraſe of ſpeech, he followed alſo in his doƈtrine the ſelfe ſame perſpicuitie which he did in other things: and yet neuertheleſſe betweene them remained a firme and conſtant friendſhip: for neither did *Bucer* diſallow of *Martyrs* iudgement, neither was *Martyr* ignorant of *Bucers* meaning, although he vſed doubtful ſpeeches: ſo that although the maner of their teaching in this matter was diuerſe, yet was there a ful conſent of them in al the doƈtrine of Religion, and a perpetuall friendſhippe and coniunƈtion of life: which if I woulde expreſſe and rehearſe all the pleaſures whereby they declared their mutuall loue, rather wordes woulde fraile than matter. Wherefore leauing theſe thinges I will come to priuate matters and ſpeake of his domeſticall life. For at *Strasborough* hee firſt beganne to haue a houſe and familie. And firſt he liued without a wife, all in one houſe with his friendes that followed him out of *Italie*, being content with a meane or rather a verie ſmall ſtipende: which neuertheleſſe was afterwarde augmented. For ſince he left his countrie and great riches and high honours for Chriſt his ſake, hee thought it woulde not become anie to bee agreeued at the increaſe of his ſtipende, ſpeciallie ſince he was of ſo ſpare a life, that this which hee had was not onelie ſufficient for himſelfe, but that there alſo remained ſomewhat for the helping of frendes. Nowe ſince for diuers cauſes hee diſallowed of ſingle life, by the counſell of his friends he betrothed himſelfe to an honeſt and noble Virgin (*Catherin Dammartin*, who liuing at *Metes* and louing true religion, was ſent for to *Strasborough* by godlie men, and afterwarde was married to *Martyr*. This woman died afterward in *England* without anie iſſue, when ſhee had liued viii. yeares with her husbande. Vnto this woman all that knewe her gaue ſuch prayſe as is due to a good and excellent Matrone: For firſt ſhee was one that feared G O D, loued her husbande, wiſe and induſtrious in gouerning of her domeſticall affaires, bountifull towardes the poore, who not onelie ayded them with her ſubſtance, but alſo with all the counſell and helpe ſhe could. Moreouer in the whole courſe of her life, ſhe was godlie, modeſt, and ſober. It is reported that the common ſort in *Oxford* loued her not onely as a benefaƈtor and as it were a mother of the needie, but that they alſo woondred at her as though ſhee had bin indued with ſome diuine power, becauſe that in ſickneſſes, and eſpeciallie in childbirth their wiues by her counſell and helpe obtained for the moſt part vndoubted ſafetie. The dead bodie of this woman Cardinall *Pole* commaunded to be digged vp and to be caſt into a dunghill: and, that he might ſeeme to deale iuſtlie, when he had no other thing to accuſe her of, he aſcribed this cauſe, to wit, that ſhe was buried hard by the bodie of *S. Frideſuide*, and that ſhe was the wife of an Hereticke. Verilie this Cardinall which was ſometime a ſpeciall friend of *Martyr*, after his departure out of *Italie*, not onelie forſooke his friendſhip, but he vtterly caſt awaie the care of true Religion which for a time he had fained, and became an earneſt enemie and perſecuter of our profeſſors. Therefore ſith he could not burne *Martyr* himſelfe as he deſired and with greater pleaſure would haue ſeene it, he ſhewed his crueltie vpon a dead carkaſſe, which had bin *Mar-*

tyrs wife. But after that *England* vnder the moſt excellent Queene *Elizabeth* had receiued the former light of the Goſpell, to aboliſh this note of infamie, the bodie by the commandement of the Biſhops, was againe digged out of the filth and durtghill, and in a great aſſemblie of people was ſolemnlie buried in the moſt honorable place of the Temple. And becauſe the Papiſtes ſhould not attempt the like thing afterward, her bones were mingled together with the bones of *Frydeſunde*, whom in times paſt they deuoutlie worſhipped. Wherefore in that the bodie of a moſt godly woman was ſhamefully caſt awaie is a notable monument of the Romiſh Tyrannie, which ſpareth not the faithfull neither aliue nor dead: but in that it was reſtored to the Sepulchre where it was before, teſtifieth a good and gratefull minde of the Engliſhmen towardes their Maiſter whoſe wife ſhe had lately bin. And for ſo much as by this occaſion we are come to the rehearſall of Engliſh affaires, and that as it ſeemes, there hath bin ſaide ynough of thoſe things which he did and taught at *Straſborough*, I will nowe hereafter ſhewe why he went into *England*, and what he brought to paſſe there. When *Henrie* the King of *England* was dead, *Edward* his ſonne by the counſell of his Tutors, & eſpecially of *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet* his Vncle, and *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Caunterburie*, the primate of all *England*, decreed to aboliſh the Popes Religion, & to reforme the Churches according to the word of God. And becauſe the Miniſters of Churches who ſhould preach ŷ word of God ouer all the kingdome are to proceede out of the Vniuerſities, he determined firſt of all that they ſhould bee reformed, that afterward out of theſe, the pure iuice of ſound doctrine might be deriued into euerie part of the kingdome. And becauſe that *Peter Martyr* by the iudgement of all learned men, for his ſingular learning and incredible skill of many things, ſeemed one of all other moſt meete for this charge, he at the Kings deſire was called thither by the Archbiſhop of *Caunterburie*. Therefore at the ende of *Nouember* 1547. with licence of the Senate of *Straſborough*, where he had nowe taught fiue yeares, he departed into *England*, *Barnardinus Ochinus* accompanying him, who likewiſe was ſent for by the ſame Archbiſhop. And when the Archbiſhop had ſtayed them with him for a time, and had intertained them with all manner of courteſies, *Martyr*, by the Kings commaundement, had appointed to him the charge of interpreting the holie ſcriptures in *Oxford*. In that Vniuerſitie he firſt expounded the 1. Epiſtle of *S. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, becauſe therein are handled diuers and many principall matters which ſerue for the controuerſies of our times: in ſuch ſort that the doctrine of this Epiſtle if it be profitable & aptly read, it may cure all the faults where with the ſynceritie of the Church is corrupted, and may conuince all abuſes and Papiſticall ſuperſtitions. The Papiſtes of whom there were yet a great number in *Oxford*, did in deede at the beginning indifferent patiently abide *Martyr* to teache, and ſome of them alſo frequented his Lectures, & confeſſed that they had his doctrine in admiration: but others and eſpecially the Maiſters of Colledges reſtrained their ſcholers from his Lectures, and made no further ſtirre. But after that he had condemned their vowes of ſole life, and that conſequently vppon occaſion of the Apoſtles wordes, he began to treate of the Lordes Supper, they thought it was not for them to bee any longer at quiet. For whereas their forefathers, hauing firſt obſcured, and then corrupted the doctrine of this principall matter, which gate of error being opened, they brought into the Church all ſuperſtition and Idolatrie, they could not abide *Martyr*, who with marueluous indeuour, deliuered the trueth of the Euchariſt from their errors and corruptions. And to the intent they might procure vnto him not onely hatred but alſo great daunger, they firſt of all railed on him with their vſuall accuſations: namely, that he impugned the doctrine of the forefathers, that he abolished the Ceremonies well inſtituted, that he prophaned the holy ſacrament of the Altar, and ſcarce forbare the treading of it vnder his feete. After this hauing made all things readie, they without his knowledge faſtened vpon euerie Church papers written in the Engliſh tongue, that the day following he woulde diſpute openly againſt the preſence of Chriſtes bodie in the holie ſupper. Wherefore the day following they occupie the Auditorie, they diſpoſe of their trauels in places conuenient, and commaund them to bee readie as neede ſhould require to make clamors and tumult, yea, and to fight too. And for audience ſake there flocke together not onelie the ſtudents of all the Colleges, but alſo ſome, and that no ſmall number of the tumultuous people, partly to beholde the euent of the things, and partlie that they might be preſent with both parties, if perchaunce any vprore ſhould ariſe. In the meane time *Martyr* ignorant of all theſe things prepared himſelfe at home, that after his woonted maner he might make his Lecture at the howre appointed: when in the meane time his friendes being much mooued at the vnuſuall concourſe of people, came home vnto him, and declared all the matter, perſwading him that he ſhoulde ſtaie at home and not procure himſelfe any daunger, forſomuch as the aduerſaries were ſo prepared as they might ſeeme rather

ther to contend by armes than by Arguments. He aunſwered that he might not ſlacke his dueti, nor neglect the charge which the King had committed vnto him: that he was neuer Author of any tumultes, whereof they themſelues could beſt beare recorde: and that nowe alſo he would not giue vnto the aduerſaries any cauſe of diſorder, but would reade after his accuſtomed manner: further that there was many in this congregation, which expected the accuſtomed reading whom he might not diſappoint. And nowe as he was going to the Auditorie, being accompanied by his moſt faithfull friendes, there mette him by the way a ſeruaunt of *Smith*, (who plaide the chiefe part in this Tragedie,) and deliuered letters vnto him, whereby his Maiſter challenged him to diſputation. There did his friendes againe admoniſh him, that he ſhould returne home: they declared the daungers ŷ he was in. But he neuertheleſſe ſtood faſt in his purpoſe. He went to the Auditorie, & with modeſt ſpeache pacifying as much as he could the aduerſaries which challenged him, anſwered ŷ he refuſed not ŷ diſputation, but ŷ now he came not hither to diſpute but to reade: & ſo they cõdeſcending he read his lecture after ŷ accuſtomed maner with great admiration of all men. For they which before wondered at his ſingular doctrine and eloquence, now did they alſo honour in him his incredible conſtancie and courage. For in ſo great a murmur of the people, and fuming of the aduerſaries, he ſo perfourmed his Lecture, as in him was no chaunge of countenance and colour, no hacking of his words, no tripping of his tongue, and finallie no trembling of members or paleneſſe ſhewed anie tooken of feare. When the lecture was doone, the aduerſaries vrged him more ſtoutly, and with great clamours prouoked him to diſpute, neither accepted they his moſt modeſt excuſe, that hee woulde diſpute, yet at an other time, and that nowe hee was not readie, ſince they ſo cunningly had the propoſitions to be diſputed of, and did not openly ſet them foorth after the accuſtomed manner, ſo as euen to that day, hee was ignoraunt of them: for they ſaide, that hee which had ſo latelie in ſo manie lectures intreated of the queſtion of the Lordes ſupper, coulde not bee vnprouided, whatſoeuer queſtions ſhoulde bee propounded of that matter. Then when they continued in vrging of him, hee againe aunſwered, that firſt hee woulde not without making of the kinges Maieſtie priuie of it, enter into ſo weighitie a matter, eſpecially ſince it ſeemed to tende vnto ſedition. And beſides, that vnto a lawfull diſputation was required, that there ſhoulde bee certaine queſtions propounded, that Iudges and Moderators ſhoulde bee appointed, by whoſe iudgement and awarde the whole matter might be gouerned: Againe, that Notaries be requiſite which with faithfulneſſe and diligence maie regiſter the arguments and ſayinges of both partes: but ſince that none of all theſe thinges were nowe prepared and ordayned, hee ſaide that neither he woulde nor coulde diſpute, and eſpecially ſince there was not time enough for diſcuſſing of ſo great a matter, the day drawing then towardes noone. But after that he coulde not ſatisfie the aduerſaries with theſe reaſons, notwithſtanding they were moſt indifferent, and ŷ the matter ſeemed nowe to tende vnto a fray and conflict: the Vicechaunceller of the Vniuerſitie of *Oxforde* (that I may ſo call him by the vſuall name) came among them the while, and with theſe conditions departed the fray: that both *Martyr* and *Smith*, with ſome of their fellowes ſhoulde meete together at his houſe: that by common aduiſe they might appoint propoſitions to bee diſputed of, together with the time, the order and the manner of diſputing. After this hee commaunded his officers whome they call Bedels, to diſmiſſe the people. And hee himſelfe going to his ſeate tooke *Martyr* by the hande and leade him home to his houſe, and by his authoritie appeaſed them which made the tumult. *Martyr* being deliuered from this preſent daunger, and that hee might not therefore ſeeme to haue refuſed diſputation, for anie miſtruſt hee had to the cauſe, came home to the Vicechaunceller at the houre appointed, being accompanied aſwell with others of his friendes as eſpecially with *Sidall* and *Curtop*, who at that time were ſingular defenders of the trueth, but afterwarde in Queene *Maries* time they retained not the ſame conſtancie. Euen ſo did the aduerſarie, & brought with him *Cole*, *Oglethorpe*, and three other doctors of Diuinitie. A long reaſoning there was betweene them about ordering the diſputation. For *Martyr* ſaide it was meete that they in confuting of him ſhoulde obſerue that order which hee himſelfe had vſed in teaching, and this at the length he obtained. Moreouer he miſliked of wordes that be ſtrange, barbarous and ambiguous, which neuertheles bee receiued in ſchooles: and therefore he onelie vſed two wordes, to wit, *Carnally* and *Corporally*: becauſe the holy Scripture in deſcribing the Supper ſpeaketh onely of the fleſhe and body not of the thing and ſubſtance. Howbeit leaſt they ſhoulde thinke that hee himſelfe dallied by any ambiguitie, hee ſaide that hee vnderſtoode thoſe wordes as if it were ſaide *Really* and *Subſtantially*. There were alſo ſome diſſentions betweene them about other matters, but ſince at the laſt there was an agree-

Marianis tempotibus.

ment of all the whole manner of disputation betweene them, all things which were then appointed, was by consent of the parties referred to the Kings Maiesties Counsell, that they might vnderstande of the whole controuersie. The disputation was appointed by these men to bee the fourth day of *May*: at which day were to bee present the Kings Commissioners which should gouerne the disputation. But *Smith* finding himselfe in his owne conscience guiltie of the tumult which was made, expected not the day appointed, but withdrewe himselfe by flight: and first went into *Scotland* and then to *Louane* in *Brabant*. After that the prefixed day was come, there came vnto *Oxford* the kings Cõmissioners, ỹ reuerend father *Henry* Bishop of *Lincolne*, D. *Richard Cox* Chauncellour of the Vniuersitie of *Oxford*, D. *Simon Haynes* Prebendarie of Christs Church there, M. *Richard Morison* Esquire, and D. *Christopher Nenuison* Doctor of ỹ Ciuill law. In the presence of these *Martyr* disputed by the space of foure dayes with three Diuines of the Popes religion: namely, *Tresham* & *Chadze* Doctors, and *Morgan* a Maister of Art. But with what learning he confuted these men, I shal not need to rehearse seeing the Acts of this disputation are in al mens hands to be seene. For *Martyr*, because ỹ aduersaries spred manie false and fained things among the people of this disputation, he being constrained by the impudencie of the aduersaries and also at the earnest requeste of friends which continuallie desired it, published the same disputation in Print. But with what faithfulnesse and diligence he did this, the testimonie of the Kings Commissioners in a treatise added of them doeth declare. Not long after this disputation the Commons of *Deuonshire* and *Oxfordshire* raised a Commotion, wherein death was threatened vnto many, but namelie vnto *Martyr*. When he could not nowe teache no nor remaine without daunger in the Citie, he by the assistance of his friendes was safelie conducted to *London* not without singular reioysing of the King, who, seeing him comming as he looked out of his house at *Richmond*, saluted him with a cheerefull countenaunce, and was glad of his safetie. Also his wife and familie did his friendes keepe secret till the furious multitude of the seditious people was gone out of the Citie. For vpon two armies leuied by the nobilitie of the Realme the sedition was soone suppressed, and the chiefe Authors executed. And then *Martyr* returned againe to *Oxford* vnto his accustomed labours of reading and disputing: at which time forasmuch as the Papistes knewe themselues vanquished in disputation, and that they durst not openly take armes vpon them, oftentimes in the night they raised some stirres before *Martyrs* lodging, and otherwhile beate at his doore with stones, and sometime brake the casemeats of his windowes. Wherefore the Kings Maiestie for the assurance of his safetie and quietnesse, made him a Canon of Christes Church, and commanded that he shoulde goe into that College, assigning him a faire house together with a pleasant Garden. In this Colledge there was a Deane (for your courtesie in hearing of me causeth me to prosecute these meaner things also,) and by the vertue of this office, both he was moderator of the disputations there, & moreouer he promoted the Doctors of Diuinitie after the common manner of Vniuersities. Also *Martyr* himselfe whereas before he had the degree of Doctorship by the priuileges of the Pope, was againe solemnlie created Doctor of Diuinitie at *Oxforde*. And shortly to say, *Martyr* had all them for his friendes in *Oxford* which loued the pure and true doctrine, and which were of any name for their learning in that Vniuersitie. Ouer and besides these the Reuerend Bishops *Hugh Latymer*, *Nicholas Ridley*, *Iohn Ponet*, *Iohn Hoper*: and in the Court also gentlemen and noble men *Anthonie Cooke*, *Iohn Cheeke*, *Richard Morison*, and other more which shall not bee needefull to name: these not onelie liked *Martyr* but also loued him. But yet among them all the most reuerend man *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterburie* and primate of *England* most singularlie embraced our *Martyr*, who being himselfe verie well learned, yet did he attribute so much vnto *Martyr*, as in the greatest causes he vsed his Counsell. And therfore how often soeuer as *Martyr* had any vacation frõ the publike labours of teaching, he sent for him, and imparted with him his counsels touching most weighties matters. And after that the charge of writing lawes Ecclesiasticall was committed by the King first to xxxij. and then to xvj. persons, he brought to passe that *Martyr* was one of them: and againe at the length when the whole charge was committed by the king to the Archbishop of *Canterburie* alone, he onely taking three associates for this purpose, namelie *Gualter Haddon*, and *Rouland Taylor* Doctors of the ciuill lawe, the thirde he woulde haue to bee *Martyr*. Being aided by the helpe of these, he prescribed to the Church of *England* those lawes, which euen nowe deserue great praise among all the godly and learned. Nowe did all *England* inioy peace and tranquillitie, and was happie in Religion and in lawes wel instituted. And in so great a happinesse of the whole kingdome, *Martyr* coulde not chuse but seeme to be happie and blessed, who inioyed the friendship of good men and godlie Bishops. But all these things were

were sodenlie chaunged and subuerted by the troublesome time of Queene *Maries* raigne. For pure Religion was banished out of the Churches, the syncere policie of the Church extinguished, the lawes thereof abrogated, and all good men cast into prisons. In so great an alteration of all things, *Martyr* was forbidden his function of teaching, and was threatened moreouer that without commandement of the Magistrate he should not mooue a foote, nor that he should carie away from thence any part of his goods vnder grieuous paine if he should so doe. He obeyed the Edict: but when he sawe that there was a delaie made, he wrote of his estate vnto the Counsell. He desired that his accuser might bee brought before him, and his cause examined. Who when they could not determine any thing against him, they gaue him leaue to depart. Wherefore he went directly to *London*, and there finding the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, did verie much comfort him by his comming. The Bishop was then come to *London*, that he might refell those things which his aduersaries had falsely spred against him among the common people. For in so much as he was of great authoritie with all men, the Papistes by their preachers published among the common people, that by his commaundement Masse was restored at *Canterburie*, and that himselfe also promised the Queene that he would say Masse at the kinges funerall: and therewithall they cast out certaine speeches of a disputation that shoulde bee had. As soone as he was priuie hereof, he purged himselfe by a writing published. Also he testified that he was readie in publike disputation to defende the Religion instituted by King *Edward*. If (saieth he) the Queenes Maiestie will giue mee leaue, I wish *Peter Martyr* and other foure or fiue which I will choose to mee, trust by the fauor of God, to prooue woorthie to bee allowed of all men, not onelie the common Ecclesiasticall prayers and holy administration, with the rest of the rites and Ceremonies, but that the whole doctrine and order of Religion appointed by our high soueraigne Lord King *Edward* the vj. to be more pure and more agreeable to the word of God, than any thing that we haue knowen to be vsed in *England* these thousand yeares past: onelie so, that all things may bee iudged by the worde of God. This protestation and counsell of his he declared to *Martyr*, who allowed thereof, and shewed that he was readie for the disputation, and that he would not auoide any perill for Religions sake. Howbeit while they are in attending for this disputation, the Archbishops of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, and also the Bishops of *London* and *Worcester* were cast into prison: for by these kinde of meanes the aduersaries meant to dispute with them. Then stoode *Martyr* in great daunger, aswell for the same Religion, as also for the familiaritie and friendship that he had with these men. Neither was he himselfe ignorant hereof, but trusting in his owne innocencie, and that he had committed nothing against the lawes of the Realme, he meant not to depart without obtaining a Pasport. Wherefore he againe propounded the matter to the Counsell, and shewed that he came not of his owne accord into *England*, but was called by King *Edward* his Maiestie, and was sent by the most honorable Magistrate of *Strasborough*, and he shewed both their Letters Patents: but nowe since there could bee no vse of his trauell, he desired leaue to depart. Which after he had obtained yet his friendes scarcelie beleeued, that although he had receiued the Queenes Letters, that he could depart away safe. For his aduersaries said, that so great an enemie of the Popes Religion should not be suffered to escape out of their hands, but should be plucked euen out of ỹ ship to prison and punishmẽt: and he was also bidden to beware of lying in waite for him: which if he passed the Occean Sea, yet the same were prepared for him in *Flaunders* and *Brabant*. Neuertheless ỹ by the goodnesse of God he after a woonderfull manner escaped all these daungers and vndoubted snares laide for him. For whereas of straungers, some depart into *Friseland*, and some into *Denmarke*, he gat the Maister of a ship, which was a godlie man and one that feared God, who vppon the sea coast of *England* kept him priuilie xiiij. dayes together in his owne house: and now all aswell his friendes as enemies thought that he was sayled awaie with the rest of the straungers, whereas he at the last tooke shipping out of *England*: and the Maister of the ship arriuing for his sake at *Anwarp* in the night, was brought by him vnto his friendes, and being set in a waggon by them before day, came safe vnto *Strasborough* th: ough the Countries which were most enemies vnto him: and chiefely by the goodnesse of God and then by his owne expedition, he auoided all the snares of his aduersaries. At *Strasborough* his olde friendes excellent and learned men *Sturmius*, *Sleidan*, *Zanchius*, *Herlinus*, *Daspodius*, *Sapidus*, *Hubertus*, and the rest did receiue him with great ioy. For in the greater daunger that they knewe him to haue bin, so much the more his safetie and sudden comming brought ioy vnto them. Also the Senate, since they verie well knewe his vertue and doctrine, commanded that straightwaie he should bee restored vnto him his auncient place which he had before his departure into *England*. But in the meane time some which wished him not well, spread sinister rumours of him: namely, that

in the doctrine of the Lordes Supper he was gone from the opinion of the confeſſion of *Auguſta*, and that therefore it was to be feared leaſt he would make ſome troubles in the Church. Hereof he being admoniſhed of his friendes, purged himſelfe by a writing preſented to the Senate, and taught that the Confeſſion of *Auguſta* and other confeſſions not diſagreeing from the ſame, if they bee rightly and profitably vnderſtoode, hee willingly embraced, and that if neede ſhould require, he would willingly defende them to his power: he promiſed moreouer that for his part there ſhould be no contentions raiſed: but rather if any place were to bee handled in the Scriptures, or any other neceſſitie ſhould require, he would declare his opinion about this queſtion: he affirmed that he woulde doe this with all modeſtie and without any bitter contradiction. And what his opinion was he ſaide it might bee eaſilie knowen by his Bookes alreadie ſet foorth: from which he woulde not by that his writing or promiſe, that any thing ſhould bee pluckedawaie or chaunged, vntill ſuch time as by the holie Scriptures he ſhould bee otherwiſe perſwaded. And for ſo much as beſides the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, there was brought foorth the concorde betweene D. *Bucer* and D. *Luther* and their fellowe Miniſters: he anſwered that he ſubſcribed not hereunto: becauſe he could not for the worde of God and conſcience ſake graunt, that they which bee deſtitute of the true faith, ſhoulde in receiuing of the Sacramentes receiue the bodie of Chriſt. And he added that this ought to ſeeme no maruell vnto them that he woulde not aſſent thereunto, ſince D. *Bucer* himſelfe in the Schoole of *Strasborough* while he expounded the *Actes* of the Apoſtles taught otherwiſe: and that he wrote farre otherwiſe when he was in *England*: which might be ſhewed by diuers of his Articles, and that verie rightly: for ſince faith is the onelie inſtrument, whereby Chriſt himſelfe, his bodie and bloud bee receiued, the ſame being remooued, the mouth receiueth nothing but a ſacrament of his bodie and bloud, to wit, bread and wine, things conſecrated by the Lordes inſtitution. Euen as a man of ripe age if he goe vnto Baptiſme without faith, is ſaid to haue nothing beſides the Sacrament, that is to wit, water & the prayers of the Church. For euen as no man while he beleeueth not, obtaineth not the grace of regeneration; ſo without faith none haue any waie to the Communion of the bodie and bloud of Chriſt: For as *Auguſtine* ſaieth, To eate and to drinke is nothing elſe than to beleeue. Laſtly he added that he feared leaſt in ſubſcribing to this concorde offered vnto him, he ſhould ſeeme to condemne the Churches of *Tyguro*, *Berne*, *Baſill*, *Geneua*, *Lauſanna* & *England*, and all the brethren diſperſed in *Italie* and *Fraunce*, which doubtleſſe ſhould not bee lawfull for him to doe by the word of God and charitie towardes them. And therefore [he ſaide] that as he reuerenced and honoured all the Churches of *Saxonie*, and all thoſe which conſented vnto them, ſo did he embrace in the Lorde, and heartilie loue the others alſo which he made mention of: for becauſe, he ſaid, that queſtion was not of ſo great importaunce as it ſhoulde breake the Communion and charitie betweene the faithfull. By this writing of his or promiſe, the Senate of *Strasborough* which maruelouſlie well loued *Martyr*, was ſatiſfied, reiecting the priuie accuſations of others. So nowe being reſtored to his former office, he interpreted the Booke of *Iudges*. And becauſe the ſchoole wanted at that time a meete reader of *Ariſtotles* Philoſophie: it was determined that as two Diuines reade the holie Scriptures, ſo they ſhoulde likewiſe weekely by turnes teache *Ariſtotles* Philoſophie. And therefore *Martyr* not refuſing this labour beganne to interprete *Ariſtotles* Ethickes *Ad Nichomachum*, and in expounding the ſame proceeded vnto the thirde booke. And his Collegue was D. *Hieronymus Zanchus*, a verie louing friend of *Martyr*, and who followed him as wee haue ſaide out of *Italie*: he tooke vnto him to interprete the Bookes of *Ariſtotles* Phiſickes. But *Martyrs* aduerſaries and ill willers, of whom wee ſpake before, although they oppoſed not themſelues openly againſt him, yet did they not ceaſe dayly in ſecrete and as it were vndermining to withſtand him. For both by letters, and by their readings and ſermons they ſo gall him, as there wanted nothing to the accuſing of *Martyr* but the naming of him, yea and one of the ſtudients made an Oration openly in the Schoole touching the Euchariſt made to this ende, that he might of ſet purpoſe condemne *Martyr* and his doctrine. Wherefore ſince he perceiued that his aduerſaries did dayly make more open warre againſt him, and that they did by name reprooue him in their Bookes as alſo *Sleidan* in his hiſtorie maketh mention, hee beganne to deliberate with himſelfe of his departure; when vppon the ſodaine a moſt fitte occaſion was offered him. For when there died with vs at that time that good and godlie man *Conradus Pellicanus*, the honourable Senate of the commonweale of *Zuricke* with the good will of the miniſters of ỹ Church appointed *Martyr* to ſucceede in his place, and concerning that matter, they wrote letters alſwell vnto him, as vnto the honorable Senate of *Strasborough*, wherein they deſired that hee might be ſent to *Zuricke*. This calling was verie well accepted of *Martyr*. For albeit

beit hee loued the commonweale of *Strasborough*, and acknowledged him much beholding thereunto, yet becauſe he ſawe that this controuerſie of the ſacrament was dailie ſtirred vp with more bitterneſſe of mindes, hee reioyſed that there was an occaſion offered, whereby hee might ridde himſelfe from ỹ troubles. Therefore when he was demanded by the magnificall and noble Senate what his mind was, hee nothing diſſembled, but ſhewed that leaue to depart woulde be verie welcome to him: and hee teſtified at large of his good will towardes the common weale: and he ſaide that the cauſe why hee might not tarie with them, was, that he ſawe, he coulde not at that time inioy that libertie of teaching, diſputing & writing which hee deſired. And to be deſirous of this leaue, firſt hee ſaid he was vrged by his vocation, and then moued by threates and comminations. Beſides that he feared the iudgementes of the graueſt men who had read his writinges and had heard him teach, if by his ſilence hee ſhoulde ſeeme not onelie to forſake, but alſo as it were to betray the truth, at other times defended with the perill of his life, and nowe manie and ſundrie waies priuilie and openly oppugned. For of theſe men of whome ſome of them either for the verie ſame cauſe woulde be burned with fire, or elſe remaining yet aliue did to great purpoſe beare rule in the Churches of Chriſt, he ſaide he might not chooſe but bee greeuouſlie reprooued, as he that either departed from his vpright iudgement (which crime of inconſtancie is not to bee ſuffered in a Chriſtian man) or elſe who woulde in ſilence let ſlippe thoſe thinges, which hee knewe to be profitable and neceſſarie vnto ſaluation. Wherefore ſince that God woulde that wee ſhoulde both with faith imbrace and with mouth confeſſe al his whole doctrine, he declared that he might not with a ſafe conſcience holde this condition wherein hee nowe ſtoode, vnleſſe the thinges which hee deſired by writing might bee graunted him: and that this was a reaſonable requeſt, that ſo much might be lawful for him, as others of his degree would haue free vnto them both in their ſermons and in the ſchooles. He ſhewed moreouer ỹ there appeared no light of reconciliatiõ with him either by conferẽce or anie other way: but if there ſhould be anie order taken, he would not faile of his due tie though hee were called any other whither. The Senate which loued *Martyr*, and vnder certaine conditions were deſirous to keepe him ſtil, when they perceiued that he ſtood ſtedfaſt in this opinion, and that it was no ſafe waie for them at this time to graunt him the libertie of teaching, diſputing and writing, they againſt their wils gaue him leaue to depart. Wherefore hee departed from *Strasborough* the xiii. of *Iulie*, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1556. to the great griefe and lamentation of all good men of whome he was fauored, loued, and honoured, aſwell for his noble vertues, excellent wit and ſingular learning, as alſo for his courteous behauiour, and great agreement, which he perpetually maintained with all godlie and learned men. When he was come to *Zuricke* together with that excellent man *John Iewell* an Engliſh man, now by the grace of God biſhop of *Saliſburie*, he was very ioyfully receaued both of the Senate of the ſchoole, and of the miniſters of the Church, & of all the godlie. And forasmuch as he lodged with *Bullinger* his old friend, vntil ſuch time as his houſehold to wit, *Iulius* with his wife and child had followed him, either made ſomuch of ỹ other at ỹ time, as although there had bin before time a verie neere friendſhip betwen them, yet was ỹ ſame, by this familiaritie exceeding much increaſed, and ſo confirmed, as euen vntil death they kept and increaſed the ſame without the verie leaſt ſuſpicion of offence. And thoſe friendſhips are moſt aſſured which a reſemblance of vertues and ſtudies doe ioyne together, which being very like betwene them both & ſuch as either of them both loued and honored other, it is no maruell their friendſhips were alſo moſt neerely knit together. And that hee loued the preachers and the reſt of his Collegues, and held them as it were brethren: and in likemanner, that hee alwayes imbraced the younger men as children, ſince it is knowen vnto all men, there is no neede that I ſhoulde nowe ſpende anie time in declaring of this matter. And they which haue not ſo throughly conſidered of theſe thinges maie hereby coniecture the pleaſantneſſe that hee had in ioyning vnto him the heartes of men, that not onely his Collegues in the ſchoole, and miniſters of Churches, and others which heard him euerie day teach, loued him, but alſo among the Senate and people euerie good man which neither hearde him teach, nor coulde vnderſtande him when hee ſpake, yet they ſo honoured him as ſcarcely they did anie other of the cheefeſt in the commonweale. And this did the aſſemblie of all ſtates of men teſtifie, whome yeſterday yee ſawe at his funerall. The noble Senate alſo declared their good will towardes him, when for honours ſake, they made him free of the Citie. For albeit they had prouided by a lawe, that becauſe of the infinite number of Citizens, none ſhoulde bee receaued into the Citie that yeare and the next, yet woulde they not obſerue that lawe in ſo notable a man as hee, becauſe they rightlie iudged, that

iniurie shoulde be doone not to the Lawe, but rather to our citie, if such a man shoulde remaine among vs as it were a straunger and foreiner, and not bee reckened among the Citizens. *Martyr* at that time when hee came to *Zuricke* was vnmaried: but at the length being perswaded by his friendes, since hee himselfe was verie desirous of children, and that the rather because hee alone was left of the familie of the *Vermilli* which sometime florished, did determine to take an other wife sixe yeares after his first wiues death. There was in the Italian Church at *Geneua*, a maide borne at *Bressa* of an honest stocke, whose name was *Catherine Mereuda*, which was come thither for religion sake. This woman did *Martyr* take to wife being commended by the testimonie of good men and of the whole Church. Of her did hee beget a sonne called *Elipertus*, and at an other byrth *Gerodora*: both of which neuertheless died in their first infancie. He hath left the same wife great with child, who I beseech the Lorde may be deliuered of a sonne, which liuing may one day represent his father in learning and godlinesse. Howe greatlie hee loued and esteemed this commonweale & Church, hereby yee maie gather, that when he knewe hee shoulde leaue his wife great with childe, hee tooke order by his testament, that if a sonne were brought foorth after his death, if it liued it shoulde not be brought vp else where than among vs. And the same his good will and affection yee may coniecture by this also that I shall nowe recite. The next yeare after that hee came vnto vs, there dyed at *Geneua* the noble man *Maximilianus Celsus* Count of *Martinengo*, which did gouerne the Italian Church in that Citie. Nowe there bee manie & excellent men, which hauing forsaken *Italie* are come to *Geneua* as to the sanctuarie and safest hauen of godlie men: and among these are manie of the Citizens of *Luca*, of the principall sort of that Common weale, of whome manie were the scholers of *Martyr* in *Italie*, and by his teaching came to the knowledge of Christ. So nowe when an other was to bee substituted in the place of *Maximilian* which was deade, *Martyr* by the generall will and consent and with most heartie wishes was chosen, and the Elders of the Church sending letters vnto him about the same matter, not onelie requested, but also earnestly besought him that hee woulde confirme that calling. The selfe same did the Englishmen which were his olde friends, of whom many excellent men liued thē in banishment at *Geneua* for Religion. The selfe same did *Iohn Caluin*, the ornament not onelie of *Geneua*, but also of the vniuersall Church. They saide that in that Citie and Church there was a good number of the better sort of *Italians* and many of his scholers which expected his comming, and moe that made themselues readie in the way to meete him. They shewed an excellent manner of choosing him, I meane the verie notable consent by holding vp of hands so often allowed by the holy Ghost, the most orderly distributions of their voyces, wherein all thinges were doone with very good order and aduise. Heerewithall they added, that so great and ardent desire there was of the whole Church to obtaine this man for their guide, Pastour and Maister, as vnlesse they might haue their wishe they shoulde of necessitie as it were languish with sorrow. But *Martyr*, although hee were most readie to serue his owne Country mē, yet did he not think it meet to determine any thing of his owne mind, but referred the whole matter to our Senate and to the Ministers of the Church: and because they would not allowe of this calling, for that in verie deede they sawe that they coulde not let *Martyr* depart at this time, without verie great hinderance to the schoole and Church; and that the brethren had in the *Italian* Church at *Geneua* many both good and learned men whome they might verie well appoint in the place of *Maximilian Celsus*, hee himselfe also submitted his will to their will and pleasure. And moreouer also, when a fewe yeares afterwarde his olde friendes called him againe into *England*, offering him large conditions, adding therewithall, that the Queene so shee were assured of his minde was readie to send for him by a messenger into *England*, he againe, as before, committed himselfe to the iudgement of the gouernours of our Commonweale. Who would not accept well of his loue towardes our Church and Commonweale: of his reuerence towardes the Magistrate, of his constancie in retaining of the charge which he had once vndertaken? Who seeth not that he had not a minde most farre from ambition and couetousnesse, since he might haue taught elsewhere with greater concourse of people, with greater glorie, and with a more profitable stipend? With these things he was no more mooued than if they had belonged nothing at all vnto him. But on the otherside howe readie he was to doe seruice to other Churches, and howe litle he feared any daungers, is sufficiently declared by his going into *Fraunce*, which he tooke in hande the last yeare by the commaundement and will of our Magistrates: whereof if I shall speake somewhat, I beseech you continue still your good will of hearing mee, and yet will I not verie long abuse your patience. When at the xx. day of *Iulie* the Bishoppes of

of the French Church had bin commaunded of the King to assemble at *Poyssi*, and that a Parliament of the Princes of *Fraunce* was also called at the same time, our men in *Fraunce* were in some hope that there might bee appointed some conference in matter of Religion, from whence might redound great commoditie to the Church. Wherefore there were appointed certaine men by the Churches, which in the assemblie of all states, might promote the free course of Religion: and there were also chosen many Doctors which might dispute and conferre with the Aduersaries. And because the singular and excellent learning of *Martyr* and his incomparable power of disputing was wel knowen vnto them, they thought it meete that he onelie of all straungers by name shoulde bee sent for. Wherefore by the Christian Churches and by those Princes which had taken vppon them their protection, vnto *Zuricke* was sent a noble man whose name was *Cl. Bradella*, and together with him came also the notable learned man *Theodorus Beza*, who in all these actions had ỹ greatest charge. These men inquired howe the Senate woulde bee inclined, howe the Ministers of the Church, and howe *Martyr* himselfe if there shoulde bee any conference appointed, and that hee by speciall name shoulde bee sent for by the king. And when hee knewe that there was none for his part that woulde bee negligent in so godly a purpose, the one returned vnto *Geneua*, and the other tooke the right way into *Fraunce*. Not many weekes after, *Beza* being called vnto the conference went thither by post, and *Bradella* returned to *Zuricke* bringing with him letters from the Queene Mother, the King of *Nauarre*, and from the Prince of *Condie* and the Admirall: wherein they required of the Senate, that *Martyr* might be sent vnto them: and therewithall they sent letters patent of safe conduite, that our men might see there was no perill therein. Wherefore since it seemed that the matter was not to bee slacked, the Senate gaue their consent to the calling, and willed *Martyr* to prepare himselfe to the iourney. At the same time by chaunce returned to the Court *Matthaeus Cognetus* a verie excellent man, the kings Embassador with the Heluetians, who receiued *Martyr* into his traine, and conducted him safe to *Paris*: from whence he going to the Court was most courteously receiued by the brethren: & being saluted by the king of *Nauarre*, and by the most noble Princes the *Condie* & the *Admirall*, was sent for to the Queene of *Fraunce*: whom after he had saluted according to the accustomed reuerence and had talked as concerning his comming, afterwarde he exhorted her to aduaunce the pure Religion. For hee shewed her that by a godly reformation of the Church shee shoulde not onely doe good to the kingdome of *Fraunce*, but also to all Europe, because all men had cast their eyes vppon the kingdome of *Fraunce*. He saide that great perils were at hande and appeared, but yet that shee shoulde not feare them because God will bee alwayes present with those Princes which haue a care of this matter: That he ayded *Aza*, *Iosaphat*, *Ezechias* and *Iosias*, which corrected the people when they were altogether corrupted with Idolatrie: That *Constantius*, when hee had Collegues, yea rather superiours with him [in the Empire] *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, yet durst embrace Christ: That *Constantine*, euen in the greatest daungers when hee had gotten *Licinius* an enemie to the Christians for his Collegue, yet brought peace vnto the Church. He said that if God had holpen those, he woulde not bee vnlike vnto himselfe, but euen the selfe same that hee hath bin before. He saide moreouer that kings ought most of all to serue GOD, vnto this ende, that their labour may bee applyed not according to their owne will but according to his: and that nowe this one thing was most of all to bee indeuoured, that Religion and holy seruice might bee reduced to the first originals, and that superstitions brought in might be remooued. That God in deede coulde doe this without the helpe of Princes, and that he sometime had so doone, but yet that hee was nowe minded by an ordinarie way in this wise to make Princes glorious: and therefore it was meete that they shoulde not forget that they are no lesse appointed to bee the keepers of the first table than of the seconde, and so it was not lawfull for them to let slippe the care of diuine worshippe. Hee added moreouer that they ought not to bee heard, which affirme ỹ this belongeth not vnto Princes, since it is farre otherwise decreed in *Deuteronomie*, and that *Paule* woulde haue a Magistrate to be the furtherer of good workes among which the worshipping of God is the principall. The Queene testified that shee was desirous of the trueth, and that therefore also shee sent for him, that he might giue counsell how a concorde might bee made, so as there might bee a peace made without offence of the aduersaries, for that shee saide there was now such discorde and sedition in the kingdome for Religions sake, that it was exceedingly troubled. Heereunto *Martyr* answered franklie: that although he coulde not assure himselfe any good at the aduersaries hand, yet he denied not but that they should bee courteouslie and mildly dealt withall, so that no part of the trueth were diminished or cut awaie. Hee saide it was no maruell that some discordes should arise,

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since Christ foreshewed that such thinges must happen in the preaching of the Gospell: and hee confessed that hee came to sende not peace but the sworde, and that the fire was already kindled, and that hee wouldе not otherwise, but that it shoulde burne: further that it was vnpossible that pure and true religion shoulde bee restored and retained without the Crosse, and therefore saide that it behooued her with a valiant courage and syncerely to take this charge in hand, and that God according to his promises would not faile, who asswageth euils, and giueth patience. Moreouer being oftentimes asked of the Queene what counsell hee coulde giue for setting of thinges at quiet, hee aunswered that hee sawe no other remedie but by suffering the professors of the Gospell to assemble together freely in their holy congregations, graunting them Churches wherein they might haue godlie Sermons: for if shee woulde cause this to be doone, the truth woulde easilie manifest it selfe, and that there shoulde bee no neede of conferences or disputations. Lastlie when hee was demaunded what hee iudged as touching the confession of *Augusta*, he aunswered that to him the word of God seemed to be sufficient for vs, because therein are clearely contained al things which serue vnto saluation, Neither if that confession were receaued (saith hee) woulde there followe a reconciliation with the Romanistes, since they haue condemned the same as Hereticall. To the same effect did hee aunswere the king of *Nauerra*, and other great men in the Court, which asked his opinion of the selfe same thinges. After this followed the publike Action, whereunto the Cardinals and Bishoppes thought not good to admitte *Martyr*, but yet the Queene would haue him to come. In this Action the Cardinall of *Loraine* made an Oration, which also hee did afterwarde publishe. Herein hee spake manie things as touching his Church, as that which had a continued succession, imposition of handes, and which worshipped Christ without Idolatrie. Hee denied that the Church of God stoode onely of the elect, because otherwise it shoulde become inuisible, and that men shoulde alwayes be vncertaine of the same. Further hee added that the Councels coulde not erre neither in doctrine nor in manners, but that they might alter manie thinges by reason of the diuersitie of times. And hee affirmed that the Church it selfe was before the Scriptures and that the interpretation of them was to be sought from the Church. After this hee digressed to the matter of the Sacrament, and saide nothing of the Masse and of Transubstantiation: but hee affirmed the bodie of Christ to be there present, not indeed locally or circumscriptibly, but after a heauenlie manner, and as he spake supersubstantially. And when he had made an ende of his Oration, hee turned himselfe vnto the Queene mother and to the king, and vpon his knees prayed them that they woulde persist in that faith wherein they were borne and baptised, and therewithall hee offered with all his Bishoppes all manner of duties, seruices and obedience. A fewe daies after *Beza*, according to his singular learning, did greatly in open audience confute the Cardinall of *Loraines* Oration. But the Cardinall opposed him selfe against him, and required that ours shoulde either subscribe to the confession of *Augusta*, or else that they shoulde accept of a breefe draught which hee brought touching the Lordes supper: and that vnlesse they woulde condescende herein, hee woulde deale & talke no further. For hee sought causes to breake off the conference. In this action did *Martyr* holde his peace, because all thinges were doone in the French tongue. But when they mette together againe, hee being admonished by the brethren, and by the Queenes leaue, hee himselfe also spake a great while in the Italian tongue against the Cardinall of *Loraine*, who seemed to refuse the ioyning with him, and alledged for excuse that *Martyr* spake in the Italian tongue, as though hee had not vnderstoode the same, and hee said that he would rather deale with a man of his owne language, howbeit he indeuoured to aunswere to some things by him alleadged. And moreouer a certaine Spanyard, being a Maister of the order of the Iesuites, made an Oration in Italian against our men, whereunto *Beza* aunswered in few wordes, but *Martyr* beganne againe to argue against the Cardinall as touching the Supper: howbeit because the night was at hande, and besides that the act was full of contention, so that euen the Cardinall himselfe abstained not from clamors, ỹ day there was no more done. But nowe after that the aduersaries, our men reclaming but in vaine, had founde the meanes, that the beginning of the conference shoulde take beginning at the article of the Supper of the Lorde, there were fiue speakers chosen of each part: Of the aduersaries partie the *Valentine* and *Sagentian* Bishops, *Botilerus Saligniacus*, & *Depensius* which were doctors: and of our men *Beza*, *Marlorat*, *Spina*, *M. de Sola*, and our *Martyr*. These dealt without anie iudges, vsing onelie two Notaries. And first they sought diligentlie to haue some certaine rule proposed, wherein the parties might commen together of the presence of Christes bodie in the Eucharist: and when as many things had bin alleaged on both sides, *Martyr* also being demaunded, set foorth a briefe writing of his opinion, which neuertheless satisfyed not the Bishoppes, for that they saide it was ouer bare: but the disputers of our part agreed with *Martyr*. Afterwarde there was betweene them a disputation of this question for the space of certaine dayes: and at the length a newe order was taken whereby both the partes might commen together of the presence of Christes bodie in the Supper: and hereunto the disputers of eache part agreed and subscribed. But *Martyr* when he sawe that therein were certaine ambiguities, declared that hee woulde not varie from the sense of the first writing which hee had deliuered vnto them. Hee together with *Beza* and the rest of the speakers of our part, added a briefe declaration vnto the latter rule, that ambiguitie being remooued, the aduersaries might see what our meaning was. But the Cardinalles and Bishoppes, after it was declared vnto them that the speakers were agreed as touching this Article, disallowed of those thinges, which were doone by their owne speakers, yea and accused them of Heresie: wherefore by their meanes the conference was suspended for certaine dayes. For nowe both by their owne will and by the instigation of the Popes legate, they decreed to breake off the conference. But in the meane time the Bishoppes wrote certaine Canons: and at length the 19. of *October* the Cardinalles of the house of *Guise*, and many Bishoppes also of the Court departed away. In like manner the most part of our speakers seeing there was litle or no hope at all of renuing the Colloquie, returned vnto their Churches. And in the meane time were set foorth decrees, whereby our sort were commaunded to yeeld vp the Churches: yet was there graunted them a free libertie of preaching, and places assigned wherein they should assemble together, but yet vnder a certaine number prescribed. Furthermore Armes was laide awaie on both sides, and an Edict made, that neither part shoulde speake ill of other for Religions sake. Therefore when *Martyr* sawe that he was able to doe no more in this matter, especially since hee had but small exercise of the French tongue, he was minded to craue leaue to depart, and for that cause went to the Prince of *Condie*, and afterwarde was brought by him vnto the Queene in speaking with whom he said: first we ought to render vnto God those things that belong vnto God, & vnto Princes those thinges that pertaine vnto them: and for these causes hee saide hee was come thither, that as touching God he might further Religion, & then that he might obaie her Maiestie: which neuertheless hee did the more willinglie because shee was indued with excellent vertues whereof all men did speake honorablie: and further because her kingdome was most notable, & that he & she were of one countrie borne, and most of all that he might obay the magistrate of *Zuricke* which was well minded towards the king and the Queene: a matter not to bee contemned, since it was of no small authoritie and power among the Swicers. And further he added, that hee in the matter of the Conference intermitted nothing which hee thought did serue to the purpose, and that he dealt quietlie as shee commaunded him. But whereas the matter proceeded no further, hee saide hee was not in fault thereof, but yet that some signe thereof woulde agree in time though none were had as yet. Howbeit since nothing coulde nowe be doone, he desired leaue to depart, because hee was an olde man, and that winter was at hande, at which time the iourney would be incommodious, by reason of raigne, Snow, and shortnesse of dayes. Besides this forsomuch as hee had hearde that it was reported to her Maiestie that hee came hither as a straunger that sought nothing else but to raise vp seditions in the realme, and that he delighted in such kinde of mischiefe, hee besought her that she woulde not giue credite vnto such thinges, since hee was a man altogether voide of such hainous crimes. For that hee hauing beene at *Strasborough*, afterwarde in *Englande*, and againe at *Strasborough*, then lastlie in *Heluetia*, shee might from thence bee informed, if shee beleeued not him, that he alwayes sought peace and concorde, so farre as it might bee agreeable with the worde of GOD. And he shewed moreouer that there was nothing that coulde perswade him hereunto: for that as touching the kingdome he saide he was earnestly addicted thereunto from his ancestors: and to the Queene, much more, since shee was of his owne Countrie, and as it were light and glory thereof, and that he was therefore so affected towardes her, as if neede shoulde require he woulde willingly giue his life for her glorie and preseruation: and that among the rest of the things which he chiefely desired, was that shee with her children and kingdome of *Fraunce* might be in safetie, which being so he desired to be dismissed not with disgrace but with her good fauour. Hereunto the Queene benignly and courteously answered him, and promised that he shoulde depart safe & sure, and that within a day or two. She also desired him that if his trauell for the selfe same cause shoulde be againe desired, he woulde not refuse to take in hand the iourney againe: and she said she was not ignorant that the labour was great but that shee accounted

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the same profitable and necessarie. And as for other mens accusations, shee said that shee had in deede heard manie thinges, touching sundrie matters, but that shee alwayes reserued the iudgement to her selfe: and protested that shee did absolutely thinke well of him. Ouer this *Martyr*, giuing her great thankes, as reason woulde require, he made petition also for the afflicted Churches, excusing them for taking possession of the Temples against the kings minde: for when they hearde that the King woulde haue them to bee restored, they obeyed him. Hee added also that if any thing bee committed otherwhile by the rude and weaker sort, it ought not to bee imputed vnto the doctrine. After that he had bin dismissed of the Queene, the Queene also of *Nauarre* and the king did most graciously bid him fare well. So in like manner did the Prince of *Condie* and the Admirall. Besides this the Queene Mother and all the Princes which wee haue nowe named, gaue thankes by their letters vnto the Senate of *Zuricke*, for sending of *Martyr* to the conference according to their requeste: and therewithall gaue vnto *Martyr* his due praise. Also the *Condie* and the Admirall at *Martyrs* departure, assigned vnto him two of their household which were noble men and Captaines, who conducted him safe vnto *Tigure*. Heere might I (beloued Auditorie) recite the letters of Princes and learned men, wherein they heaped vppon him the great praises of Religion, learning, faith, and diligence, howbeit the consideration both of my time and purpose suffereth not me to stay vpon these things. Therefore since I haue hitherto declared, in what places he did seruice to the Church by his teaching & disputing, I will now shew how much he furthered the same by his writings. First therefore after he had forsaken *Italie*, hee set foorth in his natiue language, an exposition of the Apostolicall creede, that he might giue an account to all men of his faith. After that when he was come into *England*, and in expounding of the xj. Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* had disputed many thinges of the Lordes Supper, then at the ende of the Chapter hee purposely handled this question. And first hee confuted that Coniunction, wherein the breade and Wine are commonly saide to bee transubstantiated into the bodie and bloud of Christ, which seemes to bee the neereste coniunction with thinges of the Sacrament. Then did hee examine the opinion of others which defende that the breade and wine in their whole and true natures are retained in the Sacrament, and so retained, as they haue ioyned with them naturally, corporally and really (as they speake) the true bodie of Christ and his bloude. In the thirde place hee weighed the opinion of them which saie, that these things are not ioyned one with an other anie other way than after a sacramentall manner, that is by signification and representation. Lastlie he shewed how the opinions belonging to the second and thirde opinion is gathered that which maie most of all seeme to belong vnto godlinesse in this sacramentall matter. This treatise together with ỹ disputation which we shewed before ỹ he made openly of this controuersie, hee first published in *Englande*. And at the same time he woulde haue the Commentaries vpon the first Epistle of *Paul* to the *Corinthians* to be printed with vs at *Zuricke*, a worke without doubt, for the plaine exposition of manie darke and harde questions most worthie to bee reade. And after that hee was returned out of *Englande* to *Strasborough*, & from thence was called to *Zuricke*, hauing gotten amongst vs not onely some leasure but also that libertie of writing which he desired, he reuiewed manie of those things which hee had written before, he finished them, and put them in print. And first the Commentaries vppon the Epistle of *Paul* to the *Romanes*, which hee publikely interpreted before in *Oxforde*. Of which booke this onely will I say, that hee performed the same with great learning and diligence: so as all men confesse that after so manie verie learned interpretors olde and newe which haue written vppon this Epistle, yet this booke maie bee reade with great and peculiar fruite. At the same time was set foorth by him a defence of the auncient and Apostolike doctrine touching the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist against the booke of *Stephen Gardiner*. For hee a fewe yeares before had published a venimous and pestiferous booke of the Eucharist vnder the name of *M. Antonius Constantius*: wherein by meere sophisticall and most crooked Argumentes he indeuored to ouerthrowe the true and sounde professed doctrine, which we hauing receaued of Christ, and the Apostles, and most auncient fathers of the Church, doe followe and professe at this daie. And to the compiling of this booke verie manie of the Papistes applyed their trauell, and deliuered all their Arguments vnto *Gardiner*, that hee out of that heape might choose what hee would: and of this booke they triumphed and gloried that there was no man which durst incounter with this their *Goliath*: wherewith beeing mooued, that most learned and godlie man *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterburie*, who oftentimes before incountered with *Wincheſter* went awaie with victorie and with singular praise, hee tooke this matter vppon him. But he being held in

in most straite prison, and had neither store of bookes about him not so much as paper to write, and afterwarde being taken awaie by cruell death, which for the confession of the true faith hee constantlie suffered, was constrained to leaue off the workes which were now in his handes begunne. Wherefore manie Englishmen which were louers of godlie & true religion, desired *Martyr* oftentimes both in his presence and by letters, that hee would succeede in this burthen, and that hee woulde not suffer the mindes of the simple to be infected with venim of this booke nor the Popes adherentes so impudently and arrogantlie to triumph against our men. Therefore being stirred vp at the desire of friendes, and with the equitie of the thing it selfe, hee tooke this worke in hand, and hauing ouercome diuers and manifolde impedimentes, hee finished it at *Zuricke*, and committed the same vnto printers to be dispatched. And first of all in this booke, he defended the reasons of our men, whatsoeuer they were that *Gardiner* had gathered and confuted. Then also hee defendeth, against such false accusations the rules which hee himselfe had set foorth in the treatise of the Eucharist. Thirdly hee defendeth the answers, whereby the argumentes of the aduersaries are wont to be confuted in this disputation: Lastlie hee approueth the iust and true interpretations of certaine places which *Gardiner* with his sort brought out of the fathers for himselfe. And in all this whole worke whatsoeuer is vttered aswell in the holie scriptures as in the monuments of the auncient fathers & Councels, he hath so plentifully & diligently comprehended, and hath examined all thinges so exactly and perfectly, as this worke is holde in admiration euen of them which bee great learned men. After this defence against *Gardiner*, there followed an other defence against the two bookes of vnmaried life of Priestes and monasticall vowes written by *Richard Smith* an Englishman, sometime professor of the Diuinitie lecture at *Oxford*. For when *Martyr* interpreted at *Oxford* the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, & in the 7. Chap. (where the Apostle writeth many things of virginity & matrimonie) had also disputed largely of vowes, *Smith* in whose place *Martyr* by the Kings commandement was appointed to reade the Diuinitie lecture, was continually present, and not onely gaue great heede to those thinges which *Martyr* saide, but did also diligently put them in writing, and afterwarde going to *Louane*, he set foorth two vaine but yet venemous bookes against *Martyr*, as touching the sole life of Priests and of Monasticall vowes. This man could not *Martyr* in his Commentaries of the Epistle to the *Corinthians* answere. For his friendes vrging and earnestly desiring the edition of that booke, he might not deferre the same but yet in the ende of his seuenth Chapter hee promised this answere: and shortly after, hauing gotten leasure he answered him: but for certaine causes weighties and of great importaunce he finally after certaine yeares published this answere when he was at *Zuricke*. And he confuteth not onely *Smithes* argumentes, but he diligently and throughly examined in a manner all things that may bee saide in this matter. Which all they can testifie that haue not slightly perused the same. Furthermore at *Strasborough* after he was returned thither out of *England* he interpreted the booke of *Iudges*, and as ye knowe did set foorth amongst vs Commentaries vppon the same, wherein he expounded many questions of Diuinitie not common euerie where: and that verie golden booke, which neuertheleſſe many by reason of the difficultie and great darkenesse haue shunned, hee made verie plaine by bringing a light of interpretation. Lastly when *Iohn Brentius* had set foorth a litle booke as touching the personall vnion of the two natures in Christ, wherein hee for affuring of the carnall, corporall and reall presence of the bodie and bloud of Christ in the holy supper, tooke vpon him to defende a newe and monsterous doctrine of the vbiquitie of Christes bodie, *Martyr* at the request of his friendes setting foorth a Dialogue confuted his booke. And because hee knewe that *Brentius* did in other writings not altogether deserue ill of the Church, he woulde not put thereunto his name, and expressely defame and speake ill of him, especially since this nothing furthered the cause, but largely confuted his arguments, least they shoulde bleare the eyes of the ignoraunt. And further (which was the chiefe point of the question) he prooued by most assured testimonies of the scriptures, and most auncient fathers, that the humanitie of Christ is not euerie where. With this writing *Brentius* being mooued, indeuoured at one push to ouerthrowe both *Martyr* and *Bullinger* by setting foorth a vehement and stinging booke. Which booke when our *Martyr* sawe, being a man otherwise most milde of nature, yet was he somewhat angrie, that *Brentius* dealt in an ill cause and with so great vnfruitefulnesse, as he doubted not but to accuse both him and all our sort for impugning the glory and Maiestie of Christ, and for denying the omnipotencie of God: wherens notwithstanding it is knowen vnto all men, in such sort as euen *Brentius* cannot bee ignoraunt thereof that our men teache quite contrarie. It greeued him exceeding much, that a man otherwise very no-

table, and who might bee profitable to the Church, so obstinately defended an opinion, absurde, monsterous and merely newe, which leaneth vpon no euident testimonies of the scriptures, nor vpon any authoritie of the fathers and auncient Church, and which, no not the Papistes who haue fained many thinges for defending of the carnall, grosse and corporall presence of the bodie of Christ in the holy supper, were so bolde at any time as to allowe. For as he reported, that at his being in *Fraunce* at the conference when certaine bookes of *Brentius* were brought foorth, the chiefe of the Popes Diuines said openly, that this opinion of *Brentius* was newe, and neuer heard of, and that it was merely heretical. Wherefore he had nowe prepared himselfe diligently and throughly to answere the slaunderous reproches of *Brentius* which were many and grieuous, and his Arguments which were not many. But, alas for sorrow, he being by the sudden violence of sickenesse taken awaie frō vs, could not performe ỹ which he was determined to doe. Which mishap neuertheless might after a sort be borne, because *Bullinger* ỹ Pastor of our Church, who had diuided with him ỹ labour of answering, shal by his studie & labour and by his excellent learning, with a good courage sustaine the labour of them both, & shall alone suffice for defending of thē both. And moreouer the Arguments of *Martyr*, which bee many that he produced in his Dialogue, doe stand as yet firme, & by this attempt of *Brentius*, could not be enfeebled, much lesse ouerthrowē. But this rather is to be sorrowed, that *Martyr* coulde not finish other and most excellent works which might haue brought great benefite to the whole Church. For nowe these certaine yeares, he hath interpreted, as yee knowe, the two Bookes of *Samuel*, and nowe the first Booke of *Kings* being finished, he trauelled in the seconde, and those things which he read, although all were not throughly reuiewed by him, yet are they such, that when they shall come foorth, as shortly the Lorde willing they shall, scarcely can any man desire a finishing of them. And who will finisthe this as it were the picture of *Uenus* begunne by *Apelles* owne hande. Who will so correct the Commentaries vpon *Genesis*, vpon *Exodus*, vpon *Leuiticus*, vpon the smaller Prophets, and vppon the Lamentations of *Ieremie*, as they can haue that same dignitie and that same excellencie, as if they had bin amended, reuiewed and set foorth by himselfe? What shall I speake of the most graue disputations of the greatest matters? What of the Commentaries of *Aristotle* and other Commentaries which he began and left vnperfect? For before he coulde, I will not say, correct these things, but euen in a manner before he coulde take order what he woulde haue doone with them, he was by the violence of a grieuous and vnexpected death oppressed and taken away from vs. For when he had begun to sicken the fifth day of this moneth, he departed this life the 12. day of the same. Hee was before, but somewhat a sickly man aswell by reason of his age, as for sundry cares and troubles, and especially for the great griefe he tooke for the afflicted state of the French Church, his powres did consume by litle and litle. And therefore when ỹ general disease wherof many of you haue had experience, assailed him, it did easilie consume nature alreadie spent. But we, because this disease hath not hitherto bin in any man vnto death, nothing feared *Martyr* the first dayes of his sickenesse. And he himselfe also confirmed our hope: for the thirde and fourth day after the disease came vpon him, he returned againe vnto his studies, & meant the day after when his turne was come, to teach publikely: albeit I was against it, and admonished him that he shoulde haue a regarde to his health, and saide that I woulde reade in his stead, and that I doubted not but the Auditorie hauing a consideration of his sickenesse, would easilie beare with him, but he cōtrariwise thought himselfe strong ynough, & said that vnlesse some thing else happened he would reade the day after. But euē the selfesame night the feuer returned, & inuaded him more grieuously than it did before: and in the meane time distilling of the rewme increased vpon him, and therewithall the cough was verie troublesome vnto him. Therefore albeit that his friendes bad him to hope well of his health, and that the Phisitians also put him in some comfort, yet hee himselfe foreshewed his death to bee at hande, and for that cause made his Testament the day before he died: and calling for the worthy man M. *Bernhard Sprunglius* the Treasurer being his neighbour, to whom he commended the care of his wife great with child, willed me to recite the same wil in his presence, and desired of him ỹ he would indeuour ỹ the Senate might ratifie the same. The next night after he tooke good rest, & the disease seemed vnto vs to be somewhat slaked, but in very deede ỹ power of nature being ouercome by ỹ sicknes stroue no longer with it. And in ỹ meane time his friendes came euerie day to visit him, with whome, before the difficultie of breathing was hindered, he talked of diuers thinges with them no lesse pleasantly, than if hee had beene infected with no disease at all: For by Phisicke wherein hee had diligently trauelled, hee reasoned of the power and nature of his disease with such Phisitians as for friendshippe and courtesie

sake did dailie visite him: and because hee had slept some nightes not vnsoundly he greatly counted to his friendes this a benefit of God, and out of the precepts of Phisicke rehearsed the nature and efficacie of sleepe, as it were in sweetly refreshing the whole bodie: Also he complained oftentimes of the Cough which hurt all the bodie: but especially the head and breast. And other while hee testified that hee was sicke indeede as touching his body, but yet verie well as touching his minde. And then if hee had begunne either to yeelde an account of his faith, or to rehearse with what consolations hee was to erect his minde, hee was in this kinde altogether diuine. And on the day before hee shoulde die, some of vs his friendes being present with him, and speciallie *Bullinger* among the rest, hee lay a certaine space meditating with himselfe: then turning vnto vs, he testified with speech plaine enough that hee acknowledged life and saluation in Christ alone, who was giuen by the father an onelie sauiour vnto mankinde; and this opinion of his hee declared and confirmed with reasons and wordes of the scriptures: adding at the last, This is my faith, In this will I die: but they which teach otherwise, and drawe men anie other way, God will destroy them. And after he had thus spoken, hee reaching out his hande to euerie one particularlie: Fare ye wel (saith hee) my brethren and deere friendes. Also an other day when *Bullinger* among other things, for consolation sake had saide that our common weale is in heauen, I knowe (saith he) it is, but not in *Brentius* heauen, which is no where. And hee saide that hee willingly and from his heart forgaue that man: but yet hee wished, that if it had so seemed good vnto God, hee might haue aunswered him aswell for their sakes that bee weake, as also to haue confuted the most false slaunder made against him. And to saie briefely, his speeches aswell all the time of his sickeneſse were like the residue of his former life: namely full of Religion, faith, godlinesse and gentlenesse, but then specially, when the more neere he drewe, to be dissolued and ioyned with Christ, the more did a certaine diuine worke and as it were the efficacie of the holy spirite shine in him. But the same day when hee died by the reason of the vehement falling of the rewne, he felt a great difficultie of drawing his breath, and spake with paine, neuertheless hee vsed a loude voyce, so as it coulde scarsllie bee vnderstoode: and therefore hee spake not verie much that day. It was about x. of the clocke when the Phisitians were departed from him, to returne againe in the after noone what time hee willed himselfe to be taken vp, and to bee apparelled after his accustomed manner, and eating a litle quantitie, he sate quietly, but yet so as hee bowed his heade towardes one of his friendes that stood by, because he coulde not easilie holde it vp by reason of the force of his sickeneſse: after this hee woulde be laide againe in his cloathes vppon his bed, and there rest. In the meane time came the Phisitians vnto him. With him were present manie of his friends, both others, and also the Pastors and Elders of the Italian Church, with whome after he had talked a litle, he required to bee taken againe out of his bed, and to be set in ỹ same place where he was. Nowe were manie of his friendes gone from him that hee might rest the more quietlie: the Phisitians also went their wayes, of whom some prepared certaine new remedies which they ment to applie vnto him. When he thus sitting in his cloathes as hee was woont to goe, commending his soule stoutly vnto God, hee beganne to bee at the point of death: there remained yet with him *Conradus Gesnerus*, and also his wife and two youngmen besides of his familiars: of whome foorthwith *Bullinger* and the rest of his friends which were neerest at hande were called: these being present hee gaue vp his spirite verilie with so great a quietnesse as hee seemed not to die but to fall asleepe, and in such sort as wee might thinke that wee sawe him not deade but sitting still aliue amongest vs. As hee died *Bullinger* closed vp his eyes and put vpon him a funerall garment: and he being a friende, did vnto his most louing friende, this last office of pietie, being yet in the meane time stricken with a great and incredible sorrow. And this deere Auditorie was the ende of the life of our Maister, the best, the wisest and the iustest man of all that I haue knowen. This may I truelie say of him which *Plato* left written of his *Socrates*. His life hath beene set foorth vnto you: and what his death was yee haue heard. There remaineth at the last, that which perhappes yee looke for at my handes, namelie that I shoulde indeuour by wordes to mitigate the sorowe which yee haue taken by his death. But howe am I able to doe this, who am greeued with exceeding sorrowe more than others? But heere must yee take vnto you his vertue, wherein hee verie much excelled, and most valiauntlie ouercame all aduersities, and that which time shoulde worke, that must reason informed by good Artes: and which is chiefest of all, instructed by the scriptures, bring to passe that there bee appointed some moderation of sorrowe and lamentation: and seeing he departed out of this life so godly and Christianly in the true and sound faith: and that it is a wicked thing to doubt whe-

ther he chaunged the great calamities and miseries of this life, with the heauenly and euerlasting blessednesse and felicitie, it is our part which loue him rather to reioyce in his exceeding great good, than to bee mooued with any discommoditie of our owne, especially since ye haue so notable monuments of his wit, godlinesse and learning, that by the continuall reading of them, ye may not onely mitigate your sorrowe, but may also haue euen the part of him present with you. And verily, if by those thinges which wee haue [illegible]en heard of him when he was aliue we may gather what his meaning was when he was dead, yee cannot doe any thing either before God more religious, or vnto him more acceptable, than to holde fast that pure and vndefiled doctrine which yee learned of him. And yee deare Auditorie, the younger men especially, whose eyes the glory of his name doeth dazell, indeuour ye by the same steppes to reache vnto that whereunto yee woonder that he attained. Procure to your selues by watchings, by labours, by studie, by diligence and continuance the selfe same ornaments of learning and knowledge. Ioyne ye vnto your studies, Religion, pietie, faith, modestie, temperaunce and other vertues wherein he excelled. All which, if I haue not compriſed in my Oration, yet doe ye which haue knowen them, comprehend them in your minde, and as an excellent example to imitate, neuer suffer yee them to depart from your eyes and minde. And for asmuch as the death of men which for their vertue are famous and excellent, is daungerous to the Commonweale, not onely for the losse of them, but also in respect of ill lucke, wee humbly pray thee Oh euerlasting and heauenly father, turne away such euill hap from thy Church. Regard (we beseeche thee) thy litle flocke, and gouerne it according as thou hast promised, and defend it against Wolues. Giue it no hyrelings, but faithfull Pastors which may leade thy sheepe vnto wholesome pastures and to the fountaines of liuely water, & such as if needs shall require, will giue their life for them. And to vs also O good Father, giue, if not another *Martyr* (for that dare wee scarcely desire) yet at the leastwise some teacher, who being indued with thy spirit, may come as neere as is possible to his incomparable learning, and diuine and immortall vertues. And that which I nowe desire, deare Auditorie, desire you humbly the very same of the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, both nowe in the ende of this Oration, and also from henceforwarde incessantly with feruent prayers, Amen.

FINIS.

The

The first Table of D. P. Martyrs

Common Places amplified and inlarged, comprehending (in as familiar a forme as can be) the summe of all such points of Diuinitie, Philosophie and Historie, &c. as are therein comprised:

Gathered and laide together in an alphabeticall order, as followeth.

An introduction to the Reader.

FOr the easier and readier vnderstanding hereof (sith many places carie diuerse numbers both in respect of Part and Page) it shalbe necessarie to note, that all such figures as stand thus inclasped or imbraced [1] [2] [3] or [4] doe signifie the 1. 2. 3. or 4. Part, (remembring alwaies that the whole volume is Quadripartite or consisting of 4. Parts, besides the additions, which may be a supposed Part by themselues:) the other figures, as they fall more or lesse, doe import the page or side of the leafe. Note further, that (A) inferreth the first columne (as we commonlie call it) or partition of any page, (B) the second. And thus much briefly by way of aduisement.

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